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A COMPANION TO
ST. PAUL
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Edited by

STEVEN CARTWRIGHT

BRILL

A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages

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INTRODUCTION

Steven R. Cartwright

Within the two thousand years of Christian history, the Apostle Paul is second only to Jesus in influence and the amount of discussion and interpretation generated. This should not be surprising, given that Paul wrote or inspired much of the New Testament and founded numerous churches through his missionary activity. One may still well wonder how, in the New Testament period, Paul's influence came to exceed that of the other, original apostles, given that he was never fully accepted by them. His influence was such that within a few generations, Paul's epistles were being quoted authoritatively by early church fathers, and followers were writing epistles in his name.

In the Patristic era, immediately following the New Testament era, Paul became a significant authority for teachers establishing the Rule of Faith, as widely dispersed communities struggled and competed against syncretistic mystery religions and divergent strains of the early Christian movement. The early Fathers appealed to Paul as well as other writers of Scripture as they sought to define true and distinct Christian teaching in the face of religions that took elements of Christian teaching and mixed them with elements of other religious mythologies, or reinterpreted early Christian teaching, including Paul's teaching. In this process, early Christian teachers, especially in the Latin west, began to comment at length on Paul's epistles, formulating doctrine from them, or, in many cases, reading doctrine back into them. Known definitively as the Apostle, even over Peter, the holder of the keys of the Kingdom, and John, the beloved disciple, Paul became one of the major teachers of Christian doctrine, particularly influencing St. Augustine, who in turn would influence western Christianity through the Middle Ages. Paul, both directly and through Augustine, would also strongly influence the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation.[1]

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[1] For a good collection of essays on the influence and interpretation of Paul from the New Testament period through Augustine, see William S. Babcock, ed., *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas, 1990).

Paul's influence continues in modern western Christianity, especially in conservative Protestantism, though some western Christians no longer grant him the same authority he once had, accusing him of, among other things, sexism, support of slavery, and support of authoritarian political regimes.[2] Still, he is endlessly discussed and interpreted, and new schools of interpretation, such as the so-called New Perspective on Paul, have arisen to recover what Paul "really meant", to the consternation of traditional Reformation interpretations.[3]

This volume is concerned with the influence of Paul in the Western European Middle Ages, the era connecting the patristic era to the Reformation and the subsequent modern interpretation of Paul. Paul in the Middle Ages is by no means a new topic, but over the last twenty years or so, as the study of medieval scriptural exegesis has grown, so has the study of the Apostle's interpreters. New studies, editions, and translations of Pauline exegetes and their commentaries have appeared, making the medieval study of Paul available to a wider audience. The studies in this volume include discussions of exegesis, but more than that: discussions of how Paul was used in reform, canon law and spirituality, and how he was depicted in literature and art. The authors discuss the interpreters of Paul from the time of Origen through the Late Middle Ages, as well as Paul's larger cultural, dogmatic, and spiritual influence and persona.

We include the patristic commentary tradition in this volume because of its direct influence on medieval commentators who saw themselves standing in unbroken connection to the Apostle via the Fathers, although they would in no way place themselves on the same level as Paul or even those earlier exegetes. This patristic tradition of Pauline interpretation, not to mention of Scripture as a whole, emerged in the third century AD in the Greek east, and moved west in the fourth century to acquire its distinctive Latin voice. So far as we know, this tradition began with Origen writing in Greek in the middle of the century, and who was translated into Latin in the early fifth century by Rufinus.

The four chapters on early Latin Pauline exegetes and interpreters of Paul—Origen/Rufinus, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Augustine—

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[2] On this loss of authority, see Marcus J. Borg and John Dominic Crossan, *The First Paul: Reclaiming the Radical Visionary Behind the Church's Conservative Icon* (New York: 2009), 1–11.

[3] For a brief introduction to the New Perspective, see Kent L. Yinger, *The new perspective on Paul: an introduction* (Eugene, OR, 2011), as well as www.thepaulpage.com. Additionally, see the references Thomas Scheck makes in his chapter on Origen in this volume.

demonstrate the great diversity of approaches to understanding and using Paul as well as of doctrine at this time. They also show how influential Origen was, both in the patristic era and the Middle Ages. From the time of Jerome on, almost every Latin theologian and exegete, with the notable exception of Ambrosiaster, was influenced by or had to deal with Origen's interpretation of Scripture. It is interesting to note how different Origen's interpretation of Paul was from later interpretations, beginning with Augustine, who was aware of Origen's exegesis. Thomas Scheck's comparison of Origen's exegesis of Romans with the New Perspective on Paul shows how the Augustinian interpretation of Paul, with its emphasis on forensic justification, and its influence on medieval and Reformation soteriology, departed from Origen's emphasis on Paul as reconciler of Jews and gentiles. Scheck's discussion of Pelagius shows how he was influenced by Origen and frequently quoted or paraphrased him. However, Pelagius did not follow Origen slavishly on every issue, and in fact had his own post-Origenian issues to address, namely Manichaeism, showing how the context for biblical exposition constantly changes. It is also interesting to note the afterlife of Pelagius's Pauline commentaries; they, too, either edited and circulated under other names, such as Jerome, or unedited, were read and quoted throughout the Middle Ages by exegetes such as Peter Abelard.

It is important to note that some Latin exegetes did their work apart from any apparent knowledge or influence of Origen. The most prominent example is "Ambrosiaster," who wrote his commentaries before Rufinus translated Origen's Romans Commentary, and just before Pelagius wrote his. As Joshua Papsdorf shows, Ambrosiaster was an opponent of Jerome, himself a user of Origen, and influenced both Pelagius and Augustine. This otherwise anonymous commentary has a distinctly Roman edge to it, eschewing Greek influence. For example, in explaining the Trinity and human nature, Ambrosiaster avoids the philosophical foundations of Greek theology, and proclaims instead the duty of accepting the full deity of the Son and Holy Spirit as the proper means of acknowledging God and avoiding the sin of Satan. Rather than discussing the nature of God and human beings metaphysically, Ambrosiaster focuses on their respective roles: God's role as ruler, and human beings as the focus of the struggle between God and Satan. Within human nature, Ambrosiaster asserts the dominance of men over women; men, but not women, are made in God's image. As part of this belief, he affirms marriage and denigrates asceticism, in which many Roman women actively participated, through Jerome's influence, thus acquiring influence in church affairs.

He also taught original sin, but, unlike Augustine, denied corporate guilt or spiritual death as a result of it. Despite these significant differences—or perhaps because of them—Ambrosiaster was likewise used by many medieval commentators, who certainly would have recognized how different he was from Origen on the one hand and Augustine on the other.

Augustine did prove to be more influential than any of these others. As these chapters show, he was himself influenced by, or aware of, his predecessors' work. Augustine was widely quoted by medieval Pauline exegetes, even though his own direct Pauline commentaries were few. Aaron Canty shows how Paul's thought influenced Augustine in many key areas of his doctrine. The Bishop of Hippo frequently quotes the Apostle on key topics such as the Trinity, original sin, grace, predestination, and ecclesiology. Augustine's statements on these doctrines frequently found their way into medieval commentaries on Paul, where they became authoritative statements. By Augustine's time, however, the doctrinal reading of Paul had moved away from his original concerns of reconciling Jews and gentiles to defining articles of faith for a now almost exclusively gentile audience that regarded Jews as outsiders and as examples of disbelief to be avoided. The original context for understanding Paul had been lost, and a new context substituted.

Medieval Pauline commentaries, while thoroughly rooted in all of the Fathers discussed above, developed their own approach to understanding the Apostle's teaching. In the early Middle Ages, after the collapse of Roman government and learning and the influx of Germanic peoples, western Christian scholarship languished and took centuries to rebuild itself. Rather than create new theologies as the Fathers of the third through fifth centuries had done, early medieval commentators on Paul and the other Scriptures looked to the Fathers as their authorities in interpreting the Word of God, to absorb their ways of thinking and build a new Christendom, founded on *traditio.* Ian Levy describes these early medieval commentaries, noting that some modern scholars have derided these works for their lack of originality, for simply being compilations from the works of the Fathers described above. Rather, Levy shows, these commentators were creative and selective in their choices of source material, and over time developed a personal style. But their primary intention was not to be original or innovative; it was to teach, both laity and clergy, the foundations of the faith, when that faith had to be established anew among the Germanic kingdoms, and to create a new heavenly order on earth. In this respect, the Carolinigan commentators were true scholars for their knowledge of the sources and their ability to select among them to teach their

respective flocks. Likewise, their selection of Paul as the subject of their commentary shows the importance of the Apostle to the gentiles and his teaching to the Carolinigans for their work of evangelizing, converting, and forming the peoples in correct doctrine.

The turn of the millennium brought new approaches to reading the Apostle. Charlemagne's lands, though no longer a single empire, were now thoroughly Christian. Political and economic stability had returned after centuries of invasion and internal strife, which allowed the growth of towns and the cathedral schools Charlemagne had mandated, where biblical and liberal studies took place, and which began to supplant the monasteries that had taught these subjects since the fall of Rome half a millennium before. Increased prosperity in the eleventh century allowed growth of population in general and in the numbers of students seeking education. Some scholars, most notably Gerbert of Aurillac, went to the schools of Islamic Spain to learn arts such as dialectic. Biblical scholarship and commentary returned after a hiatus of nearly a century and took new forms, as Ann Collins shows in her chapter. She shows how in the eleventh century dialectic, with careful strictures, made its way more fully than before into Pauline exegesis. One can see the beginnings of scholastic exegesis even in the precious surviving fragments of Drogo and Berengar. Additionally, the gloss, while certainly not new at this time, came into its own as a method of summarizing and organizing comments both of the Fathers and of contemporary expositors such as Lanfranc around the sacred text. These glosses played a role in the arguments and resolution of the Eucharistic Controversy of the mid-eleventh century, in which both Paul's words as well as his personality and intellectual skills became models for scholars; as Collins points out, "scholars' identification with Paul yielded innovative approaches to exegesis and influenced original formats, methodologies, and theological interpretations." Paul had gone from being the missionary to being the scholar and controversialist.

Paul continued to be the scholar for twelfth-century exegetes, but was also the spiritual exemplar for some, as he had been for centuries. Scholastic exegesis of the Apostle continued to develop from the foundations laid in the eleventh century, and traditional monastic exegesis briefly reached a new height. I show that two strains of thought, one rooted in the "new" logic, the other rooted in traditional rhetoric, competed, albeit in largely separate arenas. William of St. Thierry's commentary on Romans, as well as his other works written for monks, shows Paul as the great spiritual teacher who demonstrates a path of ascent to union with God. William follows the Augustinian program of rhetorical exposition in explicating

the traditional doctrines that he finds Paul teaching, which, if properly digested and meditated upon, will lead to this union. For William, this tradition is unassailable; any questions that arise are purely for clarification. Not so with Peter Abelard in his own Romans commentary, for whom tradition was not above questioning, and not only for clarification. Abelard questioned dialectically to challenge tradition where he believed it had departed from truth, for example on the various doctrines of the atonement, but he was in fact quite orthodox. Questions were certainly not new in exegesis in Abelard's time, but he pushed this methodology further than it had been taken before.

By the thirteenth century, faithful questioning had become a primary method of expounding Scripture, including Paul's epistles. The use of logic had expanded far beyond anything Peter Abelard had envisioned, into extensive subdivisions of the text. Franklin T. Harkins shows how Thomas Aquinas used Paul for his theology, and incorporated his theology into his exegesis of Paul. Thomas, like all major thinkers of the thirteenth century, was concerned with finding and imposing order on everything, including divine revelation, and carefully ordered his exposition of the epistles. In so doing, Thomas comes off almost as an imitator of Paul, whom Thomas regarded as one of the great human orderers of divine revelation. Thomas also saw him almost as a scholastic like himself, engaging in disputation and refutation of errors. Like so many exegetes before him, Thomas focused on Paul's teaching on justification and grace, making grace the centerpiece of his entire Pauline exposition, not to mention of Scripture as a whole.

Nicholas of Lyra largely continued in the same vein as Thomas, becoming as influential as his predecessor, though, as Ian Levy points out, he departed from him in many ways. Very much the scholastic, Lyra used Aristotle, made numerous distinctions, and divided his text much as Thomas had. He also discussed many of the same issues a millennium's worth of predecessors had dealt with: the senses of Scripture, justification, salvation, original sin, and the Eucharist.

But Paul did more than provide medieval exegetes, preachers, and theologians with the foundations of doctrines of salvation. He also provided religious authorities and their adversaries with ammunition for their battles, and was made spokesman for reform and counter-reform of all types: clerical reform, monastic reform, lay movements, and the role of women, to name but a few. Paul and his words, as well as his life, were used to justify both change and conservatism. Colt Anderson shows how, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the Apostle's teachings

were used as weapons and threats by Popes, clerics, monks, and lay against impure clerics to justify and defend the spiritual authority of lay ascetics and preachers, and to attack or, alternatively, support "novelty," or new approaches to Christian living. Ken Grant shows similar uses of Pauline language in his analysis of the Registers of Pope Gregory VII and the *Collection in 74 Titles*, a canon law collection: combative language on the part of the reforming Pope (as might be expected), though also language of encouragement towards those working for a pure Church; and, in the *Collection*, language supporting good order in the Church and the Primacy of Rome. In all these cases, Paul is quoted and used as the defender of the Church against its internal enemies, as the arbiter of the righteous and unrighteous, and as the exemplar of conduct. He is cited almost as a proof text by those arguing one point or the other.

Besides being the teacher of doctrine and the enforcer of Church order, Paul was also the paragon of mystical experience. We have already touched on this in our mention above of William of St. Thierry, but Paul's experience of rapture, which he describes in 2 Cor 12:2–4, became the foundation of a long tradition of contemplative speculation and desire. Csaba Németh describes this tradition and its variants in medieval Latin theology, beginning with Augustine and moving through Gregory the Great and Jon Scot Eriugena to the numerous twelfth-century interpreters, mostly monks (including William, who alluded twice to this experience, once in his Romans commentary), but also Victorines and early Scholastics such as Peter Lombard and William of Auxerre. Paul's description of his experience was so enigmatic that many medieval divines referred to it but also debated what had happened to Paul. Did he have an actual vision of God, or was it mediated in some way? What was the significance of the three heavens?

Of course, not all medieval Christians were exegetes, theologians, monks, preachers, or canon lawyers. Most were laypeople, either in the villages or the towns, who would have had minimal access to or interest in the documents and literature described above, written in ecclesiastical Latin for other scholars and officials. Paul and his words were still made available to them in other ways, through visual art and in vernacular languages, whether written literature or oral preaching. Our last three chapters describe how Paul was presented to lay people, often by clerics concerned with lay piety, as well as by educated laity, such as Geoffrey Chaucer.

Lisa Fagin Davis describes the history of Pauline iconography in her chapter. Focusing on a late medieval manuscript of Jean de Vignay's

Miroir Historial, she also delves into the early history of how the Apostle was depicted visually, from ancient Rome, Armenia, and Egypt into the medieval west. Many of these depictions have their origins in texts such as the Acts of the Apostles and the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. Like many saints, Paul had his own iconography, though Davis shows that many ancient sources disagreed on exactly what Paul looked like. Still, by being portrayed in a largely consistent manner over more than a thousand years, the Apostle could be recognized in sculpture, murals, and illuminated manuscripts, and the story of his ministry told as an example to be venerated and followed. The problem was that Paul's epistles and teachings could not easily be depicted visually, making them less accessible to the laity.

Valerie Heuchan shows how Paul was used in both Latin and vernacular preaching in Anglo-Saxon England, and, even more, how the figure of Paul himself was used in other vernacular, non-exegetical, non-homiletical material. Much of this latter material was rooted in ancient hagiographical and apocryphal sources in addition to those described by Davis, indicating a wealth of such material. One of these sources describes Paul's vision of heaven, indicating the near ubiquitous popularity of that incident, as we shall see in Csaba Németh's chapter, only in this case in Anglo-Saxon England, as opposed to the Continent. Additionally, St. Paul was often paired with St. Peter in these legends, such as the stories of their martyrdom and their encounter with Simon Magus. In these legends, Paul becomes a superhero of the faith who overcomes demons and magicians, in addition to being the exemplary virgin, competitor for Christ, missionary, and teacher of the preachers.

James Morey finds additional themes in Anglo-Saxon as well as in Middle English literature in its treatment of Paul. Anglo-Saxon poems such as *Beowulf* and *Christ III* allude to Paul's words, notably his eschatological warnings and teaching on the armor of God, as well as his heavenly travels. Middle English literature is more diverse; Wycliffite sermons and *Piers Plowman* frequently quote Paul's moral teaching, and saints' lives and the *Cursor Mundi* recount his history, indicating that preachers valued both the man and his teaching. Geoffrey Chaucer provides the best example of lay knowledge of Paul, frequently quoting him in the *Canterbury Tales*, most famously in the Wife of Bath's prologue. Morey suggests that both Chaucer and William Langland, the *Plowman's* author, see Paul as a literary and personal guide and mentor, who, long before them, debated truth in his letters much as they did in their stories.

What these essays demonstrate is the great variety of ways in which Paul was understood and appealed to in the Middle Ages. Indeed, as Paul himself said, he was "all things to all people," and never more so than in the Middle Ages. He could be so because he was the sinner-turned-saint *par excellence*. Jesus, the divine Savior, though also fully human and appealed to as an authority on any number of issues, was not seen in this way. He was the object of worship, the judge of all, and sufficiently distant—all Christ-mysticism aside—that he could not be all things. Paul, rather, functioned as a mirror for medieval Christians, in which exegetes, clerics, and laity could see themselves and justify their positions, and make themselves authorities to their readers and listeners. He was a sympathetic figure with whom they could easily identify and an authority whose words they could use to teach, to correct, and to judge.

PART ONE

THE EXEGESIS OF PAUL

PATRISTIC PAULINE EXEGESIS

ORIGEN'S INTERPRETATION OF ROMANS

Thomas P. Scheck

1. *Introduction*

Origen of Alexandria (185–254) was a Christian priest, scholar and theologian, who became one of the most productive and influential figures of the ancient Church.[1] A substantial number of his Greek writings were translated into Latin by St. Jerome and Rufinus of Aquileia.[2] Origen's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (hereafter *CRm*) is his second longest extant work and occupies 455 columns in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (PG 14).[3] It is surpassed in length only by *Contra Celsum*, which comprises 493 columns.[4] The *CRm* is Origen's only Scriptural commentary which is preserved in a coherent form from the beginning to the end of the Scriptural book on which he is writing an explanation. This feature distinguishes it from his commentaries on John and Matthew, which survive in fragmentary form on a very limited selection of texts from these Gospels.

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[1] In my judgment the best general surveys of Origen's life and thought are: J. McGuckin, ed., *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* (Louisville, 2004); J. Danièlou, *Origen*, trans. W. Mitchell (London & New York, 1955); H. Crouzel, *Origen*, trans. A. S. Worrall (Edinburgh, 1989); H. de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, trans. Anne Englund Nash with Greek and Latin translation by Juvenal Merriell of the Oratory (San Francisco, 2007) [French original: *Histoire et esprit: L'Intelligence de l'Ecriture d'après Origène*, Paris, 1950].

[2] For St. Jerome, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975). For Rufinus, the classic study is still F. X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411): His Life and Works* (Washington D.C. 1945).

[3] All citations from Origen's *CRm* in this article are taken (sometimes with slight modifications) from my translation (FOTC 103 & 104), Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 2 volumes (Washington, D.C., 2001–02). My English translation was the first vernacular translation to be made from the new critical edition by C. P. Hammond Bammel, Origenes, *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes: Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung Rufins*, 3 volumes, Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel 16, 33, 34 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1990–98). To facilitate referencing, my English translation integrates the Migne column numbers in square brackets within the body of the text. In this article the Migne (PG 14) column numbers appear in parentheses for all citations.

[4] Cf. C. P. Hammond, "The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of his Move South from Aquileia," *JTS* 28.2 (1977), pp. 428–29. A more complete chart showing the length of Origen's extant works appears in T. Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification: The Legacy of Origen's Commentary on Romans* (Notre Dame, 2008), pp. 1–2.

The *CRm* in contrast provides commentary on almost every verse from Romans 1:1 to 16:27. In spite of this unique characteristic, Origen's *CRm* is not adequately appreciated or well known today, and scholars continue to downplay the significance of the work. Vernacular translations of the (now outdated) Migne text have recently appeared in Italian,[5] German,[6] Polish, and Japanese. My new English translation is the first to be based on the Hammond Bammel critical edition. A multi-volume French translation is now underway in the Sources Chrétiennes series, also based on the Hammond Bammel critical text.[7] I believe that its lack of accessibility in translation has contributed significantly to its status as a work that suffers from inadequate research and scholarship. Misleading summaries and assessments of the work are quite commonplace. J. Trigg, for instance, reports that Origen's *Commentary on Romans* exists in "an abridged Latin translation by Rufinus and in extensive Greek fragments."[8] This statement is technically true, since Rufinus translated only about one half of the Greek original, but the impression given is that the Latin remains of Origen's commentary are scanty, fragmentary and insignificant, when in fact the body of material translated by Rufinus and preserved in Latin comprises not only Origen's second longest surviving work, but by far the longest patristic commentary on Romans. The work seems worthy of more careful consideration than a one-sentence dismissal.

Along similar lines, M. Kaler recently claimed that the *CRm* is not among Origen's most essential writings.[9] Though of course I could be accused of being biased as the English translator of Origen's *CRm* who devoted five years to the project, still I do not fully understand why scholars continue to neglect and undervalue Origen's *Commentary* in such terms. I predict that when the Sources Chrétiennes edition is finally completed, the stature of Origen's *CRm* will increase significantly in Europe, as is already happening in English-speaking parts of the world.

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[5] Cf. F. Cocchini, *Origene: Commento alla Lettera ai Romani*, Volume I. Libri I–VII (Casale Monferrato, 1985); Volume II. Libri VII–X (Casale Monferrato, 1986).

[6] Cf. T. Heither, *Origenes, Commentarii in epistulam ad Romanos / Römerbriefkommentar*, 5 volumes (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1990–96).

[7] Cf. Origène, *Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains*; Tome 1 Livres I–II; text critique établi par C. P. Hammond Bammel; introduction par Michel Fédou; traduction, notes et index par Luc Brésard; Sources Chrétiennes, no. 532 (Paris: 2009–).

[8] J. Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-Century Church* (Atlanta: 1983), p. 172.

[9] In his review of my translation of Origen's *CRm, Laval Théologique et philosophique* 58.3 (October 2002), pp. 637–38.

Origen's *CRm* was originally written in Greek ca. 244–246.[10] Origen himself refers to it in his *Commentary on Matthew* 17.32 and *Contra Celsum* 5.47 and 8.65. The Greek text was known and used by St. Pamphilus of Caesarea,[11] St. Jerome,[12] St. Basil,[13] and the Church historian Socrates.[14] Fragments of the Greek original have been preserved in the *Philocalia*,[15] the *Catena*,[16] and the *Tura Papyri*.[17] Didymus the Blind (313–398) drew on Origen's Greek exegesis of Romans in his work *Contra Manichaeos*.[18] The anonymous commentator on Paul, writing around the year 400, also used the Greek text of Origen.[19] Apart from these references, to my knowledge the Greek version of Origen's *CRm* had little direct influence.

However, Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's *CRm*, which was published in 406, had an extremely significant legacy, or *Nachleben*.[20] It was far more influential than has hitherto been imagined. Heither's assertion that Origen's interpretation of Paul was without subsequent influence in the Church is quite mistaken.[21] The context suggests that she means that

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[10] Cf. A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literature bis Eusebius*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1958), vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 41.

[11] See excerpts 52 and 89 in his *Apology for Origen* (PG 17:521–616); St. Pamphilus, *Apology for Origen, Rufinus, On the Falsification of the Books of Origen*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck, The Fathers of the Church 120 (Washington, D.C., 2010).

[12] Cf. *Eps* 36, 121. See C. P. Hammond Bammel, "Philocalia IX, Jerome, Epistle 121, and Origen's Exposition of Romans VII," *JTS*, n.s. 32 (1981), pp. 50–81.

[13] *De Spiritu Sancto* 29.73; PG 32:203.

[14] *HE* 7.32.17; PG 67:811. For a brief discussion of this passage in which occurs a reference to Origen's alleged use of the term *Theotokos* with reference to Mary, mother of Jesus, see FOTC 103.17.

[15] Cf. J. A. Robinson, ed., *The Philocalia* (Cambridge, 1893).

[16] See A. Ramsbotham, "The Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Romans," *JTS* 13 (1912), 209–224, 357–368; 14 (1913), 10–22. Volume 6 (Freiburg, 1999) of Heither's *Fontes Christiani* edition has the Greek *Fragmenta*.

[17] Cf. J. Scherer, ed. *Le Commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5–V.7, d'après les extraits du Papyrus no. 88748 du Musée du Caire et les fragments de la Philocalie et du Vaticanus graecus 762. Essai de reconstitution du texte et de la pensée des tomes V et VI du 'Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains,'* Institut français d'Archéologie orientale Bibliothèque d'Étude 27 (Cairo, 1957); H. Chadwick, "Rufinus and the Tura Papyrus of Origen's Commentary on Romans," *JTS*, n.s. 10 (1959), pp. 10–42.

[18] Cf. B. Bennett, "The Soiling of Sinful Flesh: Primordial Sin, Inherited Corruption and Moral Responsibility in Didymus the Blind and Origen", *Adamantius* 11 (2005), pp. 77–92.

[19] Cf. H. J. Frede, *Ein Neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*. Band I: Untersuchungen. Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel 7 (Freiburg, 1973).

[20] For a general survey of Origen's legacy in the West, see M. Schär, *Das Nachleben des Origenes im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Basel, 1979). For a study of the specific legacy of Origen's *CRm* in the West, see Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*.

[21] T. Heither, *Translatio Religionis: Die Paulusdeutung des Origenes in seinem Kommentar zum Römerbrief* (Cologne, 1990), p. 292.

Origen's central interpretation of Paul's message, as she understands it, was lost to later view, but even so the statement cannot stand, unless we restrict ourselves completely to the modern period. To me this seems slightly presumptuous, since it ignores about eighteen centuries of Christian thought. Origen's role in preparing the ground for the Catholic synthesis of faith and works was pointed out clearly by J. Rivière.[22] His results were confirmed in a significant dissertation by C. Verfaillie.[23] Writing to some extent in the spirit and neo-scholastic categories of pre-Vatican II Catholic apologetics, Verfaillie argued that the Council of Trent's *Decree on Justification* affirms with Origen an original fall but not a total corruption of humanity, the necessity and efficacy of Christ's redemptive work, the application of redemption through the indivisible cooperation of God and man, the effective sanctification of the soul through divine grace, and the meritorious value of its actions in view of glory. Verfaillie noticed that these are precisely the doctrines that the Catholic Church maintained in opposition to the Reformation.[24]

In my own book, I studied the legacy of Origen's *CRm* in the West, focusing on its influence upon Pelagius, Augustine, William of St. Thierry, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Melanchthon, and post-Reformation controversies.[25] My research only scratched the surface of what could be done in this field, but I believe I have shown that Origen's work was productive in the West, to say the least, and that it does not deserve the neglect it has endured. Among other things, I was quite surprised to discover, for example, the very intense and pointed opposition to Origen's Pauline interpretation shown by Luther and Melanchthon. They based their decadence theory of Church History precisely upon Origen's alleged misapprehension of Paul's thought.[26] Incidentally, my discovery seems to confirm Verfaillie's fundamental insights about the deeply Catholic nature of Origen's interpretations. The first generation Protestants, Luther and Melanchthon, vehemently repudiated Origen as an interpreter of Paul.

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[22] J. Rivière, "Justification." In *DTC* 8: cols. 2085– 86.

[23] C. Verfaillie, *La doctrine de la justification dans Origène d'après son commentaire de l'Épître aux Romains*. Thèse de la Faculté de théologie catholique de l'Université de Strasbourg (Strasbourg, 1926).

[24] Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, p. 119.

[25] Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*.

[26] See Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 6.

2. *Reception of Origen in the Middle Ages*

In the Middle Ages the stage was set for a favorable reception of Origen's Pauline exegesis when St. Jerome (347–420) implicitly and explicitly sanctioned it by integrating a substantial portion of it into his own Pauline exegesis. This certainly applies to Jerome's own Pauline commentaries on Ephesians, Galatians, Titus and Philemon.[27] In these works the saint essentially transmits Origen's exegesis as his own, after announcing in his prefaces that he has followed Origen.[28] Jerome did not write his own commentary on Romans, but it does not seem entirely unreasonable to suggest that a key reason for this was that the publication of Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's *CRm* in 406 left Jerome with little to say of his own. For by his own admission, copying, adopting and assimilating Origen's exegesis was Jerome's principal method of biblical interpretation.[29] In 392, Jerome responded to critics who accused him of dependence on Origen in his own exegetical writings in these words:

> They say that I made excerpts from Origen's works, and that it is illegitimate to touch the writings of the old masters in such a way. People think that they gravely insult me by this. For myself, however, I see in this the highest praise. It is my express desire to follow an example of which I am convinced that it will please all men of discernment and you too.[30]

Rufinus demonstrated Jerome's dependence on Origen in Jerome's Ephesians commentary in his own *Apology against Jerome*.[31] Further evidence for St. Jerome's dependence on Origen is found in Rufinus's Epilogue to his translation of Origen's *CRm*. In response to those critics (like Jerome) who are insisting that he (Rufinus) should put his own name in the title of the work, Rufinus says that it would not be right for him to steal the title from Origen, since Origen laid the foundations of the work and supplied

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[27] See R. Heine, *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (Oxford, 2002); C. P. Bammel "Origen's Pauline Prefaces." In: *Origeniana Sexta: Origen and the Bible*, ed. G. Dorival, A. le Boulluec (Louvain: Peeters, 1995), pp. 495–513.

[28] A. Harnack has amply demonstrated Jerome's use of Origen in Jerome's Pauline commentaries in *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes* (Leipzig, 1919). I integrated Harnack's research and insights into the footnotes of my translation: St. Jerome's *Commentaries on Galatians, Titus and Philemon*, tr. Thomas P. Scheck (Notre Dame, Indiana: 2010).

[29] For another case in point of Jerome's extensive reliance upon Origen's exegesis, see Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, tr. T. Scheck (Washington, D.C., 2008; FOTC 117).

[30] *Comm. Mich. II prol.* PL 25:1189.

[31] PL 21:541–624.

the material for the construction of the building. C. P. Hammond correctly elucidates Rufinus's meaning as follows:

> Rufinus' stand against such plagiarism . . . was an implied criticism of Jerome's methods in his biblical commentaries. The procedure that he [Rufinus] refuses here . . . is similar to that for which he had attacked Jerome and those like him earlier. By directly translating Origen, he himself will reveal to Latin readers the source of Jerome's vaunted learning as a biblical commentator.[32]

Rufinus and others easily recognized that Jerome's scriptural commentaries are essentially adapted translations into Latin of Origen's Greek exegesis with slight modifications. Jerome's contemporaries did not fault him for this reliance upon Origen, but they did criticize him for hypocrisy when, for instance, Jerome himself accused others (like St. Ambrose) of plagiarizing Origen. One can conjecture from these facts that the appearance in 406 of a Latin translation of Origen's lengthy exposition of Paul's letter to the Romans would have forced Jerome to find a different book of Scripture to explain.

In addition to the example of Jerome's own Pauline exegesis, Origen's *CRm*, in its Latin form, was used extensively by Pelagius.[33] It was also cited favorably by St. Augustine.[34] Moreover, Cassiodorus (490–583) highly commended Origen's work in his *Institutiones*, a work in which he indicates the ecclesiastical authors who could provide the safest guidance for understanding the individual books of the Bible. Upon reaching the book of Romans, Cassiodorus listed Origen's *CRm* first and wrote:

> Of [the epistles of] Saint Paul the first of all and the one destined to be more admired is known as the one 'to the Romans,' which Origen clarified in twenty books in the Greek language; which, however, the above mentioned Rufinus translated very eloquently into Latin, reducing it to ten books.[35]

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[32] Hammond, "Last Ten Years," p. 404.

[33] See T. de Bruyn, "Pelagius's Interpretation of Rom 5:12–21: Exegesis within the Limits of Polemic," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 4 (1988), pp. 30–43; C. P. Hammond Bammel, "Rufinus' Translation of Origen's Commentary on Romans and the Pelagian Controversy." In: *Storia ed esegesi in rufino di concordia* (Udine, 1992), pp. 131–142; Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 2.

[34] See C. Bammel, "Augustine, Origen and the Exegesis of Paul," *Augustinianum* 32 (1992), pp. 341–368; "Justification by Faith in Augustine and Origen," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), pp. 223–235; and Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 3.

[35] PL 70:1120–21: Sancti Pauli prima omnium et admirabilior destinata cognoscitur ad Romanos, quam Origenes viginti libris Graeco sermone declaravit; quos tamen supradictus Rufinus in decem libros redigens, adhuc copiose transtulit in Latinum. Harnack, *Geschichte*, thinks that 'twenty' (XX) is a faulty reading based on a textual corruption of

This recommendation seems all the more significant when we recall that Cassiodorus was a vigorous opponent of all heresies.[36] Even as a lay theologian he was enormously influential for subsequent monasticism. Yet he does not express any concerns about the orthodoxy of Origen's exegesis of St. Paul. Courcelle writes:

> Cassiodorus rates Origen very highly and, without minimizing the dangers of the doctrine, he considers his contemporaries' severity too excessive, for they prohibit even the reading of his commentaries. Without mentioning any of his dogmatic works, he carefully collected all the texts and translations by Origen that he could find, protecting himself by following St. Jerome's example. . . . Although he possessed a number of Latin commentators, he did not lose sight of the quality of Origen's works. To him, Greek Christian literature seemed like an inexhaustible reservoir for Latin exegesis.[37]

Theologians during the Middle Ages essentially followed Jerome's example of adapting and adopting Origen's exegesis, and they implemented Cassiodorus's advice insofar as they studied Origen carefully and followed Origen's guidance in the interpretation of Paul. To give a few significant samples, Notker the Stammerer (840–912) compiled a catalog of the most important theologians to which he gave the following title: "Observations on the illustrious men who made a careful exposition of Sacred Scripture and gave opportune explanations of certain decisions on the part of divine authority."[38] In this work he wrote: "On the Epistle to the Romans, Origen wrote many wonderful things."[39] The *Glossa Ordinaria*, a twelfth-century compilation of scriptural glosses traditionally attributed to Walafrid Strabo, cites Origen's *CRm* on Rom 3.3, 4.15, and 8.3, though

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Rufinus' original reading 'fifteen' (XV), since these numerals were commonly confused. It is also possible that Cassiodorus introduced the error himself. In the Preface to his translation, Rufinus claims to have reduced Origen's work to *half* its original length of *fifteen* Greek books. He then produced *ten* Latin books (chapters) in the abridgement. Cassiodorus may have mistakenly assumed that XV was a textual error and that the original Greek work must have comprised twenty books.

[36] These included Donatism, Pelagianism, Arianism, Nestorianism, Apollodorianism, Sabellianism, Manicheanism, and Eutychianism. Cf. P. G. Walsh, trans. and ed., *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Volume 1: Psalms 1–51 (50) (New York, 1990), pp. 11–12.

[37] P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, Trans. H. E. Wedeck (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 356, 359.

[38] Cited by H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis. Volume 1. The Four Senses of Scripture*. Trans. M. Sebanc. Grand Rapids, 1998. Originally published as *Exégèse médiévale*, 1 *Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 1959. 1.28.

[39] In Epistolam ad Romanos multa et mira scripsit Origenes. *De int. div. Script.* (PL 131:997c); cited in de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1.388.

the influence is more extensive than these explicit citations.[40] Origen's work was also consulted by such Latin theologians as Peter Lombard and Bonaventure.[41] I have not been able to confirm that it was known or used firsthand by Thomas Aquinas in his *Lectures on the Letter to the Romans*. A cursory reading of Aquinas's work suggests to me that he had not yet gained direct access to Origen's *CRm*. On the other hand, Origen's *CRm* is woven into the fabric of Peter Abelard's *Commentary on Romans*.[42] In his study of the history of interpretation of Rom 1.17, H. Denifle found it noteworthy and significant that two Western scripture scholars who used Origen's *CRm* very extensively were Sedulius Scottus (eighth- and ninth-century)[43] and Augustinus Favaroni of Rome (1360–1443).[44]

Such evidence suggests that even deeply committed Augustinian theologians admired Origen's exegesis of St. Paul. Indeed, the high Augustinian William of St. Thierry's (1085–1148) openly admitted in the preface to his own *Exposition on Romans* that he had copied his "teacher" Origen extensively.[45] A far less slavish form of assimilating Origen will be found a few centuries later in the Scripture scholarship of the Catholic priest Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536).[46] Erasmus more or less follows Origen

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[40] PL 114:477, 483, 495. Cf. E. Matter, "The Church Fathers and the Glossa Ordinaria," in I. Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1997) pp. 83–111; *The* Glossa Ordinaria *on Romans*, trans. with an Introduction and Notes by Michael Scott Woodward, TEAMS Commentary Series (Kalamazoo, 2011).

[41] For specific references, see the respective essays in I. Backus, ed., *Reception.*

[42] Cf. Peter Abelard, *Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos / Römerbriefkommentar*, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 2000).

[43] PL 103. Cf. de Lubac, *Exegesis*, 1.167: "Sedulius Scottus appropriates large blocks of the commentary on the Letter to the Romans. He goes so far as to reproduce, word for word, a phrase in which Origen, speaking in the first person, gives the opinion that the Hermas mentioned by Saint Paul is the author of the Pastor and that this work is divinely inspired."

[44] H. Denifle, *Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. 1, 17) und Justificatio* (Mainz, 1905), pp. xv, 11–12, 220–235. On Favaroni, see N. Toner, "The Doctrine of Original Sin according to Augustine of Rome (Favaroni) (d. 1443)," *Augustiniana* 7–8 (1957–58), pp. 100–117; 349–366.

[45] See S. Cartwright, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources in his Exposition on Romans," *Citeaux* 54.1–2 (2003), pp. 27–53; A. Rydstrom-Poulsen, "William of Saint-Thierry's Use of Origen in His Commentary on Romans," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 42.1 (2007), pp. 1–10; T. Scheck, "William of St. Thierry's Reception of Origen's Exegesis of Romans." *Adamantius* 10 (2004), pp. 238–258; Ibid., *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 4.

[46] The works in question are Erasmus's *Annotations on Romans* and *Paraphrase on Romans*; Collected Works of Erasmus 42, 56. See also Thomas P. Scheck, "Erasmus's Edition of Origen" in: *Tradition and the Rule of Faith: Festschrift for Joseph T. Lienhard*, eds. R. Rombs and E. Hwang (Washington, D.C., 2010), pp. 308–336; R. Padberg, "Glaubenstheologie

from beginning to end in his exposition of Romans. It was in the context of discussing the interpretation of Paul's letter to the Romans that Erasmus wrote his famous words to Johannes Eck of Ingolstadt: "Other men's experience I know not; but in myself at least I find good reason to say that I learn more of Christian philosophy from a single page of Origen than from ten of Augustine."[47] This irenic usage of Origen's Pauline exegesis during the Middle Ages and Renaissance confirms that the clouds of suspicion that hung elsewhere over Origen's orthodoxy did not render suspect his *CRm*. As an exegete of Paul, he was normally cited as a Catholic authority of good reliability.[48]

3. *Origen's Exegetical Method in the* CRm

What did medieval and renaissance scholars encounter when they took up the reading of Origen's *CRm*? I would like first to draw attention to Origen's exegetical method in his exposition of St. Paul. His method in this work is noticeably different from the way he interprets the Old Testament in his homilies on the Hexateuch. Origen's *CRm* approaches being a literal exposition of Paul's argument from beginning to end. The reason for this more literal and historical approach is that Origen's "allegorical" method of exegesis applies first and foremost to the interpretation of the Old Testament, and secondarily to the Gospels, but it does not fundamentally apply to the letters of St. Paul, except in exceptional passages. In a classic study of the Pauline exegesis of the ancient Church, M. F. Wiles observed: "The basic divergence between an allegorical and a more literal approach to Scripture is far less relevant to the interpretation of Paul's writings than it is to that of the Old Testament or of the Gospels."[49] Although Wiles concedes that many interesting varieties of exegesis still existed among the ancient interpreters, he still concludes: "we may come

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und Glaubensverkündigung bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, dargestellt auf der Grundlage der Paraphrase zum Römerbrief," in: *Verkündigung und Glaube: Festgabe für Franz X. Arnold*, eds. T. Filthaut, J. A. Jungmann (Freiburg, 1958), pp. 58–77. See also R. Sider, "The Just and the Holy in Erasmus' New Testament Scholarship." *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 11 (1991), pp. 1–26; T. Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 5.

[47] Desiderius Erasmus, Ep 844 (CWE 5).

[48] Cf. Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, p. 8.

[49] M. F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St Paul's Epistles in the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 10.

nearer with the Pauline epistles than with any other major portion of the Scriptures to speaking legitimately of a Greek tradition of exegesis."[50]

Several scholarly reviewers of my English translation of Origen's *CRm* have confirmed Wiles's insight and observed what would not have eluded medieval or renaissance readers either: the minimal presence of allegorical exegesis in this work. A British theologian observes in his review: "[S]cholars interested in the Alexandrian school of allegorical exegesis will be disappointed because there are surprisingly few examples of this method in the commentary."[51] And the American patristic scholar R. E. Heine was equally surprised by this: "It should be noted first that the allegorical exegesis which is usually associated with Origen is rarely present in this commentary. Instead we see Origen as an Alexandrian *grammaticus*."[52] In my judgment these remarks are somewhat excessive, since there are quite a few instances where Origen says that not even one syllable of Paul's letters should be considered to be empty of mysteries.[53] Especially toward the end of the commentary, and even in the closing greetings, Origen suggests deeper meanings in his discussion of Paul's words, hidden interpretations which he leaves to the readers to decide whether to take or leave at their own discretion.

However, it appears to me that both Wiles and these reviewers have hit upon an important observation, and one that to my knowledge is seldom discussed in modern theological literature on Origen. It is this: the so-called Alexandrian method of allegorical exegesis applies chiefly to the interpretation of the Old Testament. It is not extensively employed when the Fathers exegete St. Paul's writings. It is not that Origen has abandoned his principles of Scripture interpretation when he reaches St. Paul's letters. Rather, it is the same method and principles that are at work, but they are operating on different theological material. That is to say, Paul's letter to the Romans is itself a Christological interpretation of the Old Testament in its literal argument. The text itself unfolds the Christian meaning and fulfillment of the Old Testament, e.g., of Abraham's faith and circumcision (chs. 2, 4), of Adam (ch. 5), of the Old Testament prophecies about the identity of the Messiah and the inclusion of the gentiles among God's people (ch. 15), of the offering of sacrifices (ch. 12), etc. Upon such material, Origen's "method" does not need to dig beneath Paul's letters to

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[50] Ibid.
[51] D. Brattston, *Churchman* (Summer 2002), p. 189.
[52] *Adamantius* 9 (2003), p. 433.
[53] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 5.1 (1013; 1007).

find the Christian or ecclesiological meaning, for the letter itself is Christian theology. Origen's goal in interpreting Romans, then, is to clarify and explain Paul's terms, train of thought, and argument as carefully, literally and historically as he can. Indeed, Paul's literal argument *is* an explanation of the 'reality,' not of the 'copy and shadow' (Heb 8.5). This is not the case for the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

One of the great masters of Origen's approach to Scripture interpretation, H. de Lubac, has clarified these matters this way:

> Except for a few isolated reflections, his commentary on the Letter to the Romans, for example, in no way resembles his explanation of the texts of the Hexateuch [i.e. Origen's homilies on Gn, Ex, Lv, Nm, Dt, Jos, Jgs]. We cannot be surprised to observe that the form taken by his theological elaboration is the interpretation of the Holy Books and that precisely, through its characteristic reflection on Scripture as well as on the Christian Event that accomplishes it, the Pauline doctrine is itself a theology. Origen imitates and extends the movement of the Apostle, in whom he sees above all the foremost of exegetes. Most certainly, this is one more reason that does not hold in the case of evangelical accounts [the four Gospels]; but, considering the diversity of the genres, it remains true that the *interior intellectus* that emerges from these accounts is truly interior to the very reality described by the letter of the text. If, then, Origen happens to say that there is *a letter* that kills even in the Gospel, this "letter that kills" is basically, for him, only the fruit of a false interpretation: it is not truly *the letter* of the Gospel itself.[54]

De Lubac has made some important distinctions here that are seldom made in written accounts of Origen's exegesis. Scholars need to distinguish between Origen's method of exegesis for the Old Testament, for the Gospels, and for Paul's letters. Moreover, within the Old Testament, we should distinguish between the interpretation of the Hexateuch and that of the prophets. Origen interprets the Old Testament (above all, the Hexateuch) in a heavily allegorical manner, since the Christian meaning lies beneath the surface. On the other hand, the Christian meaning of the messianic prophecies found in the Hebrew prophets in some cases turns on the literal reading and is received by Origen accordingly. In cases where the Christian meaning is riveted upon the figurative meaning of a prophecy, Origen focuses on undermining the literal (Jewish) interpretation. While Origen always assumes the literal historicity of the Pentateuchal narratives, as well as those of Joshua and Judges, his spiritual exegesis

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[54] Italics in original. H. de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The Understanding of Scripture according to Origen*. Trans. A. Nash. San Francisco, 2007. Originally published as *Histoire et esprit: L'Intelligence de l'Ecriture d'après Origène*. Paris, 1950, p. 263.

of such texts adheres to the Christian (Pauline) interpretive program of uncovering the hidden Christological meaning of the letter.

Origen approaches the interpretation of the Gospels (in his commentaries on Matthew and John, for example) in a more literal fashion, though he still makes heavy use of hidden symbolism and fanciful allegory. For in the Gospels the inner meaning is attached to the letter of the text. Paul's epistles, on the other hand, are themselves, in their literal and historical argument, a spiritual exegesis and a theological elaboration of the Christian meaning of the Old Testament. Therefore Origen aims to clarify Paul's terminology and paraphrase Paul's train of thought literally and historically.

4. *Features of Origen's Interpretation of Romans*

Having made these clarifications, I shall now turn to some of the more interesting features of Origen's interpretation of Romans. Of the many issues that could be discussed, I will focus on three: Origen's "Trinitarianism," his conception of the main theological issues at stake in Paul's epistle to the Romans, and his understanding of the relation between faith and 'works of the law' in salvation. Origen's Trinitarian approach to Paul's theology is one of the features that may have made his exegesis attractive to medieval theologians, in spite of their deficient understanding of the degree to which Rufinus's translation has added post-Nicene glosses to Origen's formulations. The latter two themes should prove interesting to modern scholars of Paul, especially in the wake of the revolution in Pauline studies known as the "New Perspective" in Pauline interpretation. Origen seems to anticipate some of the new directions that have developed in this field of study.[55] Also, these latter issues are of crucial importance in debates between Catholics and Protestants over the meaning and religious value of good works in salvation.

[55] To my knowledge, the term "New Perspective" was first used by Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963), p. 214. The movement has occurred completely independently of any knowledge of patristic exegesis or St. Paul, in which these scholars have absolutely no interest. The New Perspective is represented today by scholars such as E. P. Sanders, J. Dunn, N. T. Wright and very many others. I will discuss this more fully below.

5. *Origen's "Trinitarianism"*

In a recent article, I. Ramelli argues that Origen's Trinitarian heritage is to be found, not in 'Arianism,' but in Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, Eusebius, Didymus, and above all Gregory of Nyssa and the Cappadocians.[56] The most important texts from the *CRm* discussed by Ramelli are 7.12(13).146–147(1141), where Origen makes very clear that Christ has nothing and nobody over him, not even the Father; and 8.4(5).25–26(1166), where Origen declares that one and the same honor is to be conferred upon the Father and the Son. "The Son, far from being subordinated to the Father, is worthy of the same honor as the Father is."[57] Ramelli has no hesitation in affirming the authenticity of such statements, even though they stem from Rufinus's Latin translations. They are confirmed by Greek fragments and other ancient sources.[58] In spite of this robust defense of Origen's Christological orthodoxy and of the substantial reliability of Rufinus's translations, the fact remains that Rufinus's translation technique, particularly for Origen's work *On First Principles*, has been the subject of reproach since the days of Jerome and needs to be discussed in the present article.

By his own free admission, Rufinus suspected that the Greek manuscripts of Origen's writings had been tampered with by heretics.[59] Because of this suspicion, in his Latin translations Rufinus is suspected of having sometimes doctored the wording of the original in order to make the text conform more adequately to Origen's plainly orthodox statements found elsewhere in his writings. For obvious reasons Rufinus was particularly concerned to defend his beloved teacher Origen against the charge of "proto-Arianism."[60] Yet Rufinus denies on repeated occasions that he

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[56] I. Ramelli, "Origen's Anti-Subordinationism and its Heritage in the Nicene and Cappadocian Line," *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 21–49.

[57] Ibid., p. 26.

[58] Ibid., p. 27.

[59] Rufinus documents his suspicions in the prefaces to *On First Principles*, in his *Apology against Jerome*, and in his work, *On the Adulteration of the Works of Origen* (NPNF 3.421–27). I have produced a new translation of the latter work in *St. Pamphilus, Apology for Origen, Rufinus, On the Falsification of the Books of Origen*, trans. T. Scheck (Washington, D.C., 2010).

[60] See: R. Williams, "Damnosa hereditas: Pamphilus's Apology and the Reputation of Origen." In: *Logos: Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993*, ed. H. C. Brennecke, E. L. Grasmück and C. Markschies (Berlin: 1993), pp. 151–169. For a good discussion of Rufinus's method of translation, see R. Heine's introduction to Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, FOTC 71.27–39.

had *added* anything of his own. He says that he simply restored Origen to himself. Rufinus claimed that Jerome himself had utilized a similar translational technique for Origen's writings. Significantly, recent scholarship has vindicated Rufinus in this regard.[61]

Rufinus's particular translation procedure, however, may be blemished in part by an honest text-critical misjudgment. He believed that the spurious *Dialogue of Adamantius on the Orthodox Faith*[62] was an authentic work of Origen. Buchheit thought that Rufinus falsified the authorship of this work deliberately.[63] However, Hammond has shown that this is wrong and that Rufinus had good reasons for his mistaken attribution of this work.[64] As late as the nineteenth century, the *Dialogue of Adamantius* was judged to be an authentic work of Origen. Rufinus himself had translated this work into Latin with the intention of exhibiting Origen as a champion in the fight against heresy. The *Dialogue* contains statements such as "I believe that . . . God the Word is consubstantial and eternal,"[65] and "the blessed Trinity is consubstantial and inseparable."[66] Such formulations seem to point to the recent determination of the Council of Nicaea.[67] Yet by a mistaken text-critical judgment, Rufinus thought these were Origen's own expressions. He therefore evidently felt free to borrow such formulations and put them into Origen's mouth in certain thematically related texts, whenever he was convinced that heretics had inserted their own corruptions into Origen's original text. When judged by his own contemporary standards of literary criticism, Rufinus's mistake was excusable. There was no malice on his part or intentional deception. Yet it evidently means that when we hear Origen use language of con-substantiality between the

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[61] Cf. Alfons Fürst, "Jerome Keeping Silent: Origen and his Exegesis of Isaiah," in: A. Cain and J. Lössl, eds., *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy* (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 141–52.

[62] Cf. PG 11.1713–1884.

[63] V. Buchheit, "Rufinus von Aquileja als Fälscher des Adamantiosdialogs." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958), p. 319.

[64] C. P. Hammond, "Last Ten Years," p. 391.

[65] Cf. PG 11.1718: Deum unum, eumque conditorem et effectorem omnium esse credo: Deumque Verbum qui ex eo natus est, qui ejusdem est ac ille essentiae, qui semper est, qui extremis temporibus hominem ex Maria assumpsit. "I believe that there is one God and that he is the founder and creator of all things; and [I believe] that God the Word, who was born from him, who is himself of the same substance, who is eternal, assumed a human nature from Mary in the last days."

[66] Cf. PG 11.1883: Ejusdem enim essentiae est, inseparabilisque beata Trinitas. "For the blessed and inseparable Trinity is of the same substance."

[67] Cf. "Adamantius," in: W. Smith and H. Wace, eds., *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London, 1887), vol. 1, p. 40.

persons of the Trinity, this may not be original, but probably represents Rufinus's post-Nicene glosses. L. Ayres plausibly suggests that the historical Origen may have avoided *homoousios*-language because it was reminiscent of the perceived materialism of some Gnostic writers. "Thus, *ousia* language in most forms seemed to Origen unsuitable for application to the divine existence."[68] Rufinus might not have comprehended this. On the other hand, Ramelli firmly asserts that Origen was "the forerunner and inspirer of the Nicene formula μία οὐσια, τρεῖν ὑποστάσειν [one essence, three persons], which is also consistent with his designation of the Son as ὁμοοῦσιον [consubstantial] with the Father."[69] If Ramelli is correct, then my own conjectures above about Rufinus's glossing techniques can be set aside.

Granting the difficulties in ascertaining with precision Origen's original wording, it is nevertheless clear that Origen's theological works, including his *CRm*, still give evidence that he used language that bears the stamp of an implicit Trinitarian or triadic theological structure. This should not really surprise us when we consider that the New Testament itself uses Trinitarian language to describe God. The Trinitarian name of God is defined in the baptismal formula (Mt 28:19). L. Morris comments: "That the early followers of Jesus thought of God as triune seems clear from the passages that speak of the three together (e.g., Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 12:4–6; 2 Cor 13:14; Gal 4:6; Eph 4:4–6; 2 Thes 2:13, etc.). That God is a Trinity is a scriptural idea."[70] A triadic theological structure is present in Paul's own theology (cf. 1 Cor 12.4–5; 2 Cor 13.14). In a recent and very thorough study, G. Fee concludes:

> And however one finally settles for oneself this divine mystery, to lower Paul's Christology to fit either patterns of development or the dictates of logic seems to miss Paul by too wide a margin. What Paul forces on us are the twin realities that must be held tenaciously—if one is to be true to the apostle himself—and must be so held even if in not fully resolved tension: there is only one God, and the one God includes, as simultaneously fully divine, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.[71]

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[68] *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004), p. 24.

[69] I. Ramelli, "Origen's Anti-Subordinationism," p. 29.

[70] Cf. L. Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids: 1992), p. 748.

[71] G. Fee, *Pauline Theology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Peabody, Mass., 2007), p. 593.

It would seem, then, that Origen's "Trinitarian" or triadic exposition of Scripture begins as direct reflection on the New Testament and on Paul's words. Origen tends to think of God in triadic terms, as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. He repeatedly brings the three Persons into play in his discussions. This is not to simplistically equate Origen's Trinitarianism with post-Nicene Trinitarianism, but to say that the epithet "Trinitarian" accurately describes both Origen's theological expositions and the language of the New Testament. This triadic pattern has been confirmed recently for the *CRm* by M. Beyer Moser, who, after listing the Trinitarian references in Origen's *CRm*, writes:

> While it is important to recognize Rufinus' handiwork in the Latin text of the commentary and to read 'Trinity' language with care, the passages in which he uses this language do not seem otherwise laden with fifth century ideas about the doctrine of God. . . . Anachronistic 'trinitarian' terminology aside, Origen's theology involves the activity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who are motivated by divine love for the world.[72]

In Rufinus's translation of Origen's *CRm*, the word *trinitas* occurs thirteen times. In 3.8.4 (947–48) he defines the soul of Christ as midway between the divinity of the Trinity and the frailty of humanity, which is symbolized in the dimensions of the Ark of the Covenant. Commenting on Rom 3.31 in 3.11.2 (957), Origen says that faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit is complete, full and perfect. Such faith "acknowledges nothing inconsistent, discordant, or foreign in the Trinity." He immediately contrasts the orthodox understanding of the faith with that of Marcion and other heretics. In 5.8.7 (1039) he says that legitimate baptism must be done in the name of the Trinity according to Mt 28.19 and then explains why Paul in Rom 6.3 refers only to the name of Christ in baptism, namely, because the focus of Paul's discussion there is on the death of Christ and the necessity of the Christian's mortification, not on giving liturgical directives. Origen interprets Paul's reference to the necessity of the Christian's burial with Christ (Rom 6.3–5) as a subtle symbolic indication of our need to receive complete knowledge of the Trinity, since Christ spent *three* days in the tomb, 5.8.9 (1040). In 7.13.3 (1138) Origen marvels at the greatness of Paul's exclamation in Rom 9.1–5 in these words, which have a clear Trinitarian structure:

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[72] M. Beyer Moser, *Teacher of Holiness: The Holy Spirit in Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Piscataway, NJ: 2005), p. 99.

> But behold the greatness of the Apostle's heart. From the love of God he cannot be separated; what he speaks he speaks in Christ; what he has in his conscience is controlled by the Holy Spirit. What heavens exist, I ask, what thrones are there, what minds of heavenly powers, though most expansive, are able to encompass the whole Trinity in such spacious rooms.

Shortly after this, in a passage that has probably been touched up by Rufinus, but which nevertheless contains an authentic Origenian nucleus, Origen says that the Son is equally to be confessed to be God, along with the Father and the Spirit, since clearly the nature and essence of the Trinity is one, 7.13.9 (1141). In 8.13.7,9 (1201) Origen says that the nature of the Trinity is excluded from Paul's claim that no one can be the Lord's counselor (Rom 11.35–36). Finally, Origen notices the close link Paul himself makes between the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in Rom 15.12–13 and says that we are filled with peace when we believe in the fullness of the Trinity.

Beyer Moser observes that in almost all of these texts, "Trinity" could easily replace a more general reference to divinity.[73] Whatever the degree of their linguistic authenticity, medieval theologians probably would have treasured this Trinitarian pattern of interpretation, embedded as it is in Origen's exposition of Romans, which is the oldest surviving Christian commentary on St. Paul. Some streams of modern scholarship might force us to concede that the technical language of consubstantiality of Persons is probably attributable to Rufinus, not Origen. This point would not have been known by most medieval theologians.

6. *Paul as an Arbiter between Jews and Gentiles*

In what appears to be a programmatic decision based on a pre-commitment to historicism,[74] the modern guild of New Testament scholarship has not yet shown any interest in or familiarity with Origen's *Commentary on Romans*. R. E. Brown, for instance, claimed: "But while appreciating the rich patristic legacy in theology and spirituality drawn from the Bible, I think that we must recognize that the exegetical method of the Fathers

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[73] Ibid., p. 98.

[74] Historicism is not the same as the historical sense. The latter has enriched the human mind and is not to be scorned, whereas the former cuts the past off from the present and regards the past as dead and obsolete. Historicism robs the past of any interiority and disables the exegete from reading the Old Testament in light of the New. See R. Voderholzer, "Dogma and History: Henri de Lubac and the Retrieval of Historicity," trans. A. Walker, *Communio* (2001), 648–668.

is irrelevant to the study of the Bible today."[75] New Testament scholars are generally quite in the dark about Origen's work. One scholar, for example, whose lengthiest discussion of Origen's interpretation of Romans is based on Origen's comments found in his work, *Contra Celsum*, rather than the *CRm*, quite wrongly claims that Origen in his *CRm* "had no interest in consistently setting Paul the first-century Jewish apostle to the gentiles into his own context."[76] This methodological blunder would seem to indicate that the scholar in question is not intimately familiar with Origen's more detailed interpretation of Paul. Contrast Stower's shallow assessment with that of C. Bammel, the editor of the critical edition of Origen's *CRm*, who says that Origen, in contrast with Augustine, "had an unusually clear grasp of the problems Paul faced."[77] Elsewhere, Bammel wrote: "If one looks for a central theme in Origen's *Commentary on Romans*, the relationship between Jews and gentiles in the divine dispensation is perhaps the most prominent of the various recurrent themes."[78]

On repeated occasions Origen describes Paul's conduct in the Epistle to the Romans as that of an arbiter sitting between the Jews and the gentiles. Paul endeavors to affirm and hold in check both Jews and gentiles by summoning and inviting both groups to faith in Christ.

> In this letter Paul, like an arbiter sitting between the Jews and the Greeks, i.e. believing Gentiles, summons and invites both groups to faith in Christ in such a way as to not offend the Jews completely by destroying the Jewish ceremonies nor to cause despair in the Gentiles by affirming the observance of the law and of the letter. And whether he is recalling the promises or the punishments, he apportions the word to each people.[79]

In Origen's view, Paul is careful not to alienate members of either group, whether Jews or gentiles, and so he tempers and balances his discourse as a kind of mediator between the two groups who now together comprise the Church.[80] Gorday was impressed here by the way Origen accords real

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[75] "The Problems of *Sensus Plenior*," *Ephemerides Theologica Lovanienses* 43 (1967), p. 463. For a critique of R. E. Brown's doctrine of Scripture, see M. Waldstein, "Analogia Verbi: The Truth of Scripture in Rudolf Bultmann and Raymond Brown," *Letter & Spirit* 6 (2010): 93–140.

[76] K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: 1994), p. 269.

[77] "Augustine, Origen and the Exegesis of Paul," *Augustinianum* 32 (1992), p. 353.

[78] Ibid., p. 352.

[79] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 2.14 (914); 3.1–2 (927–28).

[80] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 3.2.12ff. (928). Cf. P. Gorday *Principles of Patristic Exegesis: Romans 9–11 in Origen, John Chrysostom, and Augustine* (New York: 1983), p. 58.

value to Judaism while arguing for the superiority of the Christian revelation. He found a striking contrast between Origen's relatively benign approach to Judaism and what he regards as a more hostile attitude in Chrysostom and Augustine.[81] The aim of Gorday's study was to see if these three ancient Fathers, like some modern interpreters of Paul, completely divided Romans 9–11 from Romans 1–8. By doing a comparative survey of a relatively small part of their respective exegesis of Romans, Gorday found Origen to be the least guilty of the three of doing this.

More recently, M. Reasoner, a *rara avis* among modern New Testament scholars who *does* seem to respect patristic exegesis, finds this particular theme to be one of the most attractive in Origen's exegesis and the one that most clearly anticipates the so-called "new perspective" in Pauline interpretation.[82] Likewise, Jeremy Cohen recently determined that Origen does a better job than his Christian successors of "preserving the ambiguities" of Paul's texts. Cohen rightly notes that most other extant patristic commentaries on Romans "pale in comparison with Origen's—in the depth of their exposition . . ., in the level of their commitment to grapple with the exegetical problems inherent in the text, and in extent of their engagement by the issue of Israel's salvation."[83] Cohen claims that Origen's exegesis of Romans is far more extensive and detailed than that of Origen's successors, John Chrysostom, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. It appears that the scholarly respect for Origen's exegesis of St. Paul is directly proportional to the first-hand acquaintance with his interpretations, and that American New Testament scholars at least are now beginning seriously to engage him.

In a key passage that comments on Rom 3.9–18, Origen sets forth his understanding of Paul's core proclamation in Romans. The terms Origen uses show that he understands the gospel as an address to the two basic groups that comprise humanity: Jews and gentiles.

> 'For we have charged that all Jews and Greeks are under sin.' But if all are under sin, consequently there shall be no grounds for the self-exaltation of one group against the other since both come to salvation not on the basis of their own justice but on the basis of God's mercy.[84]

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[81] Cf. Gorday, *Principles*, p. 85.

[82] M. Reasoner, *Romans in Full Circle: A History of Interpretation* (Louisville: 2005), xxv, 145–46.

[83] Jeremy Cohen, "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation: Romans 11:25–26 in Patristic and Medieval Exegesis," *Harvard Theological Review* 98:3 (2005), 247–81.

[84] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 3.2(2–5).22–25(928).

For Origen, both Jews and gentiles who do not believe in Christ are in the same position, namely "under sin." Therefore, by the Pauline summons to faith, they must equally transfer from the group of those who are perishing to the group of those who are being saved. They must adopt a new shape for their religious lives by becoming members of Christ's body, the Church, through faith and baptism. For Origen, then, the stress in Romans is more on the equality of Jews and gentiles than on the revelation of the justice of God, though both aspects are proclaimed. Clearly the ground of salvation is not law but faith in Christ.[85] The necessity of faith for salvation excludes boasting and self-exaltation, but not good works. Grech concludes the following from Origen's statement here: "Our author cannot insist more persistently on the fact that both Jews and gentiles come to salvation not through their own justice but through God's mercy."[86] Similarly, Rivière writes: "Whatever may have been Origen's theory on original sin, there can be no doubt that according to him all men are sinners and that they were unable to save themselves and that salvation came only through God's mercy."[87] For Origen the core message of Romans is God's merciful offer of salvation to the two groups in which humanity consists, Jews and gentiles.

7. *Examples of Justification/Salvation by Faith Alone*

Of the many scenarios set forth in Scripture of individuals and groups of people receiving salvation, Origen recognizes that *sometimes* Scripture says that human beings are justified by faith *alone*. In 3.9 Origen paraphrases Paul in Rom 3.28 as follows: "He is saying that the justification of faith alone suffices, so that the one who only believes is justified, even if he has not accomplished a single work."[88] Origen then looks for an instance of someone in the Bible who exemplifies Paul's teaching, i.e. one who has been justified by faith alone without works of the law. He finds two examples: the sinful woman in Lk 7 and the good thief who

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[85] R. Roukema has written a fine study of Origen's understanding of "law" in his *CRm*: *The Diversity of Laws in Origen's Commentary on Romans* (Amsterdam, 1988).

[86] Cf. P. Grech, "Justification by Faith in Origen's Commentary on Romans," *Augustinianum* 36 (1996), pp. 345–46.

[87] *The Doctrine of the Atonement: A Historical Essay*, tr. Luigi Cappadelta, 2 vols. (St. Louis: 1909), p. 158.

[88] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 3.6(9).22–24 (952): Et dicit sufficere solius fidei iustificationem, ita ut credens quis tantummodo iustificetur etiamsi nihil ab eo operis fuerit expletum.

called out, "Lord Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom!" (Lk 23.42).[89] Of the good thief Origen says:

> In the Gospels nothing else is recorded about his good works, but for the sake of this faith alone Jesus said to him: 'Truly I say to you: Today you will be with me in paradise.' . . . Through faith this thief was justified without works of the law, since the Lord did not require in addition to this that he should first accomplish works, nor did he wait for him to perform some works when he had believed. By his confession alone Jesus, who was about to begin his journey to paradise, received the thief as a justified traveling companion with himself.[90]

The good thief was justified apart from any antecedent merit or works. Solely his confession of faith in Jesus was adequate for him to begin his journey to paradise as a justified traveling companion with Jesus. The focus of Origen's citation of these examples of justification by faith *alone* is on the exclusion of works antecedent to baptismal justification. Even so, Origen seems to understand this to be an exceptional scenario in that the man had no opportunity to be justified by his subsequent good works.[91] Below we will see that Origen is not finished speaking about the good thief, for he also sees in him an example of how faith and works cooperate in bringing about final justification.

8. *Role of 'Works' in Justification*

One of the central themes of Origen's theology is the necessity of human cooperation in salvation, a cooperation that extends to all that pertains to salvation: election, justification, interior transformation, and perseverance.[92] In light of this fundamental stress, while Origen admits that works before faith and justification do not merit entrance into the kingdom,[93] and

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[89] The Greek text of this passage survives. Cf. Heither (1999) [Origenes, *Römerbriefkommentar 6* (*Fragmente*)], p. 104.

[90] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 3.6(9).30–39 (953): Nec aliud quidquam describitur boni operis eius in euangeliis sed pro hac sola fide ait ei Iesus: 'amen dico tibi hodie mecum eris in paradiso.' . . . Per fidem enim iustificatus est hic latro sine operibus legis, quia super hoc Dominus non requisiuit, quid prius operatus esset, nec expectauit quid operis cum credidisset expleret, sed sola confessione iustificatum comitem sibi eum paradisum ingressurus assumsit.

[91] Both Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, (1926), p. 88 and Heither, *Römerbriefkommentar*, 2.132, fn. 72 agree that the examples Origen invokes of persons justified by faith alone are given as exceptional cases, which are intended to support Paul's statement.

[92] Cf. Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, pp. 63–67.

[93] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.1.157–163 (963–64).

that Scripture *sometimes* describes examples of sinners who are justified by faith *alone*, normally he insists that after baptismal regeneration the ensuing works of justice of the Christian are a necessary and meritorious pre-condition of final salvation. They are necessary, in Origen's view, because the whole of Scripture (Paul, Jesus, Ezekiel, James) has asserted their necessity and they are meritorious because the Church's doctrine of a future divine judgment presupposes that merit and demerit will be recompensed. Those who transgress will be deservedly excluded from the kingdom.

In Origen's comment on Rom 5.8–9, he affirms the incontestable superiority of Christ's redemptive death for justification. Yet he does not view it as exclusive of our being justified by our faith and works of justice.[94]

> By this he is showing that neither does our faith justify us apart from the blood of Christ nor does the blood of Christ justify us apart from our faith. Of the two, however, the blood of Christ justifies us much more than our faith. And for this reason, it seems to me that, although he plainly said above, 'having been justified by faith,' here he adds, 'how much more then, now, having been justified by his blood'; in order to teach that even if our faith saves us from the coming wrath, and even if our works of justice (*opera iustitiae*) save us, nevertheless beyond all these things it is much more the blood of Christ that will save us from the coming wrath.[95]

The redemptive work of Christ has its own proper and unique value as the meritorious cause of our salvation, anterior to any cooperation on our part.[96] It is the original source of the acceptability of our good works and remains constantly the ground for human justification and redemption.[97] In addition, however, Origen says that our faith and our works of justice "save us." Origen's language is entirely biblical. He is speaking of the fruits of repentance as the objective effect of an entirely gratuitous initiative of the divine goodness. In the immediate context Origen speaks of both John the Baptist and Jesus requiring these works of their followers. The term 'coming wrath' is obviously derived from Mt 3.7, Lk 3.7 and 1 Thes 1.10 and the assertion that our works "save us" reflects the thought of Jas 2.14 & 21 where "save" and "justify" are equivalent: "Can such faith *save* us? . . . Was not Abraham our father *justified* by works?"

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94 Cf. Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, p. 51.
95 Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.11.67–75 (1001).
96 Cf. Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, p. 52.
97 Cf. Heither, *Translatio*, p. 253.

Thus in Origen's view the doctrine that the blood of Christ justifies does not at all preclude the teaching that our faith and our post-baptismal good works also justify us. The latter works are inspired by faith and subsequent to conversion. They "save us," not in the sense that they are the original cause of our acceptation before God, or that they cause our sins to be washed away. Rather, the gift of the Spirit can be seen working mightily in our works of obedience and love, so that we show our divine sonship by our outward deeds. But these works are posterior to the redemptive death of Christ, which weighs infinitely more in value.

In a graphic illustration of his conception that the grace of Christ and also human faith and good works are indispensable for final justification, Origen borrows language from the Gospels to help explain Rom 5.18:[98]

> By means of Adam's transgression a certain access, as it were, was given by which sin, or the death of sin, or condemnation, spread to all men. Thus, in contrast Christ opened up an access to justification, through which life enters to men. This is why he said about himself, 'I am the door. If any one enters through me he will be saved.'[99]

Christ is the door to justification, the door to life, to a person's being justified and saved. Origen explains this by referring back to his earlier discussion of this theme. He proposes to investigate what sort of door Christ is, in order that we may understand what sort of people we ought to be who would enter through it and have access to grace.

> The door is truth, and through the door of truth liars cannot enter. Again, the door is also justice, and through the door of justice the unjust do not pass. The door says, 'Learn from me because I am gentle and humble in heart.' Through the door of humility and gentleness, then, neither the wrathful nor the arrogant may enter. Consequently if there is someone who, in accordance with the Apostle's word, wants to have access through our Lord Jesus Christ to the grace of the Lord in which Paul and those who are like him claim to stand, he must be purged from all these things we have recorded above. Otherwise this door will not allow those who are doing things alien to it to enter through it. Instead it closes at once and does not allow those who are dissimilar to it to pass through.[100]

For Origen, St. Paul's meaning can be best understood by consulting the Gospel traditions in which he believes Paul was immersed and fully

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[98] "Accordingly just as through the trespass of the one came condemnation to all men, so also through the justice of the one comes the justification of life to all men."

[99] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 5.4.3–8 (1029).

[100] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.8.76–89 (990).

conversant. This approach to interpreting Paul is programmatic for Origen and sets Origen apart from R. Bultmann and his school of interpretation. R. Bultmann claimed that "Jesus' teaching is—to all intents and purposes—irrelevant for Paul."[101] In the Bultmannian tradition stands J. Fitzmyer, who claims:

> It is remarkable how little he [Paul] knew of Jesus the Galilean rabbi or even of what is recorded in the Gospels about him. . . . He [Paul] is not interested in the historical Jesus as a teacher, a prophet, or as the chronological source and the first link in the chain of such transmission.[102]

In contrast, Origen's approach to Paul is closer to that advocated by the British exegete D. Wenham, who concludes after an exhaustive study of the echoes of the Gospel traditions in Paul's writings:

> If the primary text that Paul is expounding in his writings is the text of Jesus, then instead of reading Paul's letters in isolation from the Gospels, it will be important to read them in the light of the Gospels—not falling into naïve harmonization, but recognizing that Paul was above all motivated by a desire to follow Jesus.[103]

Wenham's way of reading Paul, as a theologian who knew the Gospel traditions intimately, is the way Origen read Paul. In this particular context, Origen claims that Christ has opened up an access to justification through which human beings can be saved. By faith in his redemptive act and the reception of baptism, they enter through this door, but at the same time, access to the Lord's grace demands interior cleansing and holiness. It requires union with and resemblance to Christ in the virtues. Those who are alienated from Christ's likeness are still threatened with the possibility of exclusion. The Church's scripturally grounded doctrine of a future judgment according to works is the basis of Origen's claim. In the immediate context Origen illustrates the necessity of being purged from sin in order to attain final salvation by citing the parable of the foolish virgins (Mt 25.1–12) who, "since they did not bring the oil of good works in their vessels, found the door closed when they came too late."[104]

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[101] R. Bultmann, "The Significance of the Historical Jesus for the Theology of Paul," in *Faith and Understanding: Collected Essays*, 220–46 (London, 1969), p. 223.

[102] *Jerome Biblical Commentary*, eds. R. Brown et al. (Englewood Cliffs, 1968) 79:17. For a direct challenge to Fitzmyer, see D. Farkasfalvy, "Jesus Reveals the Father: The Center of New Testament Theology," *Communio* 26 (1999), pp. 235–57, at p. 247, n. 25.

[103] *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (Grand Rapids, 1995), pp. 409–10. See also Ibid., *Paul and Jesus: The True Story* (Grand Rapids, 2002).

[104] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.8.89–91 (990).

A comparison of these parallel passages shows that Origen equates "access to grace" with "access to justification." Access to this single gift is gained by means of both faith *and* good works. For the same God warns us that we cannot have access to grace if we lack one of these two conditions.[105] Elsewhere, he refers to Ez 44.9[106] and says that those who show themselves to be uncircumcised either in faith (by holding base and unworthy opinions concerning the faith), or in works (by committing unclean and defiled actions), will be excluded from entering the sanctuary of God.[107] Origen repeatedly affirms that faith anticipates good works, which are the necessary fruit of justification. One without the other is condemned, "seeing that faith without works is called dead (Jas 2,17,26); and no one is justified before God by works without faith." Mt 7.24 and Lk 6.46 are evidence for Origen that "everywhere faith is joined with works and works are united with faith."[108] Faith and works cleave (*adhaerens*) to one another and are consummated. As Heither puts it, for Origen faith and works are not opposites but fundamentally related to one another.[109] This synthesis explains for Origen why Paul insists in Rom 3.31 that Christians do not make void the law but establish it.[110]

In a significant recent monograph, the Protestant New Testament scholar, C. VanLandingham, has argued, provocatively but convincingly, that in Paul's thought, as well as in the whole Bible and early Judaism, *behavior* determines one's eternal destiny, and not faith alone. Relying on texts such as Rom 2.6–10; 14.12; 1 Cor 5.9–11; 2 Cor 5.10; Gal 6.7–9; 1 Thes 4.1–8; VanLandingham argues that Paul's doctrine consistently is that those who are morally just receive the reward of eternal life, whereas the wicked receive the recompense of damnation.[111] The author shows that the concept of a forensic justification according to which one's faith in Jesus in the present time is understood to anticipate and guarantee the believer's acquittal in the eschatological divine judgment is completely foreign to biblical and Pauline thought. Such a thesis, argued as it is by a Protestant scholar in the wake of the "New Perspective" revolution in New

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105 Cf. Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, p. 70.

106 RSV: "Therefore thus says the Lord God: No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, of all the foreigners who are among the people of Israel, shall enter my sanctuary."

107 Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 2.13.407–14 (908).

108 Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 2.9(12–13).403–8 (908); 2.9(12–13).62–63 (900).

109 Cf. T. Heither, *Translatio*, p. 238.

110 Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 3.7(10).81–83 (957).

111 C. VanLandingham, *Judgment & Justification in Early Judaism and the Apostle Paul* (Peabody, Mass., 2007), p. 171.

Testament studies, is strikingly consonant with Origen's understanding of the significance of the future judgment according to works for believers. This judgment, testified to repeatedly in Pauline texts, determines the destiny of the human being.

Unity and synthesis seem to be overriding themes in Origen's interpretation of Romans. He stresses the consonance of the Old Testament with the New Testament, of St. Paul with the Gospels, the harmony between the law and the prophets and the apostles and the complementarity of faith and good works. Elsewhere Origen speaks of two kinds of faith, a human and a divine. The addition of the latter makes perfect justifying faith. The one is of reason, the other of grace, the special gift of God, and both must coexist.[112] There are also two justifications, one by faith, one by works.[113] The former makes one just in the sight of God; it is forgiveness, known to God alone; the latter makes one just also in the sight of saints and angels. The former is strictly only the 'initium iustificari' (the beginning of justification); it is imperfect faith. The faith that was imputed to Abraham for justice was perfect faith, which had already manifested itself in obedience.[114] This is 'justified by God,' the person is made really and truly just. Then one's faith is no longer 'imputed to him for justice,' for he is just. Heither finds in Origen's words here no contradiction of his previous statements, but rather completion. Origen is faithfully expounding Paul's very Jewish view according to which any polarity of faith and works is incomprehensible.[115]

Clearly Origen understands faith and good works as an organic and synthetic unity. In some respects this distances him from the Reformational categories of Pauline interpretation, which usually interprets these terms antithetically. The Reformers themselves, at least Luther and Melanchthon, recognized the alienation of their interpretations from Origen's.[116] At the same time, Origen's synthesis would have endeared him to medieval theologians who thought in categories similar to his.

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[112] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.5.3 (975).

[113] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.1.3 (960).

[114] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.1.10 (963).

[115] Heither, *Translatio*, p. 238; citing H. J. Schoeps, *Paulus: Die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1959), p. 212.

[116] See T. Scheck, "Justification by Faith Alone in Origen's Commentary on Romans and its Reception During the Reformation Era." In: *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*. Papers of the 8th International Origen Congress, Pisa, 27–31 August 2001, 2 vols., ed. L. Perrone, Louvain: 2003. 2: 1277–1288; and, in much greater detail, Ibid., *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 6.

Origen illustrates the three stages toward justification from Ps 32.1–2: 'Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord does not impute iniquity.' First, he says, the soul leaves its evil and obtains pardon. Next, by good deeds it covers its sins. "But when a soul forthwith reaches perfection, so that every root of evil is completely cut off from it to the point that no trace of evil can be found in it, at that point the summit of blessedness is promised to the one to whom the Lord is able to impute no sin."[117] Origen sees Rom 4.7–8 as describing the soul's conversion in a three-stage progression: remission, covering, and non-imputation of sins. The soul first detaches itself from evil, then it puts the good positively into practice and finally it arrives at the "summit of blessedness." At the first stage the soul receives the remission of sins when one can scarcely imagine that sins continue to subsist. In the second stage, the soul covers them, that is to say, the evils disappear under the abundance of good works. Finally, when no vestige of sin remains and God finds no ground for reproaching the soul, it has reached perfection. As we shall see below, at 4.6 Origen will apply the terms faith, hope, and love to these three stages of conversion.

The overall stress here is on justification as a process subsequent to the grace of faith and baptism and on being progressively transformed into the image of Christ through faith, hope and love. Verfaillie comments on Origen's text: "Origen speaks as a moralist here, but his psychology leads to a theology."[118] Origen's exegesis, to be sure, is oriented toward morality, but when we consider that St. Paul's theology had precisely the same orientation,[119] this long-standing Protestant reproach of Origen (of moralism)[120] turns out to be his badge of honor. As de Lubac writes:

> [L]et us not fear to affirm that Origen is in fact a moralist, whose exegesis is constantly oriented toward morality. For what is important in his eyes is, not to speculate on the profound meaning of the Bible, but to receive it with a living faith and to 'adapt one's conduct to the words of truth' it contains. He does not dissociate morality and religion, nor does he believe

[117] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.1.20 (965–966) Ubi vero iam ad perfectum venerit, ita ut omnis de ea malitiae radix penitus amputetur, eo usque ut nullum in ea vestigium possit inveniri nequitiae, ibi iam summa perfectae beatitudinis promittitur, cum nullum possit Dominus imputare peccatum.

[118] Verfaillie, *Doctine*, p. 110.

[119] Read 1 Cor 10, for example.

[120] See Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 6.

> that the preterition [discontinuance] of the one is necessary for the purity of the other.[121]

While admitting that faith is primary, Origen insists that it must not be separated from works of love. He sees the same organic link between faith and works as between the root and branches of a tree. In a comment on Rom 4.6–8, Origen says:

> The apostle is saying that it is only on the basis that one believes in him who justifies the ungodly that justice is reckoned to a man, even if he has not yet produced works of justice. For faith that believes in the one who justifies is the beginning of being justified by God (*initium iustificari a Deo*). And this faith, when it has been justified, is embedded in (*haeret*) the soil of the soul like a root that has received rain so that when it begins to be cultivated through God's law, branches arise from it which bring forth the fruit of works. The root of justice, therefore, does not grow out of the works, but the fruit of works grows out of the root of justice, namely out of the root of justice, which God accepts even without works.[122]

Heither summarizes Origen's "resolution" of the problem of the relation between faith and works in this passage by claiming that Origen seeks a synthesis between the two: "Faith obtains the justice out of which on the other hand works emerge; and this relationship is not reversible. Only upon the way of faith does man obtain forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God."[123] "Works are thus not the ground for grace, but the outworking of grace, because grace must be effective in man."[124] This seems to be an accurate summary of Origen's synthesis.

Origen illustrates his understanding of salvation when he says that hope and love cleave inseparably (*inseparabiliter coherere*) to faith. God's promise of salvation will be fulfilled only if faith, hope and love abide in those who believe:

> I consider faith to be the first beginnings and the very foundations of salvation (*prima salutis initia et ipsa fundamenta*); hope is certainly the progress

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[121] De Lubac, *History and Spirit*, p. 211.

[122] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.1.216–224 (965): Dicit apostolus quod homini iustitia reputetur licet nondum opera iustitiae egerit, sed pro eo tantum quod credidit in eum qui iustificat impium. Initium namque iustificari a Deo fides est quae credit in iustificantem. Et haec fides cum iustificata fuerit tamquam radix imbre suscepto haeret in animae solo ut cum per legem Dei excoli coeperit surgant ex ea rami qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix iustitiae sed ex radice iustitiae fructus operum crescit, illa scilicet radice iustitiae quam Deus accepto fert etiam sine operibus.

[123] Heither, *Translatio*, p. 235; Ibid., *Origenes. Commentarii*, 2:132, fn. 72.

[124] Heither, *Translatio*, p. 236.

> and increase of the building; however, love is the perfection and culmination of the entire work. That is why love is said to be greater than everything else.[125]

This text correlates nicely with 4.1 cited above. Origen states that being justified by God (*iustificari a Deo*) is identical with salvation (*salus*). He views faith as the beginning step (*initium*) and foundation (*fundamentum*) of the process that is nourished by hope and culminates in love. In other words, we attain justification by stages and progressively. The gift of divine grace within us can increase, and it can also perish. Therefore, far from representing a doctrine of justification *sola fide*, according to which love is excluded from the essence of justifying grace, Origen's teaching can be more accurately described as justification *fide, spe, et caritate*.

It is noteworthy that Origen speaks of reconciliation and adoption in a way similar to the way he treats justification/salvation. These different ways of describing God's gift of salvation are commonly viewed as a process with a beginning, middle and end; a past, present and future. With regard to reconciliation, Origen says that Christ's death on the cross killed the hostility between God and humanity (past). This was the beginning of reconciliation (*reconciliationis initium*).[126] But only when we actually resist sins to the point of death, in imitation of Christ's example, does he reconcile humanity to God (present), provided that we keep the covenant of reconciliation inviolate (present). For those who abide in the works God hates cannot be reconciled (present and future).[127] Whoever turns back to sin restores the hostility and rebuilds the wall of separation, thus destroying the work of Christ and making void the cross of his suffering.[128] Likewise with adoption: By our faith in Christ and baptism we already possess salvation and we already have adoption as sons (past).[129] But salvation is still in hope (future); we wait for it still (future), and have it now as in a mirror and in a riddle (present). When the perfect comes we shall have adoption face to face (future).[130]

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[125] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.6.46–49 (981). Et puto quod prima salutis initia et ipsa fundamenta fides est; profectus vero et augmenta aedificii spes est, perfectio autem et culmen totius operis caritas, et ideo maior omnium dicitur caritas.

[126] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.12.72–73 (1004). Cf. *initium iustificari a Deo* in 4.1.216–224 (965) above.

[127] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.12.67–71 (1004).

[128] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.8.41–46 (989).

[129] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 7.3.13–23 (1113).

[130] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 7.3.123–125 (1116).

9. *Exclusion of 'Works of the Law' from Justification*

Origen thinks that the Gospel message proclaimed by St. Paul excludes boasting and self-exaltation, but not the necessity of good works. He distinguishes post-baptismal works of justice, or the Christian virtues, from the Pauline term "works of the law." His comments on Rom 11.6 clarify how strongly Origen repudiates the idea that Paul is a preacher of licentiousness:

> One should know that the works which Paul repudiates and frequently criticizes are not the works of justice (*opera iustitiae*) which are commanded in the law, but those in which they boast who keep the law according to the flesh; that is, the circumcision of the flesh, the sacrificial rituals, the observance of Sabbaths and new moon festivals (cf. Col 2.18). These and works of a similar nature are the works by which he says no one can be saved, and concerning which he says in the present passage, 'not on the basis of works; otherwise, grace would no longer be grace.' For if anyone is justified through these, he is not justified *gratis*. But these works are by no means sought from the one who is justified through grace; but this one should take care that the grace he has received should not be in him 'in vain' [cf. 1 Cor 15.10] . . . So then, one does not make grace become in vain who joins works to it that are worthy and who does not show himself ungrateful for the grace of God. For anyone who sins after having attained grace becomes ungrateful to him who offered the grace.[131]

This passage makes an important clarification. Origen so wishes to safeguard the necessity of the Christian's post-baptismal good works that he explicitly states that the "works of the law" that Paul criticizes in his letters do not refer to the Decalogue or to the moral works of justice. Rather, the term refers to Jewish ceremonial works (such as circumcision, Sabbath-keeping, food laws) apart from faith. Thus Origen in this passage restricts Paul's οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, "not from works" (Rom 3.28), to external ritual law.[132]

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[131] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 8.7(6).111–126 (1178): Sciendum est opera quae Paulus repudiat et frequenter uituperat non esse opera iustitiae quae mandantur in lege, sed ea in quibus hi qui secundum carnem legem custodiunt gloriantur; id est uel circumcisio carnis uel sacrificiorum ritus uel obseruatio sabbatorum et numeniarum. Haec et huiusmodi ergo sunt opera ex quibus dicit neminem potuisse saluari et de quibus in praesenti loco dicit: 'quia non ex operibus; alioquin gratia iam non fit gratia.' Si enim per haec quis iustificatur non gratis iustificatur. Qui autem per gratiam iustificatur ista quidem opera ab eo minime quaeruntur sed observare debet ne accepta gratia inanis fiat in eo . . . Non facit ergo inanem gratiam ille qui digna ei opera subiungit et gratiae Dei non exsistit ingratus. Qui enim post consecutam gratiam peccat ingratus fit ei qui praestitit gratiam. Cf. also 3.7(10).19–21 (955).

[132] Cf. Verfaillie, *Doctrine*, p. 82.

It is not such ritual works that need to be added to faith for the grace of God not to be received in vain, but the moral works done in obedience to the law of Christ, for the doing of which Christians will most certainly be judged.[133] For Origen, the interpretation that Christian justification exists 'apart from the law' does not mean that moral works of the Law are not required in baptized persons—that would be an unholy way of interpreting Paul. He concedes that neither the Jews nor the gentiles when they approach the gospel are required to give an accounting showing that they have kept the Law, provided they repent and believe. But most of all, Origen stresses that our being justified 'apart from the law' means that no one is required to observe those ritual commands which had been imposed on the Galatians by the pseudoapostles. Those are the kinds of works Paul is dealing with in Romans and Galatians.

Reasoner correctly observes that Origen's delimited understanding of the Pauline term "works of the law" is another instance of an early precedent for the so-called "new perspective" in Pauline interpretation. In the vocabulary of "new perspective" scholars, Paul's words "apart from works" normally mean: apart from those works of the law that visibly separate the Jewish people from the nations.[134]

10. *Justification is not by Faith Alone*

For Origen, the connection between faith and post-baptismal good works and moral transformation is inseparable. For this reason, Origen says explicitly and on repeated occasions that faith alone is not adequate for salvation, for God requires other theological virtues in addition to faith. Mercy, piety, love and the other virtues can be reckoned as justice, just as faith can.[135] The scriptural grounding of such an interpretation is Ps 106.31, which says that Phineas's zeal was reckoned as justice. If we do not produce these other virtues by laying aside the old man with his unjust deeds, faith cannot be reckoned as justice.[136] For Christ justifies only those who have received the new life in the pattern of his resurrection and who reject the old garments of injustice and iniquity.[137] Faith is deservedly (*merito*)

[133] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 2.6(8).23–29 (890).
[134] M. Reasoner, *Romans in Full Circle*, p. 25.
[135] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.6.84–89 (982).
[136] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.7.75–83 (986).
[137] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.7.109–112 (986).

reckoned as justice when this mortification occurs and when we hold fast to perfection not only in faith but in all the virtues.[138] Grech writes: "Origen takes for granted the necessity of good works after justification."[139]

In Origen's view, justification is above all a rebirth and renewal, a sharing of life between the resurrected Christ and the justified. Cocchini summarizes this emphasis in Origen as follows:

> Origen has already said that the resurrection of Christ constitutes an example for Christians, and such an example is based on the 'new life' that really unites the resurrected Christ to as many as believe in him. The difference then between Christ and the Christians consists, according to Origen, in the fact that whereas for Christ one is dealing with a new life in the most complete sense of the term—since it has already been made completely manifest as such—for Christians one is dealing with a life that, as long as they are not resurrected, one can manifest as 'new' above all in the moral aspect.[140]

The point is that it is primarily in post-baptismal moral transformation that the 'new' in the 'new creation' is visible. This cooperative effort is how the justified share in the fruit of Christ's redemptive death and his resurrection life. Origen bases this idea on the link made by Paul in Rom 4.24–25: "It will be reckoned to us who believe in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification." Elsewhere Origen says that to be alive to God in Christ Jesus (Rom 6.11) means to be alive to God in all the virtues, which are identified with Christ.[141]

Interestingly, Origen chooses to exemplify the necessity of mortification by returning to the example of the thief on the cross that he had earlier cited as an (exceptional) example of one justified by faith alone. He again makes use of organic imagery and says that this thief had fulfilled Rom 6.5–6, in that he had been planted together in the likeness of Christ's death and of his resurrection, and for that reason he deserved paradise since he had been joined to the tree of life:

> Christ himself then is the tree of life. . . . His death becomes for us a tree of life as a new and a wonderful gift from God . . . Now I think that one could

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[138] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 4.7.99–100 (986); 4.6.166–67 (984).

[139] (1996), p. 353.

[140] F. Cocchini, *Origene: Commento alla Lettera ai Romani. Annuncio Pasquale, Polemica antieretica* (L'Aquila: 1979), pp. 56–57.

[141] Cf. 1 Cor 1.30; Eph 2.14. 5.10.264–266 (1055): Quod si sine iustitia sine pace sine sanctificatione ceterisque uirtutibus nemo uiuit Deo certum est quod nemo uiuat Deo nisi in Christo Iesu.

> fittingly say this also about that thief who was hanging together with Jesus on the cross and has appeared to be planted together into the likeness of his death by his confession in which he said: "Lord, remember me when you come into your kingdom;" and he rebuked the other thief who was blaspheming. But it has appeared that he was also planted together in his resurrection by what is said to him: "Today you will be with me in paradise." For truly he was a plant worthy of paradise which was joined to the tree of life.[142]

Origen points to the good thief as a living, or rather, dying commentary on Rom 10.9–10. Earlier in his exegesis Origen had used the good thief as an illustration of one justified by faith alone without works.[143] The current passage seems to make clear, however, that in Origen's view this thief is simultaneously an example of how faith and works cooperate in an organic way in contributing to salvation. The good thief exemplifies the Pauline text about the necessity of dying and rising with Christ. He freely carried out the just works of publicly confessing the Lordship of Christ and rebuking the other thief who was blaspheming. The result is that ultimately the good thief was deservedly justified by a synthesis of his faith and his virtues. By God's wonderful gift of life to him the thief had not only been declared just with respect to the past, with no antecedent works, but he had also become inherently just and worthy of paradise through his free and active adhesion to the living Christ. Verfaillie synthesizes Origen's theology of grace, merit and works as follows: "This meritorious character of our acts has its source in the grace of justification and completes the conception of it. Liberated from the death of sin, the Christian soul is united to Christ who gives it new life, by means of which he gives the means of bearing fruit that is pleasing to God."[144] This conception seems to be fittingly exemplified by the good thief. Once again this example shows how Origen tends to shed light on Pauline texts by consulting passages in the Gospels.

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[142] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 5.9.27–30 (1043); 5.9.83–90 (1045): Christus ergo . . . ipse est arbor uitae . . . nouo quodam atque ammirabili Dei dono mors illius nobis uitae arbor efficitur. . . . Puto autem quod grate hoc et de illo latrone dici possit qui simul in cruce pependit cum Iesu et per confessionem suam qua dixit: 'memento mei Domine cum ueneris in regnum tuum;' et alium blasfemantem corripuit, complantari per haec uisus sit similitudini mortis eius; sed et resurrectioni eius complantatus sit per hoc quod ei dicitur: 'hodie mecum eris in paradiso.' Digna namque erat planta paradisi quae arbori uitae sociata est.

[143] Cf. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm* 3.6(9).22–24 (952).

[144] "Doctrine," p. 117.

Reasoner noticed that there are three references to the good thief in Origen's commentary, and that the point of the final citation seems to be the following:

> The necessity of works alongside faith becomes clearer in the final reference to this thief. When exegeting what it means to be planted with Christ in his death in order to share in his resurrection (6:5), Origen cites the thief's confession to Jesus and rebuke of the blaspheming thief as evidence that he was planted with Christ in a death to sin.[145]

In brief, it appears to me that in Origen we find a resounding confirmation of the Catholic understanding of justification according to which faith and post-baptismal works of love are both constitutive, by divine grace, as complementary aspects of a single transformative process.

11. *Conclusion*

To my knowledge, the vast majority of medieval interpreters were well acquainted with Origen's exegesis of Romans. The ones I have studied admired him exceedingly as an interpreter of Scripture. His literal historical interpretation of Romans was valued just as highly as his more allegorical way of reading the Old Testament. I would conjecture that Origen's "Trinitarian" or triadic method of unfolding the theological doctrine of Romans would have been treasured by the medievals as well, who lived in the wake of the post-Nicene synthesis, though they would not have been fully aware of the extent to which Rufinus had doctored the original words with the language of consubstantiality (if indeed Rufinus even did this, which Ramelli seems to deny). Moreover, it seems safe to say that medieval theologians would have taken for granted that Origen's synthetic way of reading Paul was the right way to read him. Paul is in harmony with the rest of the New Testament writers, with Matthew and James, for instance, and with the Old Testament. For neither Origen nor the medieval theologians could there be a question of any substantive conflict between what Paul says in Romans about faith and works, and what James writes in his epistle. This is what led Rivière to remark that Origen's treatment of justification in his *CRm* is the best and most complete expression of

[145] Reasoner, *Romans in Full Circle*, p. 25.

the Catholic teaching in the pre-Augustinian Church Fathers.[146] He said that by showing the intimate connection of faith and good works, Origen cleared a path for later theologians who would attempt to demonstrate harmony between the ideas of Paul and James on justification.

[146] J. Rivière, "Justification," *Dictionaire de Théologie catholique*, eds. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, E. Amann (Paris, 1909–50), vol. 8: cols. 2085–86.

"AMBROSIASTER" IN PAUL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Joshua Papsdorf

The figure known to us as Ambrosiaster may well be the greatest enigma in the history of Pauline exegesis.[1] This anonymous, fourth-century Latin author, who produced the earliest surviving set of commentaries on Paul in western Christianity, was an important source for both Augustine and Pelagius, and is widely extolled by modern scholars as one of the greatest Pauline exegetes of any era.[2] And yet, despite intense scholarly effort over the past century, Ambrosiaster's true identity remains an apparently insoluble mystery. This article will provide an introduction to this pivotal Pauline exegete, who, in addition to his historical significance, holds an unquestionable appeal for modern readers on account of both his practical style and some remarkable theological insights.[3] To introduce Ambrosiaster, first the composition and character of his literary corpus will be discussed. Second, the question of his identity and what is known about his historical context will be reviewed. Third, the largest section will survey some of the primary themes in Ambrosiaster's work including his Christology and Trinitarian theology, his understanding of human nature,

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[1] The author is also referred to as pseudo-Ambrose on occasion. The origin of the name Ambrosiaster is debated. Typically it is attributed to Erasmus who is also credited with disproving Ambrose's authorship of the commentaries. Recently, however, Annelie Volgers has argued that it was actually the Maurists who coined the name; see her "A Church in Search of Answers: A Study of the Latin *Quaestiones*-tradition" (PhD diss., University of Utrecht, 2005), p. 31.

[2] Origen produced a complete set of commentaries, but only Rufinus's abridgement of Romans and some fragments from the Ephesians commentary have survived. In the west, Marius Victorinus commented on Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians a few years before Ambrosiaster, and may have commented on the remaining epistles, but his commentaries were not particularly influential. Pelagius was the next western author to produce commentaries on all the Pauline letters. On Ambrosiaster's reception by modern scholars, see pp. 74–77 below.

[3] The reasons for Ambrosiaster's contemporary appeal will be discussed below. As evidence of that appeal one can note the substantial usage of Ambrosiaster, and favorable evaluations of him, in the recent Ancient Christian Commentaries on Scripture series as well as the recent publication of the first English translation of Ambrosiaster's works, *Commentaries on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians* and *Commentaries on Galatians-Philemon*, trans. Gerald Bray (Ancient Christian Texts) (Downers Grove, Ill., 2009). David Hunter, Stephen Cooper and Theodore De Bruyn are currently producing another translation of all of the commentaries, but a publication date has not yet been set.

original sin, salvation, the fates of Jews and pagans, the sacraments and the Church, and asceticism, good works, and merit. Fourth, a discussion of Ambrosiaster's influence and reception by scholars will conclude the article.

In addition to providing basic information, the intent of this overview is to present a compelling account of a major Pauline exegete who, despite some shortcomings, merits far greater attention from scholars than he has received thus far. Ambrosiaster provides an unparalleled depiction of how Paul, and his teaching on sin and grace, was understood in the West mere decades prior to Augustine and the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy. Similarly, his interpretation of Paul and his overall theology offer an unmistakably Roman take on Christianity, which throws into relief how typically Roman concepts of duty, citizenship, and warfare shaped the reception and interpretation of Christianity by many western Christians. And finally, in the post-Vatican II era of *ressourcement*, Ambrosiaster provides historical support and precedent for arguably the most important and controversial development in modern Catholic theology, the recognition of the possibility of salvation outside of the visible Church.

1. *Works*

Ambrosiaster's known corpus consists almost entirely of the commentaries on the thirteen Pauline epistles.[4] The only other work generally attributed to Ambrosiaster is a collection of quaestiones, the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*.[5] While the *Quaestiones* is an eclectic work treating a

[4] Ambrosiaster regarded Hebrews as canonical but not Pauline. Specific citations of the commentaries will take the following form, Ad Romanos 1:1. All references are to the CSEL critical editions and all translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

[5] The common authorship of the commentaries and the Quaestiones was established by Alexander Souter in his still essential, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (Cambridge, 1905). Souter also sought to include five fragments of a commentary on Matthew in the Ambrosiaster corpus, but that argument has not been successful. See Souter's "Reasons for Regarding Hilarius (Ambrosiaster) as the Author of the Mercati-Turner Anecdoton," *JTS* 5 (1904), 608–21 for his argument, and see G. Mercati, *Anonymi Chiliastae in Matthaeum XXIV Fragmenta*, (Varia Sacra) 1 (Studi e Testi) 11 (Rome, 1903) for an edition of the text. Additionally, the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanorum*, *De bello judaico* or *De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae*, two fragments *Contra Arianos* and Pseudo-Augustine sermon 246, have all been attributed to Ambrosiaster at some point, but those attributions have also failed to gain acceptance. For further information see Wilhelm Geerlings's article "Ambrosiaster" in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, eds. Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings, trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York, 2000), pp. 20–21. For a detailed discussion of the *Collatio* see Leonard Rutgers's *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in*

wide-range of topics, there too the vast majority of questions are exegetical in nature.[6] Ambrosiaster may have been much more in life, but today we know him almost exclusively as an exegete, and predominantly as a reader and interpreter of Paul.

As one would expect, the commentaries vary considerably in length with the commentary on Philemon being the shortest and the commentary on Romans the longest. Each begins with a brief *argumentum* providing Ambrosiaster's introduction to the epistle. He then proceeds through the epistle providing generally brief segments of the biblical text, in his *Vetus Latina* version, followed by his commentary. The commentary, too, is typically brief but ranges considerably in length from terse summaries of the passage to multi-page reflections on single verses that Ambrosiaster sees as pivotal or noteworthy. Readers, whose experience with patristic exegesis comes from more familiar figures such as Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, or even Augustine, will likely be struck by the character and tone of Ambrosiaster's work. The allegorical interpretations and extended tangential reflections that typify many patristic commentaries are almost entirely absent.[7] As Alexander Souter aptly describes it,

> The work is throughout Roman and practical in tone. Common-sense explanations are the rule. The tone is rather that of the calm dispassionate searcher for truth than of the mystic visionary who seeks to soar to the heights of the Apostle's thought. We have here . . . the work of a conscientious writer who seeks in Scripture for plain useful lessons which may serve to elevate the daily lives of his Roman fellow citizens. The author never loses his hold on the ordinary life of the day.[8]

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the Roman Diaspora (Leiden, 2000), pp. 210–59. It should be noted that Hunter seems to hold open the possibility of at least some of those fragments being by Ambrosiaster; see David Hunter, "'On the Sin of Adam and Eve': A Little-Known Defense of Marriage and Childbearing by Ambrosiaster," *Harvard Theological Review* 82 (1989), p. 284 n. 5, and the additional studies cited there. Specific references to the Quaestiones will be given in the following form, QNV 1.

[6] For a helpful introduction to the *quaestiones* genre and an overview of Ambrosiaster's work in particular, see Volgers, "Church."

[7] The few exceptions are in three *quaestiones*, 110–12 dealing with Ps 1, 23, and 50. Several scholars have noted the difference in Ambrosiaster's style in these *quaestiones*, which seem to have been homilies originally, but they describe the approach as typology, rather than allegory. It is certainly true that the symbolism employed by Ambrosiaster is relatively simple and a far cry from someone like Origen. Nevertheless, it seems that line between typology and allegory may be being drawn a bit too definitively in this case in order to preserve the scholarly consensus that Ambrosiaster's exegesis is completely free of allegory.

[8] Souter, *Study*, p. 6.

Ambrosiaster's style is in keeping with that pragmatic focus. There are very few references or allusions to extra-biblical literature.[9] His prose is far from poetic and includes numerous obscure terms and awkward constructions, which has even led some to speculate that he was not a native Latin speaker. Those attributes, together with the absence of allegory, have led some to label Ambrosiaster an Antiochene.[10] If one were compelled to apply one of the mutually exclusive labels of Alexandrian or Antiochene to Ambrosiaster, he would undoubtedly fall into the latter camp, but the case of Ambrosiaster exemplifies the now widely acknowledged deficiency of that binary approach to patristic exegesis. It is simply misleading to position Ambrosiaster within any formal exegetical school or tradition. In addition to the absence of any significant uses of previous authors, Ambrosiaster explicitly questions the value and validity of Greek sources.[11] That bias together with the lack of significant Latin predecessors means that Ambrosiaster's work is as close to being truly original as is possible for a commentator on biblical texts.[12]

Despite the absence of many literary qualities, Ambrosiaster was apparently concerned with improving the quality of his work. He produced two versions of all of the commentaries and three for the commentary

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[9] While Ambrosiaster could have drawn on pagan literature, the absence of references must follow, at least in part, from the sparse nature of the Latin tradition. While there were commentaries in Greek to draw on, most notably Origen's, Ambrosiaster shows no evidence of knowing Greek, and, as explained above, displays an active hostility toward Greek thought. In the commentaries there are a few allusions to apocryphal works, a few parallels with earlier Christian texts and one reference each to Cicero, Origen, and Victorinus of Pettau and two to Tertullian, but no significant borrowing from any. In the *Quaestiones* there is a bit more, with Souter noting some usage of Tertullian, Cyprian, Victorinus of Pettau, and most often Hilary of Poitiers; see Alexander Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul: A Study*, (Oxford, 1927), pp. 65–67. I should note, however, that Volgers questions whether there is sufficient evidence to establish many of these; see Volgers, "Church," pp. 72–73.

[10] For a discussion of Ambrosiaster's contribution to the Antiochene tendency of Western exegesis see M. L. W. Laistner, "Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages," *Harvard Theological Review* 40 (1947), pp. 19–31.

[11] On Ambrosiaster's hostility to Greek thought, see his arguments for the superiority of Latin biblical manuscripts in his commentary on Romans 5:14.

[12] It seems likely that Ambrosiaster read Marius Victorinus, but his significance as a source is debated. On his knowledge of Marius Victorinus, see the Introduction to Eric Plumer's *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes* (New York, 2006), pp. 24–25 and 53–56. Plumer argues that all we can say is that Ambrosiaster "appears to have known" Victorinus's work (ibid., p. 54). At the same time, he is certainly right in noting that there is likely a complex web of relationships between the Latin authors of period, which we simply cannot establish decisively from the texts; see ibid., pp. 55–56. Stephen Cooper argues for a much greater indebtedness in his *Marius Victorinus' Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 185–246.

on Romans. There are also two versions of the *Quaestiones*.[13] Most of the changes between versions are stylistic in nature, but there are subtle differences that could indicate development in his thought on various issues. There is a general consensus among scholars regarding which version of the commentaries is the latest, identified as gamma in the CSEL critical editions. With the *Quaestiones* the order remains in question, although it seems most likely that the shorter, 127-question version is the later, revised form.[14]

2. *Identity*

The quest to determine who actually wrote the set of Pauline commentaries attributed to St. Ambrose reaches back nearly five centuries to Erasmus and the Jesuit scholar Franciscus Turrianus.[15] Since then, and particularly since the late nineteenth century, there have been numerous attempts to identify our author, none of which has succeeded. Prior to the modern quest to identify Ambrosiaster, the history of misidentifications stretches back to the early fifth century, and scholars might take some comfort in the fact that the first of their company to misidentify our author was none other than St. Augustine.

The earliest known and most important citation of Ambrosiaster was in Augustine's *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* written in 421. In that work, Augustine cited Ambrosiaster as "St. Hilary," likely meaning Hilary of Poitiers, and offered his reading of Romans 5:12 as precedent for his own views on original sin adopting "Hilary's" phrase *quasi in massa* as a succinct and felicitous expression of his view.[16] Souter has also argued that it was Augustine who was responsible for misattributing the commentaries

[13] There is a third version of 115 *quaestiones* in some manuscripts; however, it is a medieval compilation of the other two and is not treated as a distinct version by scholars. See Souter, *Earliest*, p. 49.

[14] The differences between the two editions of the *Quaestiones* are more substantial than those found in the commentaries. Ambrosiaster eliminated numerous quaestiones from the later edition, and there are also a number of quaestiones that were retained but essentially rewritten. Still, the changes are primarily stylistic and aimed at eliminating superfluous material. The deleted quaestiones do not contain much theological substance.

[15] See Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe's clarification on Erasmus's role in her *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 30–32.

[16] On the validity of Augustine's use, see pp. 63–66 below.

to Ambrose when he referred to them as Ambrose's in his own commentary on Galatians.[17]

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth that scholars made a concerted effort to identify our author, and while their efforts yielded valuable insights into Ambrosiaster's character and context, in addition to prompting critical editions of his works in the early twentieth century, none of the proposed identifications found general acceptance. Maximus of Turin, Evagrius of Antioch, Hilary the Layman, and Isaac the Jew were all proposed, and the later two, at least, garnered serious support and consideration, yet ultimately failed to attain general support among scholars.[18] Beginning in the 1990s there has been a renaissance in Ambrosiaster studies, but no serious proposals to identify Ambrosiaster have been advanced.[19] At this point, barring an unexpected manuscript discovery or similar breakthrough, it appears that Ambrosiaster's identity simply cannot be established from the evidence we possess.

Nonetheless, while we cannot say exactly who Ambrosiaster was, a general consensus has emerged on some important characteristics and his historical context. The biographical fact we are most certain of is his date. Ambrosiaster wrote all of his extant works during the pontificate of Damasus (366–84).[20] The precise order of the works, which is complicated by the multiple editions of each, is still unclear.[21] However, simply by situating Ambrosiaster in Damasus's reign we know a great deal about

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[17] Souter, *Earliest*, p. 40; also, Lunn-Rockliffe, *Political*, 18–19. In the introduction to his translation of Augustine's commentary on Galatians, Plumer explains that the argument is compelling but that direct dependence cannot be established, Plumer, *Galatians*, pp. 26 and 54–55. The *Quaestiones*, somewhat ironically, came to be attributed to Augustine; for possible explanations of that misattribution, see Souter, *Study*, pp. 8–9.

[18] The literature on the various attempts to identify Ambrosiaster is extensive, but most of it is quite dated given the relatively short life spans of even the more successful attempts. As noted above, the greatest period of activity was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and there were a handful of scholars who produced most of the work. Together with Alexander Souter, other notable Ambrosiaster scholars of the period were G. Bardy, G. Morin, and Joseph Wittig; see the bibliography for specific works. For an overview of the search as it stood in 1927, see Souter, *Earliest*, pp. 44–49.

[19] David Hunter has alerted me to a recent proposal, which has not generated much of a response among scholars; see M. Bielawski, "Simpliciano e Ambrosiaster: potrebbero essere la stessa persona?" in *Le "Confessioni" di Agostino (402–2002): Bilancio e prospettive* (Rome, 2003), pp. 533–39.

[20] For an explanation of the dating of the works and the author's location in Rome see Lunn-Rockliffe, *Political*, 12–17; see also Souter, *Earliest*, 42–44.

[21] Significant progress is being made on the chronology of the works and the order of the various editions. A group of scholars including David Hunter, Stephen Cooper, Theodore De Bruyn, Annelie Volgers, and Marie-Pierre Bussières provide regular updates on these issues at academic conferences, particularly at the annual North American Patristics

the debates and movements that shaped the western Church during his career.[22]

In addition to dating Ambrosiaster during the reign of Damasus, it is also certain that Ambrosiaster was involved in Roman ecclesiastical politics and was active in his opposition to Damasus and his partner Jerome.[23] Not noted for his civility, the great translator of the Vulgate seems to have referred to Ambrosiaster as a "two-legged ass."[24] While Damasus and Jerome were prominent enough to attract opponents from afar, Ambrosiaster also reveals an intimate engagement with ecclesiastical politics in the city that makes it almost certain he was in, or very close to, Rome when he was writing.[25] Additionally, Ambrosiaster exhibits a detailed understanding of liturgical practices, and several of the *quaestiones* seem to have originally been composed as homilies.[26] Given all of this evidence, there is a general consensus that Ambrosiaster was a presbyter, and more specifically, as Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe argues, it seems likely that he was a presbyter in one of the churches immediately outside of the city of Rome.[27]

In addition to his clerical status, Ambrosiaster evidences involvement with Roman nobility and officials, or at least a keen interest in them. He was also obviously educated, even if his education failed to produce a fluid prose or love of philosophy. Furthermore, he displays an intimate knowledge of Roman imperial laws, procedures, and customs.[28] He also devotes two of his longest *quaestiones* to rebutting pagan practices and

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Society meetings. It seems likely that once the translations of the commentaries and the critical edition of the *Quaestiones* are completed these questions will be largely resolved.

[22] Of particular importance was the rise of asceticism and rigorism as well as lingering conflicts with Arians. Both will be discussed below.

[23] For a thorough survey of the conflict between Ambrosiaster and Jerome, see Lunn-Rockliffe, *Political*, 19–26 and the studies cited there. The fact that Ambrosiaster's work came to the attention of Jerome and merited a response indicates that Ambrosiaster was likely a person of some influence. However, the fact that Jerome does not attack him by name supports the general scholarly consensus that Ambrosiaster issued his works anonymously.

[24] Jerome, *Epistle* 37.

[25] See his discussion of the Roman deacons in his well-known tract, "On the Boasting of the Roman Deacons," QNV 101. One of Ambrosiaster's defining features is his defense of traditional hierarchies, so it is not surprising that he would respond vehemently to any perceived presumption on the part of deacons. Lunn-Rockliffe's book, n. 15 above, covers Ambrosiaster's ecclesiology thoroughly.

[26] See n. 7 above.

[27] See Lunn-Rockliffe, *Political*, 63–86; see also Hunter, "Sin," pp. 285–86.

[28] On Ambrosiaster's secular background see Lunn-Rockliffe, *Political*, 44–62; see also Souter, *Earliest*, pp. 67–70, and Hunter, "Sin," p. 286.

beliefs, which was likely prompted by an on-going engagement with the remnants of pagan nobility that are known to have been active in late fourth-century Rome.

So, while we may not be able to name our author, we can say a great deal about who he was. He was educated, but never developed a love for secular literature or philosophy. He decisively disowned Roman religion, but he was profoundly shaped by Roman sensibilities and government. He was practical, plain spoken, driven by duty and a defense of order and tradition. He brought those qualities to his work as a presbyter and actively fought and wrote to defend those qualities in the life of the Church. As an exegete, he read Paul in terms of citizenship, duty, and war, as opposed to Greek concepts of nature, substances, and metaphysical relations. Indeed, Ambrosiaster was so committed to those basic principles that he accepted their implications even when they seemed to run counter to his own personal aims.[29]

3. *Major Themes*

Ambrosiaster's corpus is extensive, remarkably so for an anonymous author, and as a Pauline commentator he has the opportunity to mimic the apostle's concern with practically every area of Christian life and thought. When one adds the eclectic and wide-ranging *Quaestiones*, the result is a body of work that leaves almost no topic untouched. The difficulty of summarizing Ambrosiaster's thought is compounded by the fact that surprisingly little scholarly work has been done on the theological content of Ambrosiaster's works. Nonetheless, it is possible to briefly describe some of Ambrosiaster's primary themes and concerns as well as the select topics that have received significant scholarly attention. Before proceeding to those topical summaries, however, it is first necessary to outline the basic theological premises and framework that shape both Ambrosiaster's interpretation of Paul and his theological outlook as a whole.

The commentaries are certainly Ambrosiaster's most important work, but in the *Quaestiones*, free from the constraints of the commentary format, Ambrosiaster offers some illuminating insights into his thought. The first two *quaestiones,* "What is God?" and "Why Did God Make the World?" provide an invaluable summary of his fundamental beliefs. It is here that

[29] See pp. 72–73 below.

Ambrosiaster's Roman character is clearest, and by shaping his core principles that Roman character pervades and defines the whole of his work. This is somewhat ironically illustrated by the content of his answer to the question "What is God?" in which he never offers a definition or description of what God is in terms of his being, nature, or person. Rather, when Ambrosiaster reflects on what God is he thinks of him in his role as a ruler, and more pointedly, as a ruler engaged in a cosmic struggle with an usurper, the Devil.

Ambrosiaster goes on in that *quaestio* and the next to describe the purpose of creation, and its central component humanity, as an elaborate counter to Satan's rebellion.

> God, so that he might destroy his presumption not by power but by reason, created matter, which was a mixture of things, out of which he made the world. For distinct things, which were once confused, determine this ordered world that we see. For when the substances were distinguished from each other the world was called forth by the joining together that took place, because each single thing appeared to the world separated from the others. And so, man was ordered this way, created from that above and that below, that is from the heavenly and the earthly, not only by voice but also by image, insofar as he might represent one who is made by one God, from whom the others are descended.[30] (QNV 2.3)

Admittedly it is difficult to discern how this "destroys Satan's presumption." In essence, when Satan refuses to acknowledge God, God responds by creating the universe and, within it, the human race, which both symbolizes God by being created in his image and will ultimately counter Satan's rebellion by freely choosing to acknowledge God as sovereign. Satan recognizes that man and woman were created for that end and does not sit idly by; he responds by seeking to destroy God's image and to deceive humanity into following him in his rebellion. Situating humanity within that struggle means that the fate of humanity will determine who is the victor, God or Satan. The obvious conclusion is that God must win;

[30] "[D]eus, ut eius praesumptionem non potestate, sed ratione destrueret, materiam condidit, quae esset rerum confusio, ex qua faceret mundum. distincta enim, quae simul confuse erant, hunc praestiterunt quem videmus ornatum. discretis enim ab invicem substantiis facta conpaginatione mundus vocatur, quia una quaeque res ab altera segregata ad mundum apparvit, ut hic homo positus, creatus ex supernis et inferis, id est ex caelestibus et terrenis, unius dei dominum non tantum voce, sed et imagine, qua unus ab uno deo factus est, ex quo ceteri orirentur, ostenderet." Ed. Alexander Souter, CSEL 50, (Vienna, 1908), pp. 18.14–23. See also *Ad Romanos* 5:14.3a for a similar explanation of man as an affirmation of God's preeminence.

that, in turn, means that the majority of men and women must ultimately reject Satan's rebellion and choose to acknowledge God as Lord and Creator. This has obvious implications for Ambrosiaster's theology and his interpretation of Paul. Ambrosiaster's exegesis of Paul and understanding of concepts such as original sin and salvation must be consistent with the necessary end result of humanity, or at least most of it, succeeding where Satan failed and thus refuting his rebellion.

3.1. *Trinitarian and Christological Thought*

Given Ambrosiaster's treatment of God's nature, or, rather, lack thereof, it is ironic that one of the primary themes running throughout his corpus is an insistence on Nicene Christology and the full divinity of the Holy Spirit. Now, Ambrosiaster, like most Latin figures of his era, was far from the cutting edge in the Greek dominated Christological and Trinitarian controversies. Nonetheless, Paul's frequent references to the Father, Son, and Spirit almost invariably elicit a critique of one or more heretical groups that deny the Son or Spirit's full divinity. Ambrosiaster also devotes substantial tracts in the *Quaestiones* to refuting Christological and Trinitarian heresies.[31]

It remains true that Ambrosiaster had no love for philosophical arguments or terminology, and, indeed, when Ambrosiaster presents his own explanation of concepts such as the generation of the Son, he encounters some difficulties.[32] Yet, it is precisely the Roman sensibilities that make discussion of the Trinity so difficult that paradoxically compel him to continually broach the subject. For Ambrosiaster a proper recognition of both the Son and the Holy Spirit as fully God is a matter of duty, and, indeed, the highest duty of women and men. For it is through a proper acknowledgment of God, which is only possible by acknowledging the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that Satan's refusal to acknowledge God will be countered. Conversely, when heretics deny the full divinity of the Son or the Spirit they are essentially repeating Satan's rebellion and thus not only support him, but also place themselves on Satan's side in his conflict with

[31] In addition to numerous discussions of various Christological and Trinitarian heresies throughout the commentaries, Ambrosiaster devotes several of his longest treatises in the *Quaestiones* to those issues; e.g., 91, 97, 125.

[32] As Martini notes, Ambrosiaster tends to discuss the generation of the Son in a way that makes it contingent or even a pre-creation act of creation on the part of the Father. See Coelestinus Martini, *Ambrosiaster, de auctore, operibus, theologia* (Rome, 1944), pp. 92–97.

God. Not surprisingly, for Ambrosiaster such an allegiance will yield the gravest of consequences when heretics share Satan's eternal fate.

> Those who speak denigratingly of the Holy Spirit strike at the concept of God, who declared that the salvation of all creatures is founded on the divinity of the Trinity, because, if he is not consubstantial with God and Christ, it is foolish to place him in the number of the Father and the Son, with the result that without him there would be neither salvation for anyone nor dignity. For if he himself is not of the same divinity, the statement is made either foolishly or gratuitously—and, may this not be so.[33] (QNV 125.21)

3.2. *Human Nature*

The characteristics that led Ambrosiaster to define God's "nature" almost entirely in terms of his role as a ruler yield very similar results when he turns to a consideration of human nature. Ambrosiaster defines men and women primarily in terms of their role as the focus of the struggle between God and the Devil in salvation history. He spends very little time addressing human nature in the metaphysical terms one finds in most patristic authors. For example, Ambrosiaster is unusual among patristic authors and Pauline exegetes in not making use of Paul's tripartite view of man as body, soul, and spirit.[34] He describes man solely in terms of body and soul, and provides very little discussion of the nature of either. The one human attribute that Ambrosiaster does discuss at some length, and which has received treatment by scholars, is his understanding of the Imago Dei. Ambrosiaster's understanding of this pivotal concept is directly related to his understanding of humanity's purpose and his immersion in the Pauline epistles.

When God created Adam he created him as an image of himself, but for Ambrosiaster that image did not consist in an attribute like free will, reason, or personhood. Adam is made in the image of God insofar as all

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[33] "Qui degenerem dicunt sanctum spiritum, dei pulsant propositum, qui totius creaturae salutem in trinitatis divinitate consistere declaravit, quia, si consubstantiuus non est deo et Christo, ineptum est ponere istum in numero patris et filii, ut sine hoc neque salus alicui sit neque dignitas. si enim non est eiusdem divinitatis, aut stulte aut gratiose factum est, quod absit." CSEL 50, pp. 391.16–22.

[34] Whereas most commentators use Paul's tripartite division of man from 1 Thess. 5:23, distinguishing at least body, soul, and spirit, Ambrosiaster limits his division to the simple dual nature. He makes creative use of that restraint when he discusses the gift of the Holy Spirit given to Christians. Having limited himself to the two components of body and soul, the addition of the Holy Spirit means that the Christian is made into the likeness of God in being made a type of trinity: body, soul and Spirit; see QNV 123.10.

of humanity comes from the one, Adam, just as all of creation comes from one, God.[35] Properly speaking therefore, it is Adam as an individual who is the image of God; however, Ambrosiaster extends the image to include all men who, as men, possess a causal priority over women. In other words, women are not made in the image of God because they do not represent God as the cause of others. In reaching this surprising conclusion, Ambrosiaster is clearly influenced by his commitment to traditional hierarchies, but he explains his interpretation by repeated appeals to Paul's teaching regarding the relationship between men and women.

> Therefore this is the image of God in man, inasmuch as one has been made, as it were, the lord, from whom the others are descended, having the rule of God as if his vicar, because every king has the image of God. Therefore, the woman is not made according to the image of God. For thus he said: "And God made man, according to the image of God he made him." Thus from the apostle: "Indeed, a man," he says, "ought not to cover his head because he is the image and glory of God"; but therefore a woman does cover, because she is not the glory or image of God. Now this is the likeness of God in man, inasmuch as, just as from the Father is the Son, likewise from the man is the woman. In this she is clearly unequal, because the latter is made; the former, however, was begotten.[36] (QNV 106.17)

Ambrosiaster does believe that women share all of the other attributes of men, including qualities such as reason, free will, and dominion over nature. Yet the fact that he finds the idea of women sharing the image of God as "absurd" obviously overshadows those other positive assessments.[37] Understandably, this view leads many scholars to the conclusion that his traditionalist sexism is guiding his exegesis and theology, and it would be difficult to deny an important measure of truth there. However, one could argue that there are other factors at work as well. As David Hunter argues in his article on the topic, Ambrosiaster is motivated to minimize the role of women by his opposition to their increasing importance in Church

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[35] See n. 30 above.

[36] "Haec ergo imago dei est in homine, ut unus factus sit quasi dominus, ex quo ceteri orirentur, habens imperium dei quasi vicarius eius, quia omnis rex dei habet imaginem. Ideoque mulier non est facta ad dei imaginem. Sic etenim dicit: 'et fecit deus hominem, ad imaginem dei fecit eum.' Hinc est unde apostolus: 'vir quidem,' ait, 'non debet velare caput, quia imago et gloria dei est'; mulier autem ideo velat, quia non est gloria aut imago dei. Similitudo autem dei haec est in homine, ut, sicut ex patre filius, similiter ex homine mulier, in hoc plane dispar, quia haec facta, ille vero natus est." CSEL 50, pp. 243.17–244.2.

[37] On the absurdity of women sharing in the image, see QNV 45.3.

affairs through their prominence in the ascetic movement.[38] Jerome's well-known connections and correspondence with prominent Roman women exemplifies this trend. Furthermore, if one is willing to grant an objective meaning to the teaching of the Pauline epistles, particularly passages such as 1 Corinthians 13 and 1 Timothy 2, it seems Ambrosiaster is driven to a large extent by the texts at hand. He certainly minimizes passages that emphasize the equality of men and women, but it seems obvious that as a Pauline exegete Ambrosiaster likely felt he was simply conveying the essence of Paul's teaching.[39]

His opposition to asceticism also leads Ambrosiaster to mount a lively defense of marriage against its disparagement by ascetics. In his tract, "On the Sin of Adam and Eve," Ambrosiaster brings forth a number of interrelated arguments on behalf of marriage against both those who saw it as innately sinful and those who saw it as simply detrimental to a proper Christian life.[40] Given that men and women fulfill their purpose in life by acknowledging God and obeying his basic commands, the argument that it is necessary to be celibate in order to truly please God is clearly wrong. Moreover, as Ambrosiaster reads Paul he finds strikingly pertinent material in Paul's treatment of the so-called Judaizers. Like the ascetics, they sought to add unnecessary requirements to the Christian life, and Ambrosiaster sees the same motivation in them as Paul diagnoses in his opponents: a desire to aggrandize themselves. Not only is this the very sin of pride to which both Satan and Adam succumbed, it also perverts the message of the gospel, and Ambrosiaster repeatedly links his denunciations of the ascetics with Paul's vigorous attacks on the Judaizers.

3.3. *Original Sin*

Ambrosiaster's defense of marriage and a corresponding defense of ordinary living as truly Christian and pleasing to God is part of a generally optimistic view of human nature. For many, such a stance casts doubt on Ambrosiaster's value as a Pauline exegete, and while many of those criticisms will remain, it is essential to note that Ambrosiaster has read

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[38] See David Hunter, "The Paradise of Patriarchy: Ambrosiaster on Woman as (Not) God's Image," *Journal of Theological Studies* 43 (1992), 447–69.

[39] Ambrosiaster commentary on the central verse, Gal 3:28 is remarkably brief and makes no mention of gender roles. For an example of how Ambrosiaster interprets the other types of passages, see *Ad Timotheum prima* 2:15.

[40] In his article on this topic and *quaestio*, Hunter, "Sin," David Hunter distinguishes three main arguments, and he summarizes the primary points of the treatise clearly.

Paul carefully and does incorporate the apostle's teaching on sin in general, and original sin in particular, into his theological system. Indeed, as was previously noted, it was Ambrosiaster's commentary on Romans 5:12 that attracted Augustine and prompted the most important citation of Ambrosiaster's work in history. This is not to say, however, that Ambrosiaster's understanding of original sin is the same as, or even similar to, Augustine's definitive stance.

In Augustine's *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, it appears that Ambrosiaster's reading of Paul provides a much-needed precedent for Augustine's teaching that was seen as dangerously innovative by many. Against his critics, Augustine notes,

> In fact, the holy Hilary understood in that way the passage, *In whom all have sinned* (Rom 5:12), for he says, "*In whom*, that is, in Adam, *all have sinned*." Then he added, "It is clear that all have sinned in Adam as in a single mass, for all whom he begot, after he was corrupted by sin, were born under the power of sin." In writing these words, Hilary indicated without any ambiguity how one should understand: *in whom all have sinned*.[41] (*Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* 4, 7)

While there are some minor variants in Augustine's quotation, it is essentially correct. However, even a cursory reading of the surrounding passages reveals a radically different understanding of original sin. Ambrosiaster does acknowledge that original sin affects all of Adam's descendents most notably by bringing physical death to all. Furthermore, Adam's sin, which was a mimicking of Satan's rebellion, placed Adam and his descendents under Satan's dominion. Much like the children of slaves or prisoners, Adam's children were born as subjects of Satan prior to any choice or act of their own. As a result, when men and women died they remained under Satan's dominion in the underworld. In addition to the captivity and subjugation incurred by sin, Ambrosiaster also acknowledges changes in human nature, most importantly the emergence of concupiscence and a greater susceptibility to temptation.[42]

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[41] *Answer to the Pelagians, 2: Marriage and Desire, Answer to the Two Letters of the Pelagians, Answer to Julian*, trans. Roland J. Teske (Hyde Park, NY, 1998), p. 191. *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, ed. Karl Franz Urba (CSEL 13; Vienna: 1913), pp. 528.9–14: "nam sic et sanctus hilarius intellexit quod scriptum est: in quo omnes peccauerunt; ait enim: in quo, id est adam, omnes peccauerunt. deinde addidit: manifestum in adam omnes peccasse quasi in massa; ipse enim per peccatum corruptus, omnes quos genuit nati sunt sub peccato. haec scribens hilarius sine ambiguitate commonuit, quomodo intellegendum esset in quo omnes peccauerunt."

[42] See, for example, *Ad Romanos* 7:14.3–5.

Where Ambrosiaster differs markedly from Augustine, and the Latin tradition he fathered, is in his denial of corporate guilt or spiritual death on account of original sin. For Ambrosiaster it is only those who mimic Adam's sin, that is, a knowing rejection of God and a refusal to give him due honor, that incur spiritual death or damnation. What is remarkable is that Ambrosiaster explains this position at some length in his commentary on Romans 5. First he differentiates between the physical death that does follow from Adam's sin and the spiritual death that does not,

> But death is the separation of the soul from the body. And there is another death, which is called the second, in Gehenna, which we suffer not by the sin of Adam, but, by the occasion of his sin, it is acquired by individual sins.[43] (*Ad Romanos* 5:12.3–4)

Then Ambrosiaster goes on to explain that it is only those who mimic Adam's willful rejection of God who incur the second, spiritual death.

> Thus it is made clear that death did not reign in all, because not all sinned in likeness of Adam's transgression. That is, not all have sinned in contempt of God. But who are they who have sinned in contempt of God, except those who, neglecting the creator, serve creatures that they have constituted as gods to themselves and whom they worshipped to the injury of God . . . ? And the sin of Adam is not far from idolatry; for he transgressed thinking man himself would become a god . . . . And, similarly, these, transgressing against God as they served creatures, sinned in like manner, not in the same way, since "in a similar way" usually has some dissimilarity. For it cannot be said, that these too received the rule of not eating of the tree just like Adam. Rather, they were those who sinned not by passing God over, but in the natural law. For whoever understood, either from tradition or by natural judgment, and venerated God, ignorant of none of the honor of his name and majesty, if he sinned,—because it is impossible not to sin,—he sinned under God, not against God, whom he perceived to be judge.[44] (*Ad Romanos* 5:14.2–3)

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[43] "Mors autem separatio animae a corpore est. est et alia mors, quae secunda dicitur in gehenna, quam non peccato Adae patimur, sed eius occasione propriis peccatis adquiritur." CSEL 81.1, pp. 165.16–18.

[44] "Itaque non in omnes regnasse mortem manifestum est, quia non omnes peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae, id est, non omnes contempto deo peccaverunt. qui autem sunt, qui contempto deo peccaverunt, nisi qui neglecto creatore servierunt creaturae deos sibi constituentes, quos colerent ad iniuriam dei? . . . et peccatum Adae non longe est ab idolatria; prevaricavit enim putans se hominem futurum deum. . . . similiter et hi transgresso deo, dum serviunt creaturae, peccant simili, non eodem modo, quia 'simili modo' solet habere aliquid dissimile. nec enim potest dici, quia et hi praeceptum acceperunt non edendi de arbore sicut Adam. fuerunt etiam qui peccaverunt non praeterito deo, sed in lege naturali. qui enim intellexit, sive ex traduce sive iudicio naturali et veneratus

That clarification raises uncomfortable questions regarding a creative use of sources by Augustine, but more importantly it illustrates how Ambrosiaster interprets Paul's teaching on original sin and its consequences in a way that differs markedly from Augustine, and Pelagius as well.[45]

3.4. *Soteriology*

To understand the implications of Ambrosiaster's position, it is necessary to briefly describe his soteriology, which is a form of the Christus Victor soteriology found in many patristic authors and described by Gustaf Aulén in his definitive work, *Christus Victor*.[46] In keeping with his basic theological framework, Ambrosiaster sees Christ's salvific work being accomplished primarily through a literal defeat of Satan and his powers upon Christ's descent. Satan and the powers of sin and death go beyond their rightful domain in attempting to claim the innocent Son of God and as a consequence their powers are broken and Christ descends to the underworld and frees those held there by Satan. Once that is accomplished the souls held there are free to follow Christ in his departure.

> These are those of whom he says: by the sin of one many died, but the grace of God abounds in more. For, both in those who have died by Adam's sin [and] are called sinners in a like manner, and in those who have not sinned in likeness of Adam's fall but on account of the paternal sin were in the depths by God's sentence, the grace of God abounded in the descent of the Savior, giving indulgence to all while raising them to heaven in triumph.[47] (*Ad Romanos* 5:15.2)

Furthermore, following the harrowing of Hell, the souls of men and women who die are no longer under Satan's dominion unless they have willingly allied themselves with him by mimicking his rebellion.

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est deum, nulli honorificentiam nominis et maiestatis eius inperitens, si peccavit—quia inpossible est non peccare,—sub deo peccavit, non in deum, quem iudicem sensit." CSEL 81.1, pp. 171.9–173.3.

[45] Ambrosiaster's acknowledgement that everyone will sin, and sin repeatedly, is very different than Pelagius's apparent focus on the possibility of perfection. More importantly, Ambrosiaster's marked aversion to the type of rigorism and asceticism that defined Pelagianism is a significant difference between the two.

[46] Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement*, trans. A. G. Hebert (New York, 1969).

[47] "Hi sunt, quos dicit unius delicto multos mortuos, gratiam autem dei in plures abundare, quia et in his, qui delicto Adae mortui dicuntur similiter peccantes, et in his, qui non peccaverunt in hac similitudine praevaricationis Adae, paterno autem peccato ex sententia dei erant apud inferos, gratia dei abundavit in descensu salvatoris, omnibus dans indulgentiam, cum triumpho sublatis eis in caelum." CSEL 81.1, pp. 181.8–14.

Ambrosiaster never specifies how common it is for individuals to incur damnation, but the consistent implication is that it is relatively rare. This is explicitly affirmed in Ambrosiaster's commentary on the second half of Romans 5 where Paul describes the extent to which Christ's salvific work exceeds the effect of Adam's sin. Ambrosiaster is not a universalist, but he comes close on occasion.[48] While this certainly runs counter to most western readings of Paul, and certainly Augustine, Ambrosiaster's system is consistent and echoes much of Paul's own language, as in Romans 5. This understanding of sin and salvation is consistent with Ambrosiaster's understanding of humanity's purpose. It is necessary for humanity, at least in large part, to choose to counter Satan's rebellion.

Against those who would argue that this fails to account for Paul's teaching on predestination, Ambrosiaster would affirm the reality, and necessity, of predestination. Salvation is only possible because of Christ's salvific work and only individuals that God calls will come to him. Yet, for Ambrosiaster, predestination is based on God's foreknowledge of merit, and individuals can prepare themselves to receive God's call through good works.[49] Given that original sin does not render Adam's descendents spiritually dead, there is no reason the majority of men and women cannot seek the good and consequently be predestined by God to receive salvation.

3.5. *Pagans*

Ambrosiaster's basic theological anthropology together with his interpretation of original sin and the nature of salvation lead him to conclude that humanity as a whole will reject Satan and avoid his fate. Even if one grants that Ambrosiaster offers a plausible interpretation of Paul on sin and salvation, Ambrosiaster must still account for the large numbers of pagans and Jews and the seemingly small number of Christians.

As was noted above, Ambrosiaster offers extended arguments against pagans and their beliefs in a number of works. Yet, those polemics are offered within a context where Ambrosiaster can assume that all pagans have heard the truth of Christianity and are therefore responsible for offering God, whom they know about, his due recognition and honor. In

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[48] As in the passage cited in n. 47 above.

[49] For example, see Ambrosiaster's explanation of God's choice of Jacob over Esau in *Ad Romanos* 9:11–13.1. On the possibility, and necessity, of preparing one's self for election, see Ambrosiaster's comments on why Paul was delayed in coming to the Romans, *Ad Romanos* 1:13.4.

his commentary on Romans 2, Ambrosiaster interprets Paul in a manner that would allow for the salvation of virtuous pagans as long as they follow their conscience and do not sin in the likeness of Adam's fall.

> In this way, he will be judged guilty who reflected and, perceiving the Catholic Church to be good and true, remains in heresy or schism, but, conversely, his thoughts will excuse the one who always thought to seek what he judged expedient. For it will be said: "In my thoughts I have always sought what I believed to be good. That was my faith." That one will have a lighter trial, no matter how he might be corrected, because he will not be accused by his conscience on the day of judgment.[50] (*Ad Romanos* 2:15–16.2c)

Admittedly, Ambrosiaster does not offer an explicit, systematic account of salvation outside of the visible Church; however, it is remarkable how his position parallels modern Catholic teaching. In both cases basic theological assumptions have led away from the view that only a small minority will be saved. Both stop short of universalism in acknowledging that some willfully reject God and incur spiritual death. And both argue that God can choose to extend Christ's salvific work to those who consistently choose to follow their conscience in pursuit of the good. Certainly that correspondence would not satisfy many critics, but it is equally certain that it justifies greater study of Ambrosiaster's thought and interpretation of Paul by modern theologians.

3.6. *Jews and the Law*

Turning to the Jews, Ambrosiaster's position is similar, albeit more complicated by the old covenant and the extensive revelation that all Jews have received. At the same time, Ambrosiaster's appraisal of that revelation, and the Mosaic Law in particular, is unusually critical. To explain that seemingly incongruous negativity, it is important to note that Ambrosiaster divides the Law into at least four distinct categories. At the extremes are the basic moral commands that remain good and valid both before and after Christ and the worthless laws concocted by the Jewish authorities to bolster their own importance. In between those two extremes are the numerous ceremonial and purity laws given by God to the people.

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[50] "Et per hoc constituetur reus qui cogitavit sentiens bonam et veram esse ecclesiam catholicam et permansit in herese vel scismate. eius autem cogitationes se invicem excusabunt, qui semper hoc cogitavit, putans utile quod secutus est. dicturus est enim: semper in cogitationibus meis hoc putavi utile quod secutus sum. haec fuit fides mea. hic leviorem habet causam, quamvis emendandus sit, quia conscientia sua non accusabitur in die iudicii." CSEL 81.1, pp. 81.9–15.

Ambrosiaster recognizes some of these as holding a symbolic significance. As he explains in his commentary on Romans 9, "The Sabbath and circumcision truly had a particular righteousness for their time, because they were given as figures" (*Ad Romanos* 9:32.1a).[51] That is a standard patristic interpretation of the law, one that is still used by Christians today. What makes Ambrosiaster unusual is that he places very few laws and rituals in that category. He sees the vast majority of the ceremonial and purity laws as devoid of true meaning or significance. That is not to say they were not given by God; they were. However, most of the laws are purely punitive in nature; God gave them to the Jews as a punishment for their pride and stubborn rebellion.

> And there are so many mandates that it is impossible for them to be kept .... For to a negligent and arrogant people these were given, so that for every action they might have a law.[52] (*Ad Galatas* 3:9–10)

Thus, when Ambrosiaster interprets Paul's teaching on the end of the Law, it does not end only through the realization of what was symbolized. It also ends in that the Jews are freed from an oppressive, punitive body of laws. Ambrosiaster bases that judgment on Ezekiel 20:25: "Moreover, I gave them statutes that were not good and rules by which they could not have life." However, given his continual equating of the Jews and the ascetics, he would obviously be disinclined to find deep spiritual meaning and value in an extensive body of laws that prohibits many types of foods and promotes a sharp divide between the holy and the mundane.

Turning to the Jewish people, Ambrosiaster naturally extends his negative appraisal of the law to those Jews who recognize Christ for who he is but insist on establishing their own righteousness through observance of the Law. Ambrosiaster's corpus contains numerous examples of the anti-Jewish rhetoric for which patristic authors are infamous. His condemnation of the perfidious Jews is vehement.[53] Conversely, Ambrosiaster obviously

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[51] "Sabbatum vero et circumcisio propriam habuerunt iustitiam tempore suo, quia in figura data sunt." CSEL 81.1, p. 339.13.

[52] "Et tanta mandata sunt, ut inpossibile sit servari ea.... neglegenti enim et superbo populo haec data erant, ut per omnem conversationem legem haberent." CSEL 81.3 pp. 33.22, 25.

[53] At one point Ambrosiaster repeats the charge that the Jews are cursed as Christ-killers. "And if you will look closer, you will see Christ is made their curse, by whom he was killed; for the cross of the Savior is the sin and curse of the Jews" [et si propius aspicias, videbis Christum maledictum eorum factum, a quibus occisus est; crux enim salvatoris peccatum et maledictum est Iudaeorum] (*Ad Galatas* 3:13.2, CSEL 81.3, pp. 35.2–4).

recognizes that some Jews do recognize and accept Christ, although that seems to be a small group in both Paul's time and his own.

Where Ambrosiaster differs from most patristic authors is in his recognition of a third group, which Ambrosiaster seems to see as the largest. Only some of the Jews who are not Christians reject Christianity out of spite and willful perfidy. Following Paul's teaching in Romans 9–11, Ambrosiaster believes that many non-Christian Jews have been temporarily blinded by God, which prevents them from recognizing the truth and becoming Christians. These Jews reject Christianity out of ignorance or "erroneously emulating the traditions of their fathers"[54] (*Ad Romanos* 11:8–10.5). Their blindness is in part a punishment for that mistake; however, as Paul explains, Ambrosiaster sees that blindness as a tool used by God to bring about the salvation of the gentiles. Once God accomplishes that purpose, the blindness will be removed and those Jews will be saved. While he once again stops short of universalism, Ambrosiaster enthusiastically affirms the spirit of Paul's optimistic teaching that all Israel will be saved.

> It is clear that if their fault profited the world, as it has more good people at their expense—because there are many more gentiles than Jews—and if by their rejection, which is the loss of the promise, there are riches for the Gentiles, because through it they received eternal life; how much greater will be their fullness! It is clear that the world will be richer in good men, if those also, who were blinded, are converted. For the world will be saved by a greater part.[55] (*Ad Romanos* 11:12)

He goes on to add,

> He says this because if by the unbelief of the Jews the Gentiles are reconciled to God to the benefit of the world through faith in Christ, what will there be in terms of the degree, and how great the plentitude of salvation if the Jews also are added to the faith of Christ, except that the world, in terms of men, will be vivified from the dead?[56] (*Ad Romanos* 11:15)

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[54] "Errore aemulando traditionem patrum." CSEL 81.1, p. 369.28.

[55] "Manifestum est, quia si dilectum illorum profuit mundo, dum horum dispendio plures habet bonos—quia multo plures sunt gentes Iudaeis—et diminutio eorum, quod est damnum promissionis, divitiae gentium per id quod lucrati sunt vitam aeternam, quanto magis plenitudo eorum! apertum est, quia magis dives erit mundus hominibus bonis, si et hi, qui caecati sunt, convertantur. ex magna enim parte salvabitur mundus." CSEL 81.1, pp. 371.23–373.8.

[56] "Hoc dicit, quia si non credentibus Iudaeis gentes reconciliatae sunt deo ad incrementum mundi circa fidem Christi, quae erit in hac parte et quanta plenitudo salutis, si adsumantur et Iudaei ad fidem Christi, nisi ut ex mortuis vivificetur mundus in hominibus?" CSEL 81.1, pp. 373.23–26.

Here again, Ambrosiaster's position is unusual for a patristic author and calls for further study given the modern repudiation of anti-Semitism and recovery of the centrality of the Jews and their salvation in Paul's teaching.

3.7. *Christian Life*

The same premises and concerns that guide Ambrosiaster's understanding of sin, salvation, pagans, and Jews shape his understanding of the Christian life. There too, Ambrosiaster interprets Paul in a way that presents the heart of a Christian life as fulfilling one's basic duties to God by offering him his due honor and obeying his commands. A proper Christian life consists primarily in holding to an orthodox Christology and Trinitarian belief, avoiding sin as much as possible, and performing good works. In addition, Ambrosiaster repeatedly notes the importance of baptism as initiating the Christian life.

The majority of this is unexceptional. Many Protestant scholars see Ambrosiaster's theology and reading of Paul as deficient given his insistence on baptism and, especially, good works. Catholics, however, would find the bulk of Ambrosiaster's views on those topics in keeping with traditional Catholic teaching. In Ambrosiaster's own time, however, his position was quite controversial given Ambrosiaster's failure to depict ascetic practices as a central aspect of the Christian life. Ambrosiaster's opposition to the militant ascetics has been discussed repeatedly, so it is not necessary to repeat his position here. In the context of discussing the Christian life, however, it is important to note that Ambrosiaster never rejects asceticism per se. He recognizes that it can be good and that certain ascetic practices are even necessary.[57] What he opposes is an undue emphasis on asceticism, which he sees as a form of pride and a perversion of the gospel.

The true heart of the Christian life lies in a proper Trinitarian belief, and Ambrosiaster's reasons for that emphasis were discussed above. Turning from that *sacramentum dei* to the role of the sacraments in the Christian life, it is baptism that receives, by far, the greatest attention in Ambrosiaster's work. Ambrosiaster echoes Paul in describing the numerous inter-connected effects that baptism produces in the Christian. It is

[57] For example, in regard to celibacy Ambrosiaster spells out his position in his commentary on 1 Cor 7:2–7 where he makes it clear that while celibacy is indeed good, it should be sought only by those gifted like Paul. For many, and likely most Christians, a grudgingly accepted or imposed celibacy would only serve as an occasion for sin.

through baptism that a person receives remission of sin, incorporation into the Church, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and adoption as God's child.[58] While Ambrosiaster goes on at some length regarding these various effects, it is notable that he says practically nothing regarding the mystical or charismatic gifts attained through baptism that are the focus for many patristic authors.[59] Of course, his focus on more relational effects and his minimizing of the charismatic is in keeping with his general character, overall system, and opposition to charismatic ascetics. Here too one might argue that he also faithfully follows Paul's own preference for the gifts of teaching and leadership over the more spectacular charisms.

Turning to Ambrosiaster's treatments of the other sacraments, a notable gap in Ambrosiaster's thought becomes apparent. Apart from a discussion of the Eucharist, given out of necessity in the commentary on 1 Corinthians 11, Ambrosiaster pays very little attention to the sacraments and their role in the Christian life. The aforementioned treatment of the Eucharist in the commentary on 1 Corinthians is in keeping with the general understanding of the period, yet it hardly goes beyond what is required by the text. Ambrosiaster seldom, if ever, mentions the Eucharist in other contexts. Likewise with penance, Ambrosiaster is compelled to address it, in this case out of polemical necessity in response to the Novatianists.[60] His consistent opposition to rigorism leads him to vigorously defend the possibility and importance of post-baptismal penance, but his discussion is clearly occasional and penance is not an important component in his depiction of the Christian life.

On the whole, the sacraments, while acknowledged and understood in a traditional manner, are not an important part of Ambrosiaster's depiction of the Christian life and appear to be something of a necessary afterthought. This is typical of fourth-century authors and it is even a bit anachronistic to talk about a sacramental theology at this period. For Ambrosiaster, however, this typical silence is notable in that it ties in with

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[58] On the remission of sins, see *Ad Romanos* 4:7.2–4. For a discussion of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and its many benefits, see the commentary on Romans 8, and on adoption as God's children, see again Romans 8, and specifically *Ad Romanos* 8:15.2–2a.

[59] See for example, the exceptionally terse commentary on the gifts of the Spirit in 1 Corinthians 12. For the contrast with most patristic authors, see Killian McDonnell and George Montague, *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Evidence from the First Eight Centuries* (Collegeville, MN, 1991), pp. 122–57.

[60] His only substantive discussion of penance is his tract against the Novatianists, QNV 102.

other aspects of his thought, namely the possibility of salvation outside of the visible Church.

On the Church, Ambrosiaster sees union with it as an essential aspect of baptism, and, given his defense of the traditional hierarchy against the ascetics, he obviously views the Church, and its leadership, as important. Nonetheless, the Church is far from the foreground when Ambrosiaster moves from specific ecclesiastical controversies to describing the Christian life. Here too Ambrosiaster's treatment of the role of the Church in everyday Christian life is not atypical for his time while at the same time in keeping with his atypical views on salvation. It is also somewhat surprising that a figure devoted to upholding the traditional hierarchy against the ascetics places so little emphasis on the roles of Church and sacraments in Christian life. This seems to indicate that Ambrosiaster was driven more by his understanding of Paul's teaching than his own polemical concerns.

Finally, in addition to a Trinitarian faith and baptism, Ambrosiaster sees good works as an essential part of the Christian life. As he clearly states, "For to this Christ redeemed us, that following a pure life replete with good works we might be able to be heirs of the kingdom of God" (*Ad Titum* 2:13–14).[61] Good works are necessary, in part, out of simple obedience to God's commands. One cannot properly honor God without obeying his laws. Yet, Ambrosiaster's understanding of salvation requires the performance of good works beyond simply following the moral laws. Just as a willful and persistent rejection of God seals one's place on the side of Satan, so too repeated choices of the good confirm one's place on God's side. And though Ambrosiaster's understanding of salvation is primarily militaristic, at times he uses language reminiscent of the eastern concept of *theosis*, or divinization or deification.

> But since it was fitting for something to be added by the time of Christ, he commanded that not only neighbors, but also enemies are to be loved. Whence it is added, "the fulfillment of the law is love," so that righteousness might be to love a neighbor, but abundant and perfect righteousness is also to love enemies. . . . This is heavenly righteousness. This makes [one] similar to God the Father, who also gives annual gifts to those who do not worship him. So too, the Lord stretched out on the cross begged for his enemies, so

[61] "Ad hoc enim redemit nos Christus, ut puram vitam sectantes repleti operibus bonis regni dei heredes esse possimus." CSEL 81.3, pp. 330.23–25.

> that he might demonstrate the fullness of righteousness, which he taught.[62] (*Ad Romanos* 13:10.1–2a)

Once one is on God's side, one then prepares himself or herself for an eternity with God by developing virtues and becoming more like God.

3.8. *Summary of Content*

While there are certainly questionable aspects of Ambrosiaster's system, most notably the importance he gives to Satan, given the pioneering nature of his work in interpreting Paul the degree of consistency that he attains is remarkable. Ambrosiaster works from the conviction that humanity exists to counter Satan's rebellion and will ultimately succeed by choosing to honor God and reject Satan. From that foundation Ambrosiaster interprets Paul and constructs a theological system that runs counter to many of the prevailing sentiments of his era and differs markedly from the Augustinian system that would come to prominence mere decades later. His confidence in human initiative and minimizing of divine grace is certainly problematic for Protestants, and likely many Catholics as well. Nonetheless, the fact that he recognizes the possibility of salvation for those outside of the visible Church and champions the value of ordinary Christian lives should make him an appealing subject for study by modern scholars, as he deserves.

4. *Influence and Reception*

The preceding survey of Ambrosiaster's thought explains a great deal about the history of Ambrosiaster's influence and reception. His work clearly circulated widely. In addition to coming to the attention of Augustine and Jerome in Ambrosiaster's own lifetime or shortly thereafter, there are roughly seventy manuscripts of the commentaries dating back to the sixth century. Furthermore, the commentaries are cited in numerous medieval authors, including Prudentius, Bede, Alcuin, Claudius of Turin, Amalarius of Metz, Haymo of Auxerre, Hincmar of Reims, Anselm

[62] "Sed quia tempore Christi addi aliquid oportuit, non solum proximos, sed inimicos diligi praecepit. unde subditur: plenitudo legis est dilectio, ut iustitia sit diligere proximum, abundans vero et perfecta iustitia etiam inimicos diligere . . . . haec caelestis iustitia est. haec deo patri similes facit, qui et non colentibus se annua dona largitur. nam et dominus in cruce positus postulat pro inimicis, ut plenitudinem iustitiae, quam docuerat, demonstraret." CSEL 81.1, pp. 425.19–21, 427.5–8.

of Lucca, Lanfranc, Aelfric, Ivo of Chartres, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Abelard.[63] The *Quaestiones* were less popular, but references to them by Alcuin in the late-eighth-century Carolingian court and their appearance in the eleventh-century Celtic *Liber Hymnorum* demonstrate that they did circulate broadly.[64] Given that distribution and usage, along with the eminence of the putative authors, one would expect Ambrosiaster's works to have had a notable influence on the development of western theology; however, few of the features described above seem to have had a notable impact on later Latin authors. The one exception, Augustine's profoundly influential use of *quasi in massa*, is instructive. While, as I have argued, it does not represent Ambrosiaster's thought, it is indicative of how Augustine's shadow came to dominate and obscure much of the earlier Latin tradition, including Ambrosiaster. The emergence of Augustine's dominance shortly after Ambrosiaster wrote almost certainly curtailed the potential impact of Ambrosiaster. Indeed, even if Ambrosiaster had been recognized as distinct from Augustine, the parallel shadow of the Pelagian controversy would have rendered Ambrosiaster suspect.

The power of Augustine and the Pelagian controversy to define the terms of theological discussion can be seen quite clearly in more recent scholars who recognize Ambrosiaster's importance and yet continue to read him through the anachronistic lenses of the Pelagian controversy. Ambrosiaster's value was noted by one of the first "modern" patristic scholars. The sixteenth-century Dominican scholar Sixtus of Siena described Ambrosiaster as, "breves quidem in verbis, sed sententiae pondere graves."[65] One finds a similar but even more enthusiastic assessment by arguably the most influential patristic scholar of any period, Adolph von Harnack. Souter reports his appraisal, "We ought to call him the great unknown: for what Western expositor of the early period or the Middle Ages is his equal?"[66] In a similar vein, Maurice Wiles, in his impressive survey of patristic Pauline exegesis, describes Ambrosiaster as "perhaps the most important of them all [Latin patristic commentators]," and goes on, "Whoever he was,

[63] Souter, *Study*, p. 4, and Lunn-Rockliffe, *Political*, pp. 3–4 n. 7.

[64] Souter, *Study*, pp. 163–64.

[65] The quotation is given by both Souter, *Earliest*, p. 63 and Vogels, *Ad Romanos*, xvii, who each found the quotation in Richard Simon's *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament depuis le commencement du Christianisme jusques a notre temps* (Rotterdam, 1693).

[66] Souter, *Earliest*, p. 44. The quotation is taken from Adolph von Harnack, "Der pseudoagustinische Trakat Contra Novatianum," in *Abhandlungen Alexander von Oettingen zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern* (Munich, 1898), pp. 54–93.

his work is remarkably succinct and complete for one who was still essentially a pioneer in the field of Latin commentary."[67]

Despite such appraisals, the vast majority of scholars who offer more than a passing reference to Ambrosiaster discuss his work primarily in terms of its relation to the Pelagian controversy. Where our author falls within the terms of that debate varies from scholar to scholar. Many scholars see Ambrosiaster as essentially Pelagian and emphasize the latter's use of Ambrosiaster as a source in his own commentaries. Souter sometimes falls into this group:

> He is relatively nearer to Pelagius than to Augustine. He has not grasped the idea that before God man must always be the receiver and the favoured, never the giver or benefactor. Ambrosiaster, like many another, is obsessed by the idea that we can acquire merit with God, and the associated idea that certain labours on our part are necessary to gain it.[68]

A similar appraisal is to be found in a study of Pelagius's sources by Alfred Smith, who argues, "His view of Predestination he seems to have taken from Ambrosiaster. His doctrine with regard to Original Sin appears to have come from the same source."[69] There are obvious ideological connections between scholars in this camp, and, not surprisingly, many Protestant scholars see Ambrosiaster's deviation from Augustine, not to mention Luther and Calvin, as both Pelagian and a failure of Pauline exegesis.

Other scholars take an opposite view of Ambrosiaster and see Augustine's use of *quasi in massa* not as an isolated connection but as indicative of a profound commonality between Ambrosiaster and the great doctor of grace. The most notable representative of this view was Ernesto Bonaiuti who argued in a pair of articles that Ambrosiaster was the primary source for Augustine's teaching on sin and grace.[70]

> As a matter of fact, the patient and detailed comparison of the Augustinian doctrines in their development during the Pelagian controversy, with the

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[67] Maurice Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of Paul's Epistles in the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 11.

[68] Souter, *Earliest*, p. 80.

[69] Alfred Smith, "Latin Sources of the Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans," *Journal of Theological Studies*, o.s., 19 (1918), 162–230.

[70] Ernesto Bonaiuti, "The Genesis of St. Augustine's Idea of Original Sin," *Harvard Theological Review* 10 (1917), 159–75; and idem, "Manichaeism and Augustine's Idea of 'Massa Perditionis,'" *Harvard Theological Review* 20 (1927), 117–27. Paul Rigby in his article, "Original Sin" in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, 1999), pp. 607–14, also cites TeSelle and Pincherle as holding the view that Augustine is indebted to Ambrosiaster for his position on original sin.

> anthropology and the soteriology of Ambrosiaster, gives us the conviction that the Pauline comment of the latter underlies the arguments and the capital points of the Augustinian polemical writings. (Bonaiuti, "Genesis," 170)

Most scholars stop well short of Bonaiuti's position, but the idea that Ambrosiaster is a proto-Augustinian is implicit in many of the references to his function as the source for Augustine's reading of Romans 5:12 and the phrase *quasi in massa*.

Admittedly, some scholars recognize that Ambrosiaster is neither Augustinian nor Pelagian. Nonetheless, Ambrosiaster's overall theological vision remains unexplored. Apart from those seeking a proto-Pelagian or proto-Augustinian, scholars have focused primarily on other aspects of Ambrosiaster's thought, such as his opposition to asceticism or his political thought. On those points, the evaluation of Ambrosiaster varies. His opposition to asceticism and support for marriage and sexuality is obviously more appealing to modern readers than Jerome's arguments to the contrary. His support for traditional hierarchies and his arguments against rebels and presumptuous women are less appealing. Ultimately, the modern scholarly assessment of Ambrosiaster will likely be shaped in the coming decades. With the ongoing arrival of English translations, there will likely be flourishing in Ambrosiaster studies.

5. *Conclusion*

Despite his anonymity, Ambrosiaster played a pivotal role in the history of Pauline exegesis in western Christianity. While he may not have been the theological equal of the great Doctors of the Church, by producing a complete set of commentaries on Paul essentially from scratch Ambrosiaster provided subsequent figures with a starting point for the developing Pauline exegesis in the west. For better or worse it was Ambrosiaster who provided both Augustine and Pelagius with a representation of how Paul was understood in the mid to late fourth-century from which both of them drew in crafting their own understandings of Paul's teaching on sin and grace. One hopes that further study will show that Ambrosiaster's work is a valuable resource beyond the light it sheds on the Pelagian controversy.

PELAGIUS'S INTERPRETATION OF ROMANS

Thomas P. Scheck

1. *Introduction*

Pelagius's *Commentary on Romans* (*CRm*) is his longest extant work.[1] It was completed in Rome before 410 and was referred to by St. Augustine in 412.[2] After reading Pelagius's work on Romans, Augustine described Pelagius as a "distinguished Christian man" (*vir ille tam egregie Christianus*) and a "highly advanced Christian" (*non parvo provectu Christianus*).[3] He did not give Pelagius his unqualified support, however, but registered an objection to Pelagius's interpretation of Rom 5.12, saying that Pelagius made use of an argument that is used by those who deny that infants are burdened by original sin. On the whole though it does not seem that Augustine's early criticism of Pelagius's *CRm* was very severe.

Later on in his career, of course, the bishop of Hippo would polemically label Pelagius "the enemy of God's grace" and turn him into a symbol of autonomous humanism that entirely excludes the contribution of divine grace from human salvation. Some forms of hyper-Augustinian theology even claim that any attempt to affirm the meaningful role of human free choice in the process of salvation is really a covert attempt to introduce "Pelagianism" or "Semi-Pelagianism" into Christian theology.[4] It is the latter seriously misleading caricature that still exerts a broad popular influence today. This situation obtains in spite of the fact that new light on Pelagius's theological traditionalism has been shed in modern times as a result of more careful and objective historical research.[5]

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[1] All Latin citations of it are taken from Souter's edition: *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul*. Texts and Studies 9 (Cambridge, 1922–31). 3 vols: I: Introduction (1922); II: Text and Critical Apparatus (1926); III: Pseudo-Jerome Interpolations (1931).

[2] Cf. Souter, *Expositions*, I, p. 4; Augustine, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3.1 (PL 44:186).

[3] *De Pecc. Mer.* 3.6; 3.1 (PL 44:192,186).

[4] A good example of this perspective is found in J. I. Packer's Introduction to *Martin Luther, The Bondage of the Will: The Masterwork of the Great Reformer* trans. J. I. Packer, O. R. Johnston (Old Tappan, N.J. 1957).

[5] See Robert F. Evans, *Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals* (New York, 1968); J. Ferguson, *Pelagius* (Cambridge, 1956).

An important result of the modern reappraisal of Pelagius's theology has been a more sympathetic assessment of his theology and doctrine of grace and the recognition of its deep rootedness in the antecedent Greek theologians. On the other hand, even the "new perspective" on Pelagius does not contest Augustine's most fundamental concern, that Pelagius's understanding of original sin is one-sided and defective. Bonner says that the clue to Pelagius's orthodoxy or heresy lies not so much in his concept of grace as in the matter of the baptism of infants for the remission of sins.[6] Pelagius thought that the Church baptized infants not for the remission of their sins, but for the sake of their obtaining a higher sanctification through union with Christ. In other words, he denied the inherited transmission of sin from Adam to Adam's posterity. However, Pelagius's doctrine of grace, free will and predestination, as represented in his *Commentary on Romans*, has very strong links with Eastern (Greek) theology and, for the most part, these doctrines are no more reproachable than those of orthodox Greek theologians such as Origen and John Chrysostom, and of St. Jerome.[7]

My aim in this chapter is to examine some of the principal themes and insights of Pelagius's *Commentary on Romans* and attempt to identify in particular his relationship to the antecedent exegetical tradition, to Origen, above all. But before we consider Pelagius's interpretation of Romans, it is necessary in the first place very briefly to summarize his career, to offer historically accurate definitions of "Pelagianism" and "semi-Pelagianism," and to discuss the evolution of St. Augustine's doctrine of operative grace. The latter two preliminary tasks are essential because there is a strong tendency even in modern scholarship to employ the terms Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism imprecisely and inaccurately. For example, in a recent book on Erasmus, the authors define "Pelagian" in a *Glossary of Theological Terms* as: "Pertaining to the teaching of Pelagius, a fifth-century British monk, who denied man's total depravity; usually associated in the sixteenth century with a belief that man has Free Will to contribute

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[6] Gerald Bonner, "How Pelagian was Pelagius? An Examination of the Contentions of Torgny Bohlin." Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 94 (1966), pp. 357–58.

[7] I include Origen among the orthodox on the subject of free will and grace because his views were largely assimilated by Western theologians such as Rufinus, Cassian and Jerome and eastern theologians such as the Cappadocians. Cf. H. Crouzel, "Theological Construction and Research: Origen on Free-Will;" in *Scripture, Tradition and Reason: A Study in the Criteria of Christian Doctrine. Essays in Honor of R. P. C. Hanson*, eds. R. Bauckham, B. Drewery (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), pp. 239–65.

something toward his salvation, as against the notion of Predestination."[8] According to this definition, to deny man's total depravity is to be "Pelagian." Thus the official theological position of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church would be "Pelagian," as well as of St. Augustine himself, who both denied man's total depravity and affirmed that man has a free will that contributes something to salvation, when aided by grace.

2. *A Brief Biography of Pelagius*

Although Pelagius's dates are still disputed, the modern consensus is that he was born in Britain ca. 354 and baptized ca. 380–84 in Rome where he lived for a long time and was one of the most influential theological voices of his time.[9] Pelagius was a monk but was not in holy orders. Both Orosius and Pope Zosimus speak of him as a layman. He was animated with a desire to become a reformer of Christian morals and was indignant at what he regarded as the lax, luxurious and corrupt standards of the contemporary church. In this regard he resembled the young St. Jerome.[10] Pelagius strongly emphasized personal culpability for sin and the power of the human will to liberate itself from sloth and negligence. Conversely, he seems to have de-emphasized the need for divine grace and assistance in the Christian contest. According to Augustine, Pelagius could not endure, but became indignant upon hearing a passage in the *Confessions* where Augustine prayed to God, "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou willest."[11] McCue seems justified, however, when he hesitates to accept Augustine's version of this story at face value, since there is no other evidence for it and the report is based on hearsay twenty-five years

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[8] A. Dickens and W. Jones, *Erasmus the Reformer* (London: Mandarin, 1995), p. 300.

[9] Cf. V. Grossi "Pelagius." *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, ed. A. Di Berardino (New York, 1992), Vol. 2, pp. 665–66. On the other hand, according to W. Ince, "Pelagius (2)." *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. Smith & Wace (London, 1887), 4:282, he was born in 370 and did not come to Rome until 401.

[10] Jerome (345–420) was so appalled at the laxity of Roman Christians that he composed insulting and defamatory satirical writings, which offended large numbers of readers. The situation became so serious for Jerome that after Pope Damasus's death in December 384, an official ecclesiastical inquiry was conducted and Jerome was condemned in a formal judgment that was delivered orally. Thus in 385 the atmosphere in Rome had become so hostile toward Jerome that he was requested to leave the city altogether. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York, 1975), p. 113; A. Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009).

[11] *De dono perseverantiae* 53 (PL 45:1026).

after the alleged event. Moreover, the prayer itself bears some resemblance to Wisdom 8.21–9.4,[12] a text to which Pelagius would hardly have objected.[13] All this makes the episode of dubious historicity.

Pelagius remained at Rome until around 410 when, as a consequence of the invasion of that city by Alaric, ruler of the Goths, he was forced to flee to Sicily.[14] After a short interval he traveled to Africa and later to Carthage, where he met Augustine. Having later settled in Palestine, he eventually became embroiled in theological controversies that led to the condemnation of some of his tenets in 417. (These will be discussed below.) Pelagius is said to have died in a small town in Palestine, being upwards of seventy years of age.

3. *Evolution of Augustine's Doctrine of Grace and Predestination*

Our second preliminary task is to clarify the evolution of Augustine's doctrine of grace and predestination. This is a necessary step to discussing and defining Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism accurately. The early Augustine held the same view as Origen, Chrysostom and Jerome, that God chooses certain people for salvation on the basis of his foreknowledge of their free decision of faith.[15] In *De diversis quaestionibus* (PL 40:101–48) and in *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos* (PL 35:2063–84), Augustine located the divine mercy in the call to faith in Christ. Burns summarizes Augustine's early position as follows: "A person's response to this vocation constitutes the basis for election or rejection, for

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[12] RSV: "But I perceived that I would not possess wisdom unless God gave her to me—and it was a mark of insight to know whose gift she was—so I appealed to the Lord and besought him, and with my whole heart I said: 'O God of my fathers and Lord of mercy, who hast made all things by thy word, and by thy wisdom hast formed man, to have dominion over the creatures thou hast made, and rule the world in holiness and righteousness, and pronounce judgment in uprightness of soul, give me the wisdom that sits by thy throne, and do not reject me from among thy servants.' "

[13] J. F. McCue, "Augustine and the Strange Career of Romans 9:10–29." In: *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Eds. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow and Rodney A. Werline (Harrisburg, 2001), pp. 179–80.

[14] Rufinus of Aquileia fled to Sicily at the same time and describes the events in the prologue of his translation of Origen's *Hom in Nm* (PG 12,583–86). See my new translation: *Origen: Homilies on Numbers*, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, 2010).

[15] Cf. E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford, 2003), p. 182, n. 150, referring to Augustine's *Comm on Gal* 4.7; *Exp. Prop. Rm* 52 (60).

further mercy or hardening."[16] In other words, divine foreknowledge is not causative but is compatible with human freedom to choose.

Later on, however, Augustine became dissatisfied with this position and viewed it as endangering the sovereignty of divine grace. His thought developed somewhat in *Ad Simplicianum* (PL 40:11–148), where he decided that a divine foreknowledge of faith would not be significantly different from foreknowledge of good works, which are explicitly excluded as the basis for election.[17] He abandoned his earlier argument that Pharaoh had earned his condemnation by refusing an earlier vocation which he could have followed.[18] During his later career Augustine developed his doctrine of predestination as God's foreknowledge and preparation of works which he himself performs, of the gifts which he will give and those to whom he will give them. God's grace follows his predestination as the actual giving and achievement. This means that in the understanding of the late Augustine, God's foreknowledge is his knowledge not of what human beings will do but of what God will do. Rather than finding its basis in man's response to grace, predestination through grace *affects* that response.

Conversely, the reprobation or rejection of those not of the elect is due ultimately to the fact that God does not choose to grant them efficacious grace and perseverance. To the question of why one person is chosen and not another, the only possible response for Augustine is that the reason lies in the inscrutable wisdom and justice of God, beyond the limits of human comprehension. Augustine is thus associated with a doctrine of predestination *ante praevisa merita* (prior to foreseen merits). According to Augustine's categories of interpretation, then, to reject predestination one must either deny divine foreknowledge or assert that salvation is accomplished by autonomous human works rather than by the gifts of God.[19] Ogliari objects to the patent unfairness of Augustine's appeal to a sovereign God who acts above and beyond this world and the laws of his creation simply as a means of supporting his own controversial answer to the problematic question of divine election. "There is no doubt that with regard to the problem of election and predestination Augustine used the

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[16] Cf. J. P. Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1980), p. 38.

[17] Cf. Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 39.

[18] *De div. quaest.* 68, 4 (PL 40:70–74); *Prop ex ep ad Rom* 54, 8 (PL 35:207).

[19] Cf. Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 177.

argument of God's inscrutable design not as an acknowledgement that such questions are unsolvable, but to support his own solutions."[20]

Augustine's conception of predestination came under criticism from Catholic monks of Provence (France). They accused him of innovating in his doctrine of the divine operation of conversion and perseverance. The specific charge was that Augustine implicitly taught a divine reprobation of the non-elect which simultaneously limited the scope of Christ's redemptive death on the cross and which made God ultimately responsible for human damnation. In response, Augustine pointed back to his analysis of Romans 9.16 in his early work, *Ad Simplicianum*.[21] He asserted that he had affirmed divine sovereignty over human choice thirty years earlier. He claimed that his subsequent application of this principle to perseverance in good was already implicit in the early teaching on conversion. According to Burns, Augustine's reading of his reply to Simplician against the background of the controversy with the Pelagians is not inaccurate on the point of divine sovereignty itself. But it is not tenable as an assertion of continuity and consistency in the explanation of *the way in which* God achieves his purposes in the human will.[22] Burns summarizes the problematic nature of Augustine's later position:

> For all the cogency of his arguments for the predestination of the elect and the working of their salvation, Augustine failed to meet the issue which his opponents were pressing, the implied reprobation of the non-elect. Predestination according to foreknowledge of God's own action seemed to entail reprobation according to God's foreknowledge of his own inaction.[23]

Ogliari thinks that Augustine's treatise *De dono perseverantiae* has lost the balance between the agency of man and that of grace that was present in *De gratia et libero arbitrio*.[24] He writes:

> Free will and human agency, at this stage, seem to have become mere "instruments for expressing the outworking of grace." . . . the line of argument taken by the bishop of Hippo clearly emerges as a continual and intransigent insistence on the predestinarian "logic" of his theological construction on grace. So much so that the overriding role of divine agency overshadows, if not *de*

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[20] D. Ogliari, Gratia et Certamen: *The Relationship between Grace and Free will in the Discussion of Augustine with the So-called Semipelagians*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium CLXIX (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), p. 416.

[21] *De praed. Sanct.*, 3, 7–4, 8 (PL 45).

[22] Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 183.

[23] Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 177.

[24] D. Ogliari, Gratia et Certamen, p. 183.

> *facto* replaces, a healthy form of libertarianism whose role in the process of the economy of salvation should not be underrated.[25]

It is important to clarify that Augustine's opponents were Catholics, not Pelagians. They did not dispute the necessity of grace to rescue humanity from the sin of Adam. What they could not accept, however, was a withholding of assistance that would make damnation inevitable as a just and proper punishment for that first sin. Burns explains that rather than deny the necessity of an historical union with Christ and the church, they were willing to rationalize the condemnation of adults who never hear the gospel on the grounds that they probably would not have believed anyway.[26] Unlike Augustine, they found the situation of infants who die without baptism unclear and inconclusive. They refused to believe that God predetermined to deny perseverance to those who have responded to his invitation to faith and are living a Christian life. They argued that if these Christians are condemned for sins which could have been avoided only through aid that God has withheld from them, then God cannot escape responsibility for the failure. Burns observes that Augustine implicitly recognized the cogency of the arguments being used against him by his attempt to rationalize God's decision through its good effect among the saints.[27]

Faced with the implications of Augustine's understanding of the operation of divine predestination, the Catholics of Provence argued that God desires the salvation of all and that Christ died for all without exception. God offers the gifts which each needs to attain salvation, and predestines according to his foreknowledge of how each will use them. As we have seen, this was Augustine's earlier position and it is a position found uniformly in the Greek theological tradition. But Augustine's understanding of God's universal salvific will had mutated since his early period. Burns writes:

> Taking his stand on the sovereignty of the divine will which cannot be frustrated by any creature, Augustine denied this universal salvific will,

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[25] D. Ogliari, Gratia et Certamen, p. 183 (quoting R. Weaver, *Divine Grace and Human Agency* (n. 69), p. 68). In fn. 429 Ogliari defines "libertarianism" to mean: "the ability of human beings to act with free will and moral responsibility, with the proviso, however, that such ability is free of any determination caused by anything outside the agent, and with the guarantee that the agent could have acted otherwise."

[26] Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 177.

[27] Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 177; citing *De correpт. et grat.* 13, 40 (PL 44:940–41); *De dono persev.*, 8, 19 (PL 45:1003–04).

> observed that the means of salvation are not available to many infants and adults, demonstrated the impossibility of judgment according to hypothetical merits, and asserted that God works the conversion and perseverance of those whom he predestines to eternal life in Christ.[28]

Consequently, according to Burns Augustine does not reject the implied reprobation of those who are never called or who are not given perseverance in Christ. Though he insists that God does not *cause* sinning, Augustine assumes that the creature's failure *follows inevitably* from the divine decision to withhold necessary assistance.[29]

4. *Definitions of "Pelagianism" and "Semi-Pelagianism"*

With this background in Augustine's theology in mind, it is time now to define Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism as accurately as we can. Pelagianism is the heresy that denies the Church's doctrine of original sin, or guilt inherited from Adam. It specifically refers to those tenets ascribed to Pelagius that were condemned by the Church in 417–18.[30] F. Clark has helpfully summarized these tenets under three propositions: (1) Adam's sin injured only himself, so that his posterity were not born in that state of alienation from God called original sin; (2) It was accordingly possible for man, born without original sin or its innate consequences, to continue to live without sin by the natural goodness and powers of his nature; therefore, justification was not a process that must necessarily take place for man to be saved; (3) eternal life was, consequently, open and due to man as a result of his natural good strivings and merits; divine interior grace, though useful, was not necessary for the attainment of salvation.[31] In opposition to Pelagius's teaching, the Western Church (led by St. Augustine) holds that Adam's sin injured all his posterity and human salvation requires justification and divine grace.

"Semi-Pelagianism" is far more difficult to define. The term was not even coined until the late sixteenth century, at the Lutheran Formula of Concord of 1577. It was adopted by some Catholic theologians as well,

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[28] Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 178.

[29] Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 178.

[30] Cf. H. Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, 13th edition, translated by R. Deferrari from the Thirteenth Edition of Henry Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Fitzwiliam, NH, 1954), 101–108.

[31] Cf. F. Clark, "A New Appraisal of Late-Medieval Theology," *Gregorianum* 46 (1965), pp. 733–65 (742).

particularly by the Dominicans who used the term to bludgeon their Jesuit adversaries.[32] Some have suggested that it is probably more accurately termed "semi-Augustinianism,"[33] since its advocates were not halfway to Pelagius, but supported Augustine's doctrine of grace and original sin. Semi-Pelagianism refers to tenets rejected by the Second Provincial Council of Orange in 529, whose canons were approved by Pope Boniface II.[34] Ogliari describes the term "Semi-Pelagian" as a convenient party-label that is "not easy to displace, in spite of its ambiguous and unjust connotations."[35] He finds even the term "Semi-Augustinian" ambiguous because it does not take into account the theological substratum on which the Catholic opposition to Augustine was based, a substratum that traces to the orthodox Greek Fathers.[36] Its doctrine was represented by monks of southern Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries who accepted without question the church's condemnation of Pelagianism, and held the orthodox doctrine that without divine interior grace one could neither reach eternal life nor be justified.[37] Clark describes their doctrine as an incautious reaction against what they regarded as the arbitrariness attributed to God in the Augustinian teaching on predestination. They are alleged to have supposed that God looked for some previous stirrings of good on the part of the human being as a necessary condition for granting him the aids of divine grace and faith which would lead him on toward salvation. Clark writes:

> On such a theory, though grace was absolutely necessary for justification and salvation, the preparatory striving for the *initium fidei*, or the beginnings

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[32] Cf. M. Parmentier, "Pelagius as the Bogeyman of Catholics and Protestants in the Seventeenth Century," *Augustiniana* 53 (2003), pp. 147–158 (151).

[33] McCue, "Augustine," p. 180 n. 29: "If they are to have a label this seems more appropriate than the more familiar 'semi-Pelagian.' They were followers of Augustine."

[34] See: H. Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, 13th edition, 173b–200.

[35] Cf. D. Ogliari, Gratia et Certamen, p. 6.

[36] Ogliari, Gratia et Certamen, p. 8.

[37] John Cassian seems to represent this position, more or less. He constantly appeals to the cases of Zacchaeus and the penitent thief as instances of men who received a call because they were first willing. He protested against ascribing nothing but what is evil and perverse to human nature. He rejected the idea of an absolute predestination, acknowledging, however, a predestination upon foreseen merits and perseverance. On the other hand, such views do not make him 'anti-Augustinian' or even suspect in his doctrine of grace. A. Casiday, *Tradition and Theology in St. John Cassian* (Oxford, 2007), offers a provocative and convincing reassessment of Cassian's theology, emphasizing the distance between Cassian and Pelagianism. He argues that Cassian maintains that God acts directly on the will to turn a human toward salvation. Casiday wishes to discard the label 'semi-Pelagian' that was foisted on Cassian by Prosper of Aquitaine.

> of that process which would culminate eventually in justification, could be initiated by man's unaided free will. Indeed it was supposed that God had to wait for such a previous initiative on man's part before he could grant the first prompting of grace which would lead on to salvation.[38]

"Semi-Pelagianism" was rejected by the Church because it made some purely natural good movement of the human being's free will the necessary preliminary before God's salutary grace could come to his aid. In this sense it compromised the revealed truth that is attested by St. Paul concerning the complete gratuity and primacy of God's merciful intervention to save sinful humanity. Canon 4 of Orange II reads: "If anyone contends that in order that we may be cleansed from sin, God waits for our good will, but does not acknowledge that even the wish to be purged is produced in us through the infusion and operation of the Holy Spirit, he opposes the Holy Spirit Himself. . . ."[39] According to the teaching of Orange II, the "semi-Pelagian" doctrine is defined negatively as the refusal to acknowledge that the wish to be purged is produced by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Such a view compromises the revealed truth that is attested by St. Paul concerning the complete gratuity and primacy of God's merciful intervention to save sinful humanity.

In his letter of approbation of the council, Pope Boniface II reveals that his understanding of one of the issues at stake is that some bishops of Gaul think "that faith, by which we believe in Christ, is only of nature, not of grace; and that (faith) has remained in the free will of man from Adam—which it is a sin to say—and is not even now conferred on individuals by the bounty of God's mercy."[40] The denial that faith is a gift of God is thus the heart of the matter, according to the pope. He approves the confession of Orange as a whole, and he does so in these words: "Therefore, we salute [you] with proper affection, and approve your confession written above in agreement with the Catholic rules of the Fathers."[41] Without question Orange II rejects the idea of a natural good that remains in man after original sin. It states that man needs the grace of God in order to keep his commandments; it reaffirms that the beginning of faith and its increase, along with all acts leading to salvation, are anticipated and caused by God's grace.

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[38] Cf. F. Clark, "A New Appraisal of Late-Medieval Theology," 746–47.
[39] Cf. H. Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, 13th edition, 177.
[40] Cf. H. Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, 13th edition, 200a.
[41] Ibid.

Yet the irenic and moderate character of the synod of Orange II is shown by the fact that its canons simultaneously affirm synergism,[42] that is, the necessity of human cooperation with divine grace in the process of salvation. Orange II simultaneously affirmed human cooperation with divine grace in the process of salvation. It repudiated in the strongest possible language the doctrine of divine reprobation. Canon 25 states:

> According to the Catholic faith we believe this also, that after grace has been received through baptism, all the baptized with the help and cooperation of Christ can and ought to fulfill what pertains to the salvation of the soul, if they will labor faithfully. We not only do not believe that some have been truly predestined to evil by divine power, but also with every execration we pronounce anathema upon those, if there are [any such], who wish to believe so great an evil.[43]

The language used here is even stronger than that used to affirm the necessity of prevenient grace. There is no predestination to evil by the divine power. Note that Orange II does not reject the understanding of predestination as divine foreknowledge of human response. What it repudiates is the idea that human response is not the outcome of the antecedent activity of divine grace and the Holy Spirit. Moreover, Orange II does not condemn the idea that human salvation is contingent upon human cooperation and upon our faithful labor in the Lord. What it rejects is the idea that human effort takes place apart from divine grace. Ogliari summarizes the irenic achievement of Orange II in these words:

> In fact, if the twenty-five decrees of the council sanction a moderate Augustinianism as the teaching of the Church on grace, they also "nuance, rather than delete the 'middle way' consensus on the issue on grace characteristic of the Gallic Church." On the one hand, they rejected the theory of the *naturae bonum* persisting after original sin, stating that man needs the grace of God in order to adhere to his commandments, and reasserted that faith, in its *initium* [beginning] and in its *augmentum* [increase], together with all acts leading to salvation, is anticipated and caused by God's grace. On the other hand, they insisted upon the coexistence and co-operation of grace and free will, even though they left unsolved the exact mode of their relationship.[44]

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[42] Synergism is merely a transliteration of the Greek term, sunerg/ew, which means "to cooperate," or "to work together," from *cooperor*. The verb occurs in Mk 16.20; Rom 8.28; 1 Cor 16.16; 2 Cor 6.1; Jas 2.22. The noun occurs in Rom 16.3; 1 Cor 3.9; 2 Cor 1.24; 8.23; Phil 2.25; 4.3; Col 4.11; Phlm 1; 24; 3 Jn 8.

[43] Cf. H. Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, 13th edition, 200.

[44] D. Ogliari, Gratia et Certamen, p. 436.

The Council's invitation to man to make fruitful efforts (*si fideliter laborare voluerint*, "if they will to labor faithfully") by co-operating with Christ's grace for our salvation appears to be a clear concession to the monastic milieu of Southern Gaul. Moreover, this canon implicitly rejects Augustine's theology of irresistible grace. Ogliari writes: "Predestination to evil is strongly denied also, so much so that an anathema is pronounced against all those who hold such an enormity (*tantum mali*)."[45]

The result of the foregoing analysis is that Catholic dogmatics defines "Pelagianism" far more narrowly than did St. Augustine himself and his medieval followers. The papal Magisterium's approval of the canons of Orange II leaves open and unresolved positions that Augustine plainly dogmatized upon, for example, his own innovative explanation of predestination. To dissent from Augustine on this topic cannot be justly categorized as heretical or "Pelagian."

5. *Pelagius's* Commentary on Romans

Having clarified these theological matters to some extent, we now turn to Pelagius's *Commentary on Romans*. Pelagius happened to be living in Rome when Rufinus of Aquileia published his Latin edition of Origen's *CRm* in 406.[46] He became the first known student of Origen's work in its Latin garb and made a thorough study of it before writing his *Commentary on Romans.* At this early stage of his career, Pelagius was not in conflict with Augustine or with church authorities in general. On the contrary, as mentioned earlier, Augustine himself, upon reading Pelagius's commentary, spoke well of the author, apart from the explanation of original sin in infants. This seems to indicate that Pelagius's exposition largely serves as a witness to the tradition of the Church of his day and not as a cesspool of heresy.

Pelagius's extensive use of Rufinus's translation of Origen's *CRm* suggests that Rufinus may have been living in Rome at the time when he translated it. Older scholarship (Fremantle, Westcott, Murphy, Kelly) believed that Rufinus's translation of Origen's *CRm* was carried out in Aquileia, not

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Cf. C. P. Hammond, "The Last Ten Years of Rufinus' Life and the Date of his Move South from Aquileia," *Journal of Theological Studies* 28.2 (1977), pp. 401–02; Thomas P. Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification: The Legacy of Origen's Commentary on Romans* (Notre Dame, 2008), ch. 2.

Rome. This would have put him far away from the center of Pelagius's activities. Hammond Bammel calls this assumption into question: "Rather than defending Rufinus against the charge that he was associated with the genesis of Pelagianism, we should be ready to acknowledge the stimulation of his influence in person as well as through his translations on the creative thought of his generation."[47] The evidence suggests that texts from Origen's *CRm* played an important role in the wider Pelagian controversy and that both sides cited passages from it to support their interpretation of the disputed themes: divine grace and human responsibility, free will, the relationship between predestination and foreknowledge, the possibility of sinlessness, the propagation of Adam's sin.[48] Hammond Bammel suggests that Rufinus was able to translate Origen "without inhibitions" since the Pelagian/anti-Pelagian camps had not yet become entrenched.[49]

Pelagius's Commentary seems to be written with a humble and churchman-like spirit. Ostensibly his polemic is directed against Manichaean and Arian interpretations of Paul, not Augustinian views.[50] Pelagius even supports positions that the early Augustine himself had represented, such as the understanding of predestination as foreknowledge. One of the most striking features of Pelagius's work is its concern for orthodoxy.[51] Like Origen, Pelagius does not dogmatize but often offers a range of possible interpretations of the Pauline text, introducing them with the words *sive* or *aliter*.[52]

6. *Legacy of Pelagius's Commentary on Romans*

After the condemnation of certain tenets of Pelagius by the Church in 417–18, and subsequent to his death in ca. 420, this work of his circulated pseudonymously, in particular in the *Pseudo-Jerome* version, made before 432, and the *Pseudo-Primasius* version, which is a revision supervised by

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[47] Hammond, "Last Ten Years," p. 427.

[48] Cf. C. P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbrieftext des Rufin und seine Origenes-Übersetzung. AGLB 10* (Freiburg 1985) p. 45; Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 3.

[49] Hammond Bammel, *Römerbrieftext*, p. 45.

[50] Evans, *Pelagius*, sees Jerome as the principal object of Pelagius's polemic. The present author agrees with T. Bohlin, *Die Theologie des Pelagius und ihre Genesis* (Uppsala, 1957), and T. de Bruyn, tr., *Pelagius's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Oxford, 1993), who see the polemic aimed at Arian and Manichaean writers.

[51] John Ferguson, *Pelagius: A Historical and Theological Study* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 16.

[52] Cf. Johann Tauer, "Neue Orientierungen zur Paulusexegese des Pelagius", *Augustinianum* 34 (1994), p. 319.

Cassiodorus (485?–580). At first, Cassiodorus believed it to be the work of Pope Gelasius (492–6). Upon closer scrutiny, Cassiodorus observed that the work was marred by Pelagian errors and consequently revised (glossed) it. In the Middle Ages, Pelagius's Commentary passed as a work of St. Jerome. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) printed Pelagius's Commentary in his edition of St. Jerome's writings in 1516. He declared that he recognized that Jerome was not the true author, but he had no idea that Pelagius was the author. Erasmus had deep admiration for the work. What impressed Erasmus was the degree to which this work represents the consensual Pauline interpretation that is found in the Greek exegetical tradition.[53] J. P. Migne, suspecting that Pelagius was the author, printed it as *Pseudo-Jerome* in the PL 30:645–718. The British scholar Ince recognized authorship by Pelagius as early as 1887.[54] The original (unglossed) form of Pelagius's Commentary was rediscovered and printed in 1926 by A. Souter.[55]

There is no reason to make an issue of the warm reception of Pelagius's Commentary in the West (so long as it remained an anonymous work), as if this somehow impugns medieval Catholic theology as "Pelagian" in its substance.[56] On the contrary, the reception demonstrates that Catholic interpreters of St. Paul had relatively few objections to the substance of Pelagius's interpretation of Romans. The positive reception points not to the "Pelagianism" or "semi-Pelagianism" of the later Catholic theological

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[53] *Annotations on Romans*, (CWE 56:155, n. 22). When accused of "Pelagianism" by some contemporary theologians for his support of the Greek consensual interpretation of Romans 5:12, as opposed to Augustine's innovative interpretation, Erasmus responded: "Grant that the Council of Milev did, to be sure, condemn the Pelagian interpretation; that has no bearing on me. [Pelagius] builds up this interpretation so as to support [a view] of which the church disapproved; I, in demonstrating that this passage does not at all effectively refute the Pelagians, send the disputant to other passages more decisive than this [Job 14.4–5, 25.4 LXX; Ps 51.5]. This is not to snatch away a weapon from the church, but to point to surer weapons in place of one unlikely to hit its mark. This is not to open a breach for the enemy, but to warn us not to press the enemy at a point where he can escape. I acknowledge that the church has the authority to interpret the Scriptures, but the Doctors of the church, however celebrated, hesitate over many passages of Scripture, and have interpreted many of them diversely, some of them even incorrectly. Not one of them contends that this passage cannot be interpreted in a different sense—except St Augustine, after he became embroiled in the conflict with the Pelagians." CWE 56, pp. 148–49.

[54] Ince, "Pelagius (2)," p. 283.

[55] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 28; A. J. Smith, "The Latin Sources of the Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans," *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1917–18), pp. 162–230.

[56] It is well known that the latter kinds of accusations against Medieval Catholicism were first made in the West by Martin Luther and Phillip Melanchthon. For an analysis, see Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 6.

tradition, but to the basically Catholic substance of Pelagius's exegesis of Paul's Epistle to the Romans. We also need to recall that the questionable remarks of Pelagius concerning original sin were glossed over with orthodox corrections in the medieval manuscripts.

The situation seems analogous to the reception of the works of Origen and Tertullian in the West. Origen had died within the Church, but his name was listed among the heretics at the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553, three centuries after his death. In the early third century Tertullian actually left the Catholic Church during his lifetime and became a Montanist schismatic late in his career. Yet many of the theological works of both men were preserved in the West, even those containing the dubious teachings. Tertullian's work *Against Marcion* was highly esteemed by orthodox writers, and Origen's homilies, commentaries and apologetic writings were embraced in the West. Of course the Montanist and Origenist opinions were set aside by orthodox writers, wherever they were encountered, but the largely Catholic substance of these works was received with approval. Just as it would be absurd, therefore, to accuse St. Cyprian or St. Jerome, for instance, of being "Montanist" or "Origenist," simply because they generally praised and embraced Tertullian and Origen respectively as theological geniuses, and largely assimilated their ideas into their own works, in the same way it is unreasonable to accuse the pre-Reformation Church of being "Pelagian" or "semi-Pelagian" because of its sympathetic use of Pelagius's Commentary.[57]

7. *Features of Pelagius's Interpretation of Romans*

For the remainder of this article, I will endeavor to compare and contrast Pelagius's interpretation of Romans with Origen's. This has been the focus of my own research on Pelagius's Commentary.[58] It is a worthwhile scholarly endeavor in its own right, since it shows Pelagius's connection to the

[57] For instance, the editor of Erasmus's *Colloquies*, Craig R. Thompson, asserts that Erasmus "can certainly be termed a 'semi-Pelagian,' " since Erasmus too failed to recognize Pelagius as the author of the Commentary on Romans and largely admired the exegesis found here. Cf. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies*, ed. C. Thompson, Collected Works of Erasmus 39–40 (Toronto, 1997), 40.726. The charge is weakened by the fact that Thompson never defines "semi-Pelagianism." In any case, such a charge would equally apply to every Catholic theologian prior to the twentieth century who failed to recognize authorship by Pelagius, which (one hopes) is more than Thompson wants to say.

[58] See Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 2.

antecedent theological tradition. Also, it creates a natural link with my other article in this volume on Origen's interpretation of Romans.

In its literary form, Pelagius's commentary differs markedly from Origen's. Pelagius's work is literal and terse, whereas Origen's is discursive, speculative, sometimes allegorical and lengthy. Pelagius draws on the entire antecedent tradition, whereas Origen's work seems to be more of a pioneering effort than an assembly of traditional interpretations. Many tributaries feed into Pelagius's independent appropriation of the tradition. Among the authors used by Pelagius are the early Augustine, Ambrosiaster,[59] the anonymous commentator on Paul, Jerome, and others.[60] The direct and particularly strong dependence of Pelagius upon Origen's work was first demonstrated in the modern era by Smith (1919) and has been confirmed by Souter, Bohlin and other modern scholars. Earlier scholars such as Erasmus were of course aware of this dependence, even if they were ignorant of the authorship of Pelagius's work.

Pelagius had read Origen's Latin commentary in its entirety. He inserts material derived from Origen in various locations in his own commentary and not merely in passages under the same lemma of the Epistle to the Romans. Smith has assembled a series of parallel Latin passages between Origen and Pelagius beginning at Rom 1.1 and continuing through Rom 16, showing that Pelagius has taken not merely thoughts from Origen's commentary, but also phrases and expressions. Pelagius evidently shared the attitude of many of his contemporaries, including Epiphanius, Augustine, Jerome, Rufinus, and Ambrose, toward appropriating Origen: he was comfortable with denouncing the errors of Origen without proscribing his works altogether.[61]

7.1. *Pelagius's Anti-Manichaeanism*

Pelagius's commentary is noteworthy for its anti-Manichaean thrust. Bohlin observes: "Pelagius's system appears to stand and fall with the dialectic deriving from his anti-Manichaeism."[62] Manicheus, or Mani/Manes (215–276) was the founder of Manichaeism, a heresy that threatened the

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[59] For a new English translation, see Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries on Romans and 1–2 Corinthians*, translated and edited by Gerald L. Bray, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, 2009).

[60] See de Bruyn, *Romans*, pp. 1–10.

[61] Cf. ibid., p. 18.

[62] T. Bohlin, *Theologie*, p. 40: "Mit der aus seinem Antimanichäismus herrührenden Dialektic scheint Pelagius' System zu stehen und zu fallen."

Church for many centuries and even claimed the young St. Augustine as one of its adherents. Manicheus came from Persia and is reported to have died of torture in prison while chained up by the wrists.[63] He desired to blend Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and elements of Buddhism together. Manicheus preached an extreme dualism of two independent and absolutely opposed eternal principles, that of good and evil. Like Marcion, he denied that Jesus was prophesied in the Old Testament. He said that the good God was characterized by light, while the material world was inherently dark and corrupt. Manicheus believed that Jesus and other teachers came to release souls of light from prison in material bodies. The Old Testament was the product of the forces of darkness. Manicheus also denied the free choice of the will in salvation.

Viciano observes that Manichaeism had an unusual capacity for syncretism with other religions. As it spread throughout the Roman Empire it adapted to certain aspects of Christianity, particularly to the theology of the heretic Marcion, whose cosmology was dualistic whereas his Christology was permeated by Gnostic elements.

> Such coincidence with Manichaean doctrine, along with the fact that Marcionism, like Manichaeism, was organized as a church, facilitated such syncretism. Moreover, Mani himself admired Marcion in so far as their respective interpretations of the epistles of Paul had many points in common.[64]

The fact that Pelagius is writing against Manicheanism suggests that his commentary was never intended to sustain the sort of analysis to which it was subjected much later by Augustine. For example, Pelagius never discusses how faith originates or the relation between God's contribution and the human being's response.[65] Repeatedly, Pelagius refutes the Manichaean interpretation of "the flesh" because of the determinism it implies.[66] De Bruyn concurs and suggests that Pelagius's theological tenets were developed precisely to counter Manichaean notions of creation, sin, redemption, and beatitude:

> The goodness of creation, the capacity of all human beings to choose between good and evil, the endurance of that capacity despite the accumulation of sinful habits, the accounting for that capacity in God's plan of salvation—

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[63] Cf. S. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Late Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey* (Manchester, 1985).

[64] A. Viciano, "Mani (216–276) and Manichaeism," in: C. Kannengieser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 2004), p. 658.

[65] Cf. Bohlin, *Theologie*, p. 40.

[66] Cf. de Bruyn, *Romans*, pp. 15–16.

> these are basic to Pelagius's understanding of human destiny, and in his stark formulation they are rid of any shadows which to his mind blur the contrast between Manichaean determinism and Christian freedom.[67]

An example of this concern is found in Pelagius's comment on Rom 2.9 where Paul speaks of a judgment according to works. Pelagius writes: "The apostle threatens the soul with punishment because of heretics who say that only the flesh does wrong and deny that the soul can sin."[68] This thought is clarified under the lemma to Rom 6.19 where Pelagius rejects the Manichaean view that it is the nature of the body to have sin mixed in.[69] Under the lemma to Rom 8.7, Pelagius confronts the Manichaeans explicitly by saying: "The flesh itself is not hostile to God, as the Manichaeans say, but the carnal mind is."[70]

When Pelagius calls attention to the threat of punishment that looms over all souls that sin, he is reflecting directly on Paul's own oft-neglected words in Rom 2.6–10. In a recent monograph, the Protestant New Testament scholar C. VanLandingham has clarified the importance of this Pauline passage and argues from it that in Paul's thought, as well as in the whole Bible and early Judaism, *behavior* determines one's eternal destiny, and not faith alone.[71] It is also possible to recognize in Pelagius's concerns a close resemblance to the issues that inspired Origen to write his own exposition of Romans. In particular, Origen dealt with the Gnostic doctrine of natures which affirmed that there are natures of souls that are constitutionally hostile to God and cannot be saved and souls that are good by nature and cannot be lost, no matter what sin they commit. It is noteworthy that Church writers consistently appealed to the Pauline doctrine of a final judgment according to works as a means of refuting this brand of determinism.[72]

7.2. *The Main Theme of Romans*

Pelagius's interpretation of Romans bears a strong resemblance to Origen's understanding in its articulation of the main theme of the letter. In his Prologue, Pelagius describes the "arrogant dispute" between Jewish and

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[67] Cf. ibid., p. 16.
[68] Ibid., pp. 71ff.
[69] Ibid., p. 99.
[70] Ibid., p. 107.
[71] C. VanLandingham, *Judgment & Justification in Early Judaism and the Apostle Paul* (Peabody, Mass., 2007).
[72] Cf. Crouzel, "Theological Construction," (1988).

gentile Christians in Rome.[73] The Jewish Christians boast of their heritage, the gentiles remind them of Israel's repeated apostasy. Paul functions as an arbiter between the two groups.

> Thrusting himself between (*se medium interponens*) those who were disputing in this way, the apostle interrupts the questions of the two parties so as to establish that neither of them deserved salvation by their own righteousness; rather, both peoples sinned knowingly and gravely, the Jews inasmuch as they dishonored God by transgression of the law, the Gentiles in that, although they ought to have worshiped as God the Creator revealed by the creation, they changed his glory into idols fashioned by hand. With [irrefutable] logic the apostle shows, therefore, that they are equal, both having obtained pardon in like manner, especially when in one and the same law it [was] foretold that both Jews and Gentiles were destined to be called to faith in Christ. Wherefore humbling them in turn, he exhorts them to peace and [to] concord.[74]

This description of Paul's main concern in Romans is noticeably reminiscent of the way in which Origen set out the principal aims of Paul in *CRm* 2.14 and 3.2, as I have discussed in my article on Origen in this volume. It would seem that from an original insight found in Origen, Pelagius has adopted the view that Paul is acting as an arbiter between Jews and gentiles in this epistle. Like Origen, he sees the main theme of the letter as the fulfillment of the scriptural promises. God is offering free and equal salvation to believing members of both groups through his mercy, and not through human justice and human works.

7.3. *Free Choice of the Will*

Origen and Pelagius also show a profound affinity on the questions of free choice of the will, grace, redemption, and predestination. Free choice is a primary datum for both of their theological anthropologies.[75] For Origen and Pelagius the possession of free choice is a hallmark of the rational creature and the principle of good and evil. In a comment on Rom 6.13 Pelagius writes: "At the same time it should be noted that it is through freedom of choice that a person offers his members for whatever side

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[73] Several modern scholars deny the authenticity of this Prologue and think that it was attached to Pelagius's commentary at an early stage of its transmission. Cf. de Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 9. I follow Souter (1922), I:115 in affirming that the authenticity of the prologue, arguments and expositions hang together.

[74] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 58.

[75] Cf. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, I, p. 188; Bohlin, *Theologie*, pp. 47–53, 58–59, 89–90.

(*parti*) he wishes."[76] Precisely on this verse Origen had explained: "He is showing that the matter lies within our power, that sin should not exercise dominion in our body."[77] A little later Origen explains Rom 6.16 in a way that affirms freedom of choice, when he says that each person has it within his own power and choice to become either a slave of sin or of justice. They can offer their obedience either to justice or to sin. "For to whichever side (*partem*) one renders obedience and to whichever side he wants to submit, that side claims him as its slave."[78] Both Origen and Pelagius agree that the faculty of free choice is implied in Paul's issuing of commands. For Origen these commands refute the Gnostics; for Pelagius they refute the Manichaeans.

Dempsey claims that Pelagius's clear defense of free choice by itself constitutes no prejudice against the admission of actual grace (transient grace given for the performance of salutary acts), for Catholic theologians have always stoutly defended both freedom of choice and the need for actual grace. However, the history of the Pelagian controversy shows that the Pelagians considered them incompatible. Of the author of the commentary, Dempsey writes:

> He certainly does not deny the doctrine of grace or mention it explicitly in connection with liberty, but when we turn to his explanation of passages the normal exposition of which would demand a reference to the positive help of God given to the human will, we get a sufficiently clear indication of his mind. . . . God's share in our action is reduced to that of a mere spectator, who, like a teacher before an examination, offers his advice and promises a reward but gives no help in the performance of the task.[79]

Dempsey finds Pelagius guilty of omission, i.e. of failing to say something that should have been said. He may be right when he says that the

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[76] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 98. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions,* II:51: Simul notandum quod homo membra sua cui velit parti exhibeat per arbitrii libertatem.

[77] *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck (Washington, D.C., 2001–02), 6.1.28–29 (1056): Ostendens in nostra potestate situm ut non regnet in corpore nostro peccatum. All Latin citations are from: C. P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes: Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung des Rufins*, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 1990–98).

[78] *CRm*, eds. Scheck/Hammond Bammel, 6.3.12–18 (1059–60): Unusquisque in manu sua habet et in arbitrii potestate ut aut peccati servus sit aut iustitiae. Ad quamcumque enim partem inclinaverit oboedientiam et cuicumque parere voluerit haec sibi eum vindicat servum. In quo ut dixi absque ulla cunctatione in nobis esse ostendit arbitrii libertatem. In nobis namque est exhibere oboedientiam nostram vel iustitiae vel peccato.

[79] John J. Dempsey, "Pelagius's Commentary on Saint Paul: A Theological Study." Dissertation. (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1937), pp. 67f.

history of the Pelagian controversy shows that *Pelagians* considered free will to be incompatible with actual grace. However, that does not necessarily impugn *Pelagius's* words here. There is no reason why we should not instead choose to interpret Pelagius less anachronistically and more sympathetically, and see here a simple affirmation of free will. Even Dempsey, who frequently finds Pelagius guilty of omission and who thinks that the doctrine of actual grace finds no place in Pelagius's theology admits: "That he was aware of its existence and positively refused to admit it is doubtful. That he was in perfect good faith seems certain."[80]

The natural consequence of human beings possessing free will is that they themselves then become responsible for their sin. Smith observes that although Pelagius's short glosses on Rom 1.24–32 seem to owe little to Origen's exposition of this same passage, there is nevertheless one important point of contact. They both understand the divine "handing over" in the same way, namely as a permissive and not causative act.[81] Pelagius explains Paul's words in Rom 1.26, that "God handed them over," with this gloss: "Because of the reasons noted above they were abandoned to their monstrous behavior."[82] And on Rom 1.24 Pelagius stated: "In the Scriptures God is said 'to hand over' when because of freedom of choice he does not restrain transgressors."[83] Notice the following parallel in Origen's commentary on the same text in Romans: "The duty of choice is preserved. For the matter is not done by force, nor is the soul moved in either of the two directions by compulsion . . . Instead the freedom of will is preserved."[84] Slightly later, Origen writes: "God is said 'to hand over' those whose deeds and mind he shrinks back from and deserts because it turns away from him and indulges in the vices."[85] It seems clear in these cases that Pelagius has appropriated and transmitted the Origenian inheritance on the matter of freedom of will and of human sin as the antecedent cause for God's

[80] Dempsey, "Commentary," p. 76.

[81] Smith, "The Commentary of Pelagius on Romans Compared with that of Rufinus." *Journal of Theological Studies*, 20 (1919), p. 132.

[82] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 67. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:16: Propter causas superius memoratas in his flagitiis sunt dimissi.

[83] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 66. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:15: 'Tradere' in scripturis dicitur deus, cum non retinet delinquentes propter arbitrii libertatem.

[84] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 1.21(18).65–69 (866): Non enim vi res agitur neque necessitate in alteram partem anima declinatur; . . . sed servatur ei in omnibus libertas arbitrii.

[85] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 1.22(19).66–68 (870): Deus tradere dicitur eos quorum actus et animum a se declinantem et indulgentem vitiis abhorrescit ac deserit.

"handing over." Such a stress in Pelagius was probably aimed to silence the Manichaeans who denied that souls were responsible for sin.

7.4. *Predestination as Divine Foreknowledge*

The decidedly anti-determinist reading of Paul is shared by both commentators. That is to say, in a way that is similar to Augustine in his early efforts (as I have discussed briefly in the treatment given above), both Origen and Pelagius explain predestination and election essentially as foreknowledge of human merits.[86] This is a view Augustine came to reject. It is undoubtedly from Origen that Pelagius derived his interpretation that Rom 9.14–19 expresses the view of Paul's opponents, not Paul himself.[87] Earlier in his commentary, Origen had described how Paul was "set apart" for the gospel (Rom 1.1), namely by means of divine foreknowledge of his merits: "The reasons for this and the merits which entitled him to be set apart for this purpose were seen by the One from whom one's mind does not escape."[88] Origen goes on to say that God knew how hard Paul was going to labor as an apostle and chose him in accordance with that foreknowledge of his future deserts. Similarly, Pelagius writes on Rom 1.1 that Paul was set apart by God because he "merited the office of apostle by faithful and matchless service."[89]

On Rom 8.29 Pelagius makes explicit that he identifies election with foreknowledge, but here it is noticeable that in Pelagius the object of the divine foreknowledge differs slightly from Origen's understanding. Pelagius states:

> The purpose according to which he planned to save by faith alone those whom he had foreknown would believe, and those whom he freely called to salvation he will all the more glorify as they work [towards salvation]. To

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[86] Cf. J. F. McCue, "Augustine and the Strange Career of Romans 9:10–29." In: *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Eds. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow and Rodney A. Werline (Harrisburg, 2001), pp. 169–70. John Chrysostom's theology is strikingly similar. See C. Hall "John Chrysostom," in: *Reading Romans through the Centuries: From the Early Church to Karl Barth* (Grand Rapids, 2005), pp. 39–57.

[87] Origen's interpretation is found in Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 7.14.2off. (1144–45). Cf. de Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 117; K. Schelkle, *Paulus, Lehrer der Väter: Die altkirchliche Auslegung von Römer 1–11* (Düsseldorf., 1956), pp. 342–3.

[88] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 1.5.18–21 (845): Ergo et Paulus quod segregatus in evangelium dicitur et segregatus a ventre matris suae causas in eo et merita quibus in hoc segregari debuerit vidit ille quem non latet mens.

[89] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 59. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:8: Ita hic per fidele primum servitium meruit apostolatum.

> predestine is the same as to foreknow. Therefore, those he foresaw would be conformed in life he intended to be conformed in glory.[90]

Origen explains the same text in these words: "They are said to be called according to the purpose of God, who knows that a pious mind and the longing for salvation is in them."[91] As Smith notes, for both exegetes "God's purpose is determined by His foreknowledge of the characters and merits of men."[92] There is, however, a slight modification of the Origenian tradition by Pelagius. For Origen, God foreknew that a pious mind and a longing for salvation is in the human being. Pelagius places greater stress on foreseen faith, indeed on faith alone, and says that God foreknew their conformity in life.

Dempsey interprets Pelagius quite severely and even unfairly: "One thing at least is clear: Pelagius succeeded in explaining this chapter of St. Paul to his own satisfaction without the necessity of appealing to that divine help which was later called actual grace."[93] If this judgment is valid, it would also apply to Origen, Chrysostom and others. The reason this judgment seems unfair is that "actual grace" is a post-scholastic term that means "a temporary supernatural act of God directed towards the spiritual power of man for the purpose of moving him to a salutary act."[94] It is distinguished from "habitual grace" and from the infused virtues that inhere as permanent qualities in the soul. Ott indicates that the expression *gratia actualis* emerged in the later scholastic period and gained general currency only after the Council of Trent, which did not use the term.[95] Thus, to fault Pelagius for failing to use this term or an equivalent term seems anachronistic.

To return to Pelagius's understanding of predestination, Smith observes that Ambrosiaster shared Pelagius's view as well, i.e. that predestination

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[90] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 112. Souter *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:68: Secundum quod proposuit sola fide salvare quos praescierat credituros, et quos gratis vocavit ad salutem multo magis glorificabit [ad salutem] operantes. . . . Praedestinare idem est quod praescire. Ergo quos praevidit conformes futuros in vita, voluit ut fierent conformes in gloria.

[91] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 7.6.81–85 (1126): Quod et si secundum propositum ad Deum referatur, hoc est ut secundum propositum Dei, qui sciens in eis religiosam mentem et salutis inesse desiderium, vocati dicantur non videbitur his quae exposuimus etiam hoc esse contrarium.

[92] A. J. Smith, "Commentary," p. 161.

[93] Dempsey, "Commentary," p. 74.

[94] Cf. L. Ott, *The Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, edited in English by James Canon Bastible. Translated by P. Lynch (St. Louis, 1962), p. 225.

[95] Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, p. 225.

is equivalent to divine foreknowledge, and so did Augustine at one time.[96] As I have discussed briefly above, Augustine's earliest explanation of Rom 9.10ff. is found in his *Exp. Quaest. Rom* 60, where he views election *post praevisa merita*. God does not elect foreseen works but foreseen faith.[97] It is important to recognize that Augustine's work is one that Pelagius has explicitly followed here.[98] Even St. Jerome, in his *Dialogue against the Pelagians* 1.5, 2.6, 3.18 aligns himself with the Greek understanding of predestination against the views that St. Augustine would later develop in the late 420's. When in this *Dialogue*, Critobulus, the spokesman for Pelagianism, complains that Atticus's emphasis on the need for divine help in everything a man does seems to abolish free will, Atticus responds that while God foreknows whatever men will do, his foreknowledge in no way determines their actions; rather, he leaves them free to act by the exercise of their free will.[99] W. Fremantle, Jerome's nineteenth century English translator, commented: "[I]t cannot fail to appear that Jerome is not like Augustine, a thorough-going predestinarian, but a 'synergist,' maintaining the coexistence of free will, and that he reduces predestination to God's foreknowledge of human determination.[100] Likewise, John Ferguson assesses St. Jerome's interpretation of predestination in the *Dialogue against the Pelagians* as follows:

> But Jerome does not hold the extreme predestinarian views of Augustine. He is rather a synergist, holding that God's grace and man's free will come together in the work of salvation, and equating predestination with prescience, that is to say, interpreting the doctrine not in terms of an arbitrary fiat of the Almighty that A shall be saved and B damned, but to mean that God having in His Almighty perfection complete knowledge of past, present and future, foreknows that A will so live as to be saved, and B will so live as to be damned.[101]

It is interesting to point out that the very early writer Hermas represented this position in *Shepherd of Hermas* (*Similitudes* 8.6.1ff). Also of theological importance is that the interpretation in question anticipates the

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[96] Smith, "Commentary," p. 130.

[97] Cf. McCue, "Augustine," p. 172.

[98] Cf. Smith, "Latin sources," 19 (1917–18), pp. 162–230; 20 (1918–19), pp. 55–65, 127–77; Schelkle, *Paulus*, pp. 311–12.

[99] *Dial* 3.5; cf. Jerome, *Comm in Jer* 26.103 (CCL 74:1025).

[100] See "Hieronymus," *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, edited by W. Smith and H. Wace, (London: 1887), vol. 3, p. 46. J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York, 1975), agrees with this assessment.

[101] J. Ferguson, *Pelagius*, pp. 79–80.

post-Tridentine Jesuit school of Suarez.[102] In other words, the defining of predestination as divine foreknowledge of human response is not considered to be unorthodox in the Catholic theological tradition, even if it is often labeled "Pelagian" or "semi-Pelagian" in modern discussions and was so labeled by Augustine himself.

What is beyond doubt is that the view under consideration is widely representative in the pre-Augustinian theological tradition. This would seem to undermine the claim of K. Schelkle that modern dogmatics can no longer accept the patristic doctrine of *praedestinatio post praevisa merita.*[103] Schelkle reports that modern theologians now agree that Paul is an advocate of an unconditional (*bedingungslosen*) election to grace and blessedness. While this may accurately reflect what a temporary consensus of modern Catholic theologians believe to be Paul's doctrine, they are not required by the magisterium of the Catholic Church to believe this, nor does this interpretation impugn the orthodoxy of the univocal voice of the Greek tradition of theological exegesis, which was endorsed not only by Pelagius, but by St. Jerome.

7.5. *Redemption*

The redemption of humanity by the blood of Christ (Rom 3.24) is explained in the same spirit and language by both Origen and Pelagius.[104] In what de Bruyn calls a "classic statement of Pelagius's view of baptismal justification,"[105] Pelagius glosses this verse: " 'Having been freely justified by his grace.' Without the works of the law, through baptism, whereby he has freely forgiven the sins of all, though they are undeserving."[106] According to Rivière this extremely brief gloss well reveals the theological direction of Paul's soteriology. Pelagius's stress on gratuitous justification by means of baptismal grace logically presupposes an anterior and superior cause, which can only be the death of Christ on the cross.[107] Baptism is the application of this objective work of redemption accomplished by the

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[102] Cf. P. Grech, "Justification by Faith in Origen's Commentary on Romans." *Augustinianum* 36 (1996), p. 359.

[103] Schelkle, *Paulus*, p. 312.

[104] Smith, "Commentary," p. 137f.

[105] De Bruyn, *Romans*, 81 n. 33.

[106] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 81. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:32–33: Iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius. Sine legis operibus per baptismum, quo omnibus non merentibus gratis peccata donavit.

[107] Cf. J. Rivière, "Hétérodoxie des pélagians en fait de rédemption?" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946), p. 23.

Redeemer to the believer, both ritually and symbolically. Rivière observes that Pelagius's stress on humanity being "undeserving" of this grace shows that for Pelagius the reach of the mystery of the cross far surpasses the purely psychological effect that this act exerts upon our minds.[108] In short, in Rivière's opinion, Pelagius's theology of redemption is unobjectionable here, and the burden of proof must now rest upon the critic who wants to say that Pelagius didn't really mean it. In my judgment, Rivière's analysis is unquestionably correct. Eno seems to concur when he says: "Pelagius as well as the other commentators are perfectly orthodox in teaching that we are justified by Christ without any previous merits or works on our part. It is the situation of the Christian after baptism that demands works. The Christian must make progress. We must do good for charity's sake but not boast about it."[109]

On Rom 3.25 Pelagius writes: " 'Whom God has presented.' He has set him in public before the eyes of all, so that whoever wishes to be redeemed may draw near. 'As a propitiator for faith in his blood to manifest his righteousness.' So that he may be propitious towards those who believe that they need to be freed by his blood."[110] The necessity of deliverance by the blood of Christ is emphasized. In the same spirit, Origen had written on Rom 3.24 that the justice of God through faith in Jesus Christ reaches to all who believe, whether they are Jews or Greeks. It justifies those who have been cleansed from their past crimes and makes them capable of receiving the glory of God, and it supplies this glory not for the sake of their merits nor for the sake of works, but freely to those who believe.[111] And on Rom 3.25, Origen said that God is made propitious to men through the sacrifice of Christ. He willed the mediation of a propitiator, so that those who were not able to be justified through their own works might be justified through faith in him.[112]

Common to both Origen's and Pelagius's interpretations of this key passage in Romans are the elements that both Jews and gentiles are estranged from God because of sins, that they do not deserve to be set free from the bondage of sin, and that their salvation is grounded upon Christ's objective act of redemption on the cross which places them under the obligation to

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[108] Cf. ibid., p. 23.

[109] Cf. Robert B. Eno, "Some Patristic Views on the Relationship of Faith and Works in Justification." *Recherches Augustiniennes* 19 (1984), p. 11.

[110] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 82.

[111] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 3.4(7).154–158 (945).

[112] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 3.5(8).14–26 (946).

sin no more.[113] This indicates that the theologies of redemption are similar in Origen and Pelagius. It is noteworthy, however, that Pelagius passes over in silence Origen's long allegorical excursus of the term 'propitiatory' and its roots in the Old Testament. Also, Pelagius does not repeat Origen's interpretation of Christ's death as a ransom paid to the devil.[114] Omissions like these point to a less speculative and more practical frame of mind in Pelagius.

7.6. *Rom 5.12 and the Transmission of Sin*

Pelagius's doctrines of free will, grace, predestination as divine foreknowledge of merits, and redemption resemble Origen's and seem to be partly derivative from Origen. Nor does Pelagius's substantial orthodoxy on these themes seem to be in doubt, when his statements are read sympathetically and in their original historical context and with awareness of his reliance upon the antecedent tradition. On the other hand, we shall now observe that Pelagius has a tendency toward an uncomplicated understanding of the transmission of sin, which does not seem sufficiently balanced. This becomes even clearer when we compare Pelagius with his principal source, Origen.

All scholars have noted the affinities between Origen and Pelagius in their interpretation of Rom 5.12. Pelagius glosses the words of Paul "But just as through one man sin came into the world . . ." with this terse comment: "by example or by pattern" (*exemplo vel forma*). Cassiodorus, wanting to more fully establish the orthodoxy of the commentary in question, modified this gloss to read: (*peccatum intravit*) *traduce et exemplo*, "Sin entered *by propagation* and by example."[115] And under the lemma to Rom 5.19 Pelagius writes: "Just as by the example of Adam's disobedience many sinned, so also many are justified by Christ's obedience."[116] And finally, under the lemma to Rom 5.15, Pelagius reports the views of those who deny the transmission of sin without the slightest indication that these arguments are to be rejected.[117] When his other notes are compared with this one, one can be confident in affirming that for Pelagius, Adam's influence on posterity is reduced to a bad example.

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[113] Cf. Smith, "Commentary," p. 138.
[114] Cf. de Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 82, n. 34.
[115] PL 68:440A; cf. Dempsey, "Commentary," p. 30.
[116] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 95.
[117] Cf. Dempsey, "Commentary," p. 28.

Transmission of sin from Adam solely by example or pattern came to be regarded as a "trademark" of Pelagius's thought.[118] Dempsey argues that Pelagius's explanation of Rom 5.12 is "tantamount to a denial" of the Church's doctrine of original sin, since he was aware of Ambrosiaster's exegesis of this passage and ignored it.[119] Pelagius prefers instead to follow the movement of Origen's interpretation of Rom 5.12, where the whole emphasis is on the personal sins of individuals who have followed Adam's example, rather than on solidarity in Adam's guilt.

8. *Origen on Rom 5.12*

Origen's position is clarified in his comment on Rom 5.12: "With an absolute pronouncement the Apostle has declared that the death of sin passed through to all men in this, that all sinned."[120] He then cites examples of human beings who committed actual sins, a list which includes Abel, Enosh, Methuselah, Enoch, Noah and Abraham. It seems that Pelagius and Origen correspond very well with each other in their interpretation of Rom 5.12 as teaching the personal sin of imitation. However, Origen's commentary also contains material that gives an alternate explanation of Rom 5.12 in which the inherited consequences of humanity's physical solidarity with Adam are indicated. Tellingly, these other explanations of Origen, which seem to bear a resemblance to the theory of original sin posited much later by Ambrosiaster and Augustine, were bypassed by Pelagius.

In 5.1, for example, Origen raises the question of why sin entered 'through one man,' when the woman sinned before Adam and the serpent before the woman.[121] As an answer he suggests that the succession of human descent, which became subject to the death coming from sin, is ascribed not to the woman but to the man. Then he cites Heb 7.9–10 as a means of explaining the phrase "in whom all sinned." As in the case of Levi, all humanity, Origen suggests, may be said to be in Adam's loins and could have been collectively expelled from Paradise with Adam.[122] Later in 5.4 Origen suggests that everyone is in this valley of tears and place of

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118 Cf. de Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 92, n. 19.
119 Cf. Dempsey, "Commentary", p. 31.
120 Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 5.1.264–266 (1011).
121 Ibid., 5.1.177ff. (1009).
122 Ibid., 5.1.192ff. (1009–10).

humiliation because they were equally expelled from Paradise with Adam, being in his loins.[123] Then in 5.9 Origen refers to the Old Testament sin-offering for newly born babies and the Christian practice of infant baptism as proof that all have the pollution of sin at birth and need to be cleansed from it. That succession from Adam plays a role in this defiled condition is suggested in the passage where he says that only after his sin did Adam know his wife and beget Cain and that because of the virgin birth, Christ only had the *likeness* of the flesh of sin and not the flesh of sin itself.[124] It is true that Origen does not say that all human beings 'sinned' in Adam, but that they 'fell' with or in Adam. One of the hypotheses Origen appears to be offering is that of a pre-natal collective fall of the whole race, as contained in Adam, from the heavenly place.[125] Reasoner finds it "most significant" that Origen reads a "hard fall" into Rom 5.12, that is to say, Origen asserts that all human beings are affected by Adam's sin.[126]

9. *Assessment of Pelagius's View of Rom 5.12*

It is noteworthy that Pelagius is completely silent with regard to other explanations of Rom 5.12, which are found in both Ambrosiaster and Origen. This suggests that Pelagius's appropriation of the antecedent tradition was seriously one-sided. As de Bruyn has observed, Pelagius "tended toward an uncomplicated presentation of the issue."[127] To be sure, Origen had clearly stressed that all human beings sinned by imitating Adam, and Pelagius adopts such statements in his own commentary. But Origen had also spoken of the physical succession of sin from Adam and of a collective fall of the race in Adam. These suggestions imply that the consequences of Adam's sin can be transmitted by propagation and not merely by imitation. Moreover, Origen had also spoken of infants being already unclean at birth and in need of the regeneration of baptism. Yet Pelagius completely bypasses such material in Origen. De Bruyn summarizes the distinction between Origen and Pelagius by noticing that while Pelagius does concern himself with deliberate sin and spiritual death, he is silent on physical death, ignorance, and concupiscence, all of which figure in

[123] Ibid., 5.4.23–32 (1029).
[124] Ibid., 5.9.140ff. (1046).
[125] Cf. N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin* (London, 1927), p. 228.
[126] M. Reasoner, *Romans in Full Circle: A History of Interpretation* (Louisville, 2005), p. 44.
[127] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 32.

Origen's comments on these verses. It is possible, but scarcely certain, that Pelagius includes physical death along with spiritual death when at 5.12 he says that 'through the sin of Adam death entered' the world. Moreover, de Bruyn believes that it is important to acknowledge that Pelagius does treat ignorance and concupiscence in his comments on chapter 7. Nevertheless, de Bruyn concludes:

> But neither physical death nor ignorance nor concupiscence are significant elements of his discussion of Rm. 5:12–21, and, when he does treat the latter two, he emphasizes that they are the consequence of deliberate sin in the course of a human life. In short, in his comments on Romans, Pelagius concentrates on deliberate sin to the exclusion of any inherited consequences of the fall, unlike Origen, who, though he ultimately focuses on deliberate sin, nevertheless includes inherited consequences in his scope.[128]

In summation, Origen seems to have been equally a source for Pelagius's stress on original sin as personal sin and deliberate imitation of Adam, as well as a source for the collective theory of original sin, which was expressed much later by Ambrosiaster and Augustine. The orthodox writers would of course leave out Origen's theory of a pre-natal fall, which in any case is only vaguely alluded to in his *CRm*, if at all. Nevertheless, the elements for the collective view of innate guilt that eventually prevailed in the Church also have roots in Origen's commentary. The fact that Pelagius omits this material and explains the passages in Paul that deal with original sin without making any reference to this traditional interpretation seems to confirm that Pelagius does not admit transmission of sin from Adam by propagation, even though he does not explicitly deny it in his commentary.[129]

9.1. *Paul's Polemic against 'Works of the Law'*

Pelagius's comments on Rom 3.20 and 3.28 contain important parallels to certain of Origen's remarks pertaining to Paul's definition of "works of the law." In a comment on Rom 3.20 Pelagius states: "By works of the law he means circumcision, the Sabbath, and the other ceremonies, which had to do not so much with righteousness as with carnal pleasure."[130] These

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[128] Ibid., p. 34.

[129] Cf. Dempsey, "Commentary," p. 38.

[130] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 81. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:32: Opera legis circumcisionem dicit sabbatum et ceteras caerimonias, quae non tam ad iustitiam quam ad carnis laetitiam pertinebant.

words reflect Origen's assertion in 8.6 (1178) where he says that Paul does not repudiate the moral works of justice in the law, but circumcision, sacrifices, Sabbaths and other rituals. It seems likely that Pelagius is depending directly on Origen for this insight; however, we should make clear that at least three other predecessors of Pelagius on whom he drew, Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, and Augustine, interpreted the 'works of the law' as referring to ceremonial acts. It is possible that they are equal sources for Pelagius.[131] Obviously the interpretation represents a broad consensus of patristic exegesis. In fact, it is present in Augustine's own *Commentary on Galatians* 3.1 (19).[132]

In a comment on Rom 3.28, Pelagius discusses a misinterpretation of Paul's text that is current among his contemporaries. His words are reminiscent of Origen.

> Some misuse this verse to do away with works of righteousness (*opera iustitiae*), asserting that faith by itself can suffice [for one who has been baptized], although the same apostle says elsewhere: 'And if I have complete faith, so that I move mountains, but do not have love, it profits me nothing' (1 Cor 13.2); and in another place declares that in this love is contained the fullness of the law, when he says, 'The fullness of the law is love' (Rom 13.10). Now if these verses seem to contradict the sense of the other verses, what works should one suppose the apostle meant when he said that a person is justified through faith without works [of the law]? Clearly, the works of circumcision or the sabbath and others of this sort, and not without the works of righteousness (*opera iustitiae*), about which the blessed James says: 'Faith without works is dead' (Jas 2.26). But in the verse we are treating he is speaking about the person who in coming to Christ is saved, when he first believes, by faith alone.[133]

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[131] Cf. Ambrosiaster on Rom 3.21, 28; 9.31; Augustine, *Expos Gal* 19 (Gal 3.1). Augustine later shifts the emphasis of this interpretation in *De Spirit et Lit* 8.14. These references were found in M. F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles in the Early Church* (London, 1967), p. 68.

[132] Tr. E. Plumer, *Augustine's Commentary on Galatians* (Oxford, 2003) p. 153.

[133] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 83. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:34: Abutuntur quidam hoc loco ad destructionem operum iustitiae, solam fidem [baptizato] posse sufficere adfirmantes, cum idem alibi dicat apostolus 'et si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habeam, nihil mihi prodest,' in qua caritate alio loco legis adserit plenitudinem contineri, dicens: 'plenitudo legis est caritas.' quod si haec eorum sensui videntur esse contraria, sine quibus operibus [legis] apostolus iustificari hominem per fidem dixisse credendus est? Scilicet circumcisionis vel sabbati et ceterorum huius[ce]modi, non absque iustitiae operibus, de quibus beatus Iacobus dicit: 'fides sine operibus mortua est.' hic autem de illo dicit, qui ad Christum veniens sola, cum primum credit, fide salvatur.

Here Pelagius reports what he regards as a false interpretation of Paul, which asserts that faith by itself can suffice for the baptized (*solam fidem* [*baptizato*] *posse sufficere adfirmantes*). It is well known that at the beginning of the fifth century, there existed in the Western Church a number of errors which presented salvation as more or less independent of good works. Origen polemicized against this view in his Commentary.[134] Pelagius does not specifically identify the source of these errors, but we learn from Augustine as well that they affected the Christian faithful.[135]

In the current passage, Pelagius repeats his conviction, which agrees with Origen, that when Paul says that we are justified by faith "without works of the law," the apostle is referring to the works of circumcision or the sabbath and others of this sort (*Scilicet circumcisionis vel sabbati et ceterorum huius*[*ce*]*modi*). Paul does not mean without the post-baptismal works of righteousness, about which the blessed James says: 'Faith without works is dead' (Jas 2.26) (*non absque iustitiae operibus, de quibus beatus Iacobus dicit: 'fides sine operibus mortua est.'*). Origen had reported a similar erroneous interpretation of Paul in his commentary. Since Origen's comments on these matters were scattered in different locations, these borrowings prove that Pelagius does not always draw on Origen from the corresponding passage in the earlier commentary.[136] The verbal parallels here are striking and show the persistence of this kind of reading of Paul in the ancient Church, i.e. one that asserts that faith alone is adequate for salvation and that the post-baptismal works of justice are not necessary for the Christian's salvation. Both Origen and Pelagius find a fundamental harmony between Paul's doctrine of justification and the words of James 2.26; both have invoked Rom 13.10 and 1 Cor 13.2 as proof that love and post-baptismal works of justice are necessary for salvation.

9.2. *Additional Pauline Themes*

From the perspective of the subsequent controversies of the Protestant Reformation, we should also call attention to the paradoxical fact that, in spite of their strong repudiation of a heretical doctrine asserting that salvation is by faith alone, a repudiation that helps explain the hostile

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[134] See Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 3.4(7).140–44 (945); 3.7(10).81–82 (957); 8.2.117–21 (1163); 2.4.140–43 (878); 7.8.22–31 (1117); cf. Scheck, *Origen and the History of Justification*, ch. 1.

[135] Cf. G. Lombardo, *St. Augustine: On Faith and Works* (ACW 48; New York, 1988), pp. 67–68.

[136] Smith, "Commentary," p. 138.

Catholic response to the Protestant doctrine in its first generation, both Origen and Pelagius still feel free to add the qualifying word "alone" to the Pauline formulation "justification by faith." Pelagius comments on Rom 4.5: "When an ungodly person converts, God justifies him by faith alone (*per solam fidem*), not for the good works he did not have. Otherwise he should have been punished for the works of ungodliness."[137] Precisely on this text Origen had used similar language: "The apostle says that *only* on the basis that he believes (*pro eo tantum quod credidit*) in him who justifies the ungodly, justice would be reckoned to a human being, even if he has not yet produced works of justice."[138] In these passages the qualifying words "alone" or "only" have been added to the Pauline text with the intention of excluding pre-baptismal works from making any contribution to salvation, whether they arise from natural law or from the law of Moses. Because of his repeated stress on *fides sola*, Eno strangely enough (since he was Catholic) hailed Pelagius's interpretations of the Pauline letters as being, "superficially at least," the "least objectionable" of the ancient commentators.[139] Eno seems correct when he essentially admits that his interpretation of Pelagius is only possible when Pelagius's statements are read in a superficial manner. Wiles speaks more reasonably when he says: "Pelagius does frequently use the words 'faith alone' without any qualification . . . but it is clear from his more detailed statements that he regards it as a first step which is of no value apart from the subsequent works."[140]

10. *Summary and Conclusions*

It is obvious that Pelagius read Romans under the tutelage of Origen, since we have seen deep affinities between the two commentators. Not only are words and phrases from Origen incorporated directly into Pelagius's commentary, but the logical structure of many of Pelagius's glosses seems to derive directly from Origen's train of thought. Both men appear to be determined, as Churchmen, to fight against the prevalent heresies of their

[137] De Bruyn, *Romans*, p. 85. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, II:36: Convertentem impium per solam fidem iustificat deus, non per opera bona quae non habuit: alioquin per impietatis opera fuerat puniendus.

[138] Scheck/Hammond Bammel, *CRm*, 4.1.216–18 (965): Dicit apostolus quod homini iustitia reputetur licet nondum opera iustitiae egerit, sed pro eo tantum quod credidit in eum qui iustificat impium.

[139] Eno, "Some Patristic Views," pp. 10ff.

[140] Wiles, *The Divine Apostle*, p. 112, n. 7.

day. For Origen the opponents are the heretics Marcion, Basilides and Valentinus; for Pelagius they are principally Arius and the followers of Mani, though several other heretics are also mentioned.[141] Some form of determinism and predestinarianism is combated by both theologians.

Both Origen and Pelagius depict Paul as an arbiter between Jews and gentiles who invites members of both groups to accept God's offer of gratuitous salvation through faith in Christ. Both theologians insist upon the absolute necessity of the objective redemptive work of Christ on the cross for human salvation, since it is impossible for human beings to merit redemption by their works. Pelagius is clearly dependent upon Origen for his "anthropological optimism."[142] Bohlin states: "Pelagius appears to us to have found rich and central material for his doctrine of grace nowhere so much as in Origen's CRm."[143] His doctrines of free will, of predestination as foreknowledge of faith and merit, and of human sin as the cause of God's reprobation come substantially but not exclusively from Origen. Moreover, it appears that Origen is a key source for Pelagius's interpretation of Rom 5.12 in which it is understood that all human beings are condemned because they have actually sinned by following Adam's bad example, and not merely because they descend from Adam. This stress on actual sin as the cause of condemnation probably is due to the claims of Gnostic and Manichaean exegesis wherein sin is attributed to the human nature and flesh. Finally, both Pelagius and Origen have explicitly clarified that the works repudiated by Paul are the external works of Judaism, such as circumcision and Sabbaths, and not the post-baptismal works of justice that the Christian needs in order to deserve to be justified. Both fight against the heresy that is present in the Church, which asserts that justification is by faith alone.

There are also, however, important differences between Pelagius and Origen that must not be overlooked. If we look beyond the Commentary on Romans to his other extant works, we know that Pelagius has explicitly repudiated Origen's theory of the pre-existence of human souls.[144] It

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[141] For a complete list of heretics refuted by Pelagius, see Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, Introduction, p. 67.

[142] P. Grech, "Justification by faith", (1996), p. 359.

[143] T. Bohlin, *Theologie*, p. 103: "Pelagius scheint uns nirgends für seine Gnadenlehre so reiches und so zentrales Material gefunden zu haben wie gerade in Origenes-Rufinus' Römerbriefkommentar."

[144] Pelagius calls Origen's theory of the pre-existent fall of the soul a solution to the problem of evil that "certain heretics have dreamt up." *Expos in Ep ad Ephes*, PL Suppl 1:1289 = Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, III:345.

is interesting to note that this theory is not very prominent in the latter's *CRm* in any case, which may explain Pelagius's silence about it in his own Commentary.[145] Pelagius has bypassed many of Origen's allegories and digressions. Perhaps most significantly, in his interpretation of Rom 5.12, Pelagius has concentrated on deliberate sin and excludes any inherited consequences of the fall. He passes over in silence interpretations given by Origen and others, which state that human sin can be transmitted from Adam by propagation through his loins, and not merely through imitation of his behavior. In addition, Pelagius overlooks Origen's claim that infants enter the world in a fallen condition and therefore need to be cleansed by baptism. These omissions betray a tendentious and one-sided appropriation of Origen.

In *De pecc. Mer*. 3.1.1, Augustine reports that he has just read Pelagius's CRm. He speaks in a complimentary fashion of the author as a 'distinguished Christian man' and a 'highly advanced Christian.' But upon coming to Pelagius's comments on Rom 5.12, Augustine says: "Therein I found . . . an argument which is used by those who say that infants are not burdened with original sin." In the light of what we have examined above, it seems that Augustine's impressions were correct: Pelagius was a distinguished and highly advanced Christian man, and the overwhelming majority of his interpretation of Romans is acceptable as Catholic exegesis of the epistle. But his doctrine of the transmission of sin is one-sided and defective.

[145] Hammond Bammel, *Römerbrieftext* (1985), p. 52 observes: "Origen expressed himself more cautiously in the *Romans Commentary* than in the much earlier writing *De Principiis*, and in the meantime transferred the chief stress of his own interests."

SAINT PAUL IN AUGUSTINE

Aaron Canty

The influence of Saint Paul on Augustine is immense and has been noted in numerous studies.[1] The purpose of this essay is to provide a brief overview of this influence by drawing from a number of Augustine's major works. First, it will examine Augustine's general estimation of Paul and the Pauline corpus as Augustine understood it. Drawing especially from *The Confessions* and *De doctrina christiana*, the essay will describe Augustine's first encounters with Paul and sketch Augustine's evaluation of Paul from the beginning of his episcopal career towards the end of his life. Secondly, the essay will trace Paul's influence on Augustine regarding a number of important theological issues, such as the triune God, sin, grace, predestination, free will, and the Church. This section will draw from a number of major works to portray how Paul influenced Augustine's theology. Finally, there will be some concluding remarks summarizing the most important aspects of Paul's influence on Augustine, noting other aspects of Pauline theology that could not be covered in such a brief space, and describing briefly Augustine's transmission of Paul to later theologians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

1. *Augustine Encounters Paul*

Although Augustine never explicitly acknowledges his first encounter with the writings of Saint Paul, a clue in *The Confessions* suggests that it may

[1] See for example Bruno Delaroche, *Saint Augustin Lecteur et Interprète de Saint Paul dans le "De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione," (Hiver 411–412)* (Paris, 1996); Leo C. Ferrari, "Augustine's 'Discovery' of Paul (*Confessions* 7.21.27)," *Augustinian Studies* 22 (1991): 37–61 and "Paul at the Conversion of Augustine (*Conf.* VIII, 12, 29–30)," *Augustinian Studies* 11 (1980): 5–20; Paula Fredriksen, "Augustine's Early Interpretation of Paul" (Diss., Princeton University, 1979); M. Grazia Mara, "L'Influsso di Paolo in Agostino," in *Le Epistole Paoline Nei Manichei, i Donatisti e Il Primo Agostino* (Rome, 1989), 125–62, "Agostino e la polemica antimanichea: il ruolo di Paolo e del suo epistolario," *Augustinianum* 32 (1992): 119–43 and "Introduction," in *Agostino Interprete di Paolo*, transl. M. Grazia Mara (Torino, 1993), 9–91; L. J. van der Lof, "Die Autorität des Apostels Paulus nach Augustin," *Augustiniana* 30 (1980): 10–28. See also the chapter on Augustine in Alexander Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Oxford, 1927), 139–204.

have taken place while Augustine was a student at Carthage.[2] In recounting his student years at Carthage, Augustine mentions how reading the Scriptures proved unfulfilling on account of their unrefined style.[3] After his involvement with Manichaeism and his unfulfilling investigation of Neo-Platonism, Augustine returned, in 386, to the Scriptures which he had spurned years before. In recounting his new appreciation of the inspired texts, Augustine singles out Paul and the importance of his teaching on grace.[4] Augustine writes:

> It was therefore with intense eagerness that I seized on the hallowed calligraphy of your Spirit, and most especially the writings of the apostle Paul. In earlier days it had seemed to me that his teaching was self-contradictory, and in conflict with the witness of the law and the prophets, but now as these problems melted away your chaste words presented a single face to me, and I learned to rejoice with reverence.
>
> So I began to read, and discovered that every truth I had read in those other books was taught here also, but now inseparably from your gift of grace, so that no one who sees can boast as though what he sees and the very power to see it were not from you.[5]

A less detailed but earlier account of this encounter with Paul occurs in his *Contra Academicos*; in that work, dating from 386–387, Augustine describes how he assiduously read Paul during his spiritual crisis. Describing how the pursuit of philosophy detached him from worldly pleasures and allowed him to begin to see the beauty of Christianity, Augustine recounts:

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[2] It must be pointed out that what those Scriptures were is not clear. What is important, as Anne-Marie la Bonnardière has pointed out, is that the hermeneutic that Augustine applied to the scriptural writings at that time was deficient according to his later theological convictions. From that point of view, Augustine's introduction to Scripture, along with the exegetical principles to guide his reading, occurred in Milan (384–388). See La Bonnardière, "L'Initiation Biblique d'Augustin," in *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. Anne-Marie la Bonnardière (Paris, 1986), 27–47.

[3] Augustine, *Confessionum libri xiii*, ed. L. Verheijen (Turnhout, 1981), CCSL 27, 3.5.9.

[4] On the importance of Paul's teachings see *In Ioannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus x*, 2.9 (PL 35:1994) and *Enarrationes in psalmos*, eds. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (Turnhout, 1956), CCSL 38–40, 103(3).7.

[5] "Itaque auidissime arripui uenerabilem stilum spiritus tui et prae ceteris apostolum Paulum, et perierunt illae quaestiones, in quibus mihi aliquando uisus est aduersari sibi et non congruere testimoniis legis et prophetarum textus sermonis eius, et apparuit mihi una facies eloquiorum castorum, et exultare cum tremore didici. Et coepi et inueni, quidquid illac uerum legeram, hac cum commendatione gratiae tuae dici, ut qui uidet non sic glorietur, quasi non acceperit non solum id quod uidet…" *Conf.* 7.21.27 (cited passages are from *The Confessions*, trans. Maria Boulding, O.S.B. (New York, 1997), 181).

> What honour, what human pomp, what desire for empty fame, what consolations or attractions of this mortal life could move me then? Swiftly did I begin to return entirely to myself. Actually, all that I did—let me admit it—was to look back from the end of a journey, as it were, to that religion which is implanted in us in our childhood days and bound up in the marrow of our bones. But she indeed was drawing me unknowing to herself. Therefore, stumbling, hastening, yet with hesitation I seized the Apostle Paul. For truly, I say to myself, those men would never have been able to do such great things, nor would they have lived as they evidently did live, if their writings and doctrines were opposed to this so great a good. I read through all of it with the greatest attention and care.[6]

Augustine also mentions Paul's writings twice in the pivotal eighth chapter of *The Confessions*. Even before the famous *tolle lege* episode in the garden in Milan, Paul's writings make their appearance in his conversation with the court official Ponticianus. When Ponticianus visited Alypius and Augustine, his fellow countrymen,

> His eye happened to light upon a book that lay upon a gaming table nearby; he picked it up, opened it and found it to be the letters of the apostle Paul. This was certainly unexpected, for he had supposed it to be the kind of thing I exhausted myself in teaching. But then he smiled, looked up at me and offered his congratulations, surprised by his sudden discovery that those writings and those alone, were under my eye.[7]

Augustine's admission to Ponticianus that he has been studying Paul elicits from the court official the pivotal stories of the conversions of Saint Anthony of Egypt and of the two court officials in Trier.

These stories frame the background for Augustine's reflections in the garden adjoining his residence. Augustine recounts these reflections after Ponticianus' departure, and among them is his experience of hearing a voice, "perhaps of some boy or girl," saying "Pick it up and read, pick it

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[6] "Quis me tunc honor, quae hominum pompa, quae inanis famae cupiditas, quod denique huius mortalis uitae fomentum atque retinaculum commouebat? Prorsus totus in me cursim redibam. Respexi tamen, confiteor, quasi de itinere in illam religionem, quae pueris nobis insita est et medullitus inplicata; uerum autem ipsa ad se nescientem rapiebat. Itaque titubans properans haesitans arripio apostolum Paulum. Neque enim uere, inquam, isti tanta potuissent uixissentque ita, ut eos uixisse manifestum est, si eorum litterae atque rationes huic tanto bono aduersarentur. Perlegi totum intentissime atque castissime," Augustine, *Contra Academicos*, ed. W. M. Green (Turnhout, 1970), CCSL 29, 2.2.5 [translation by John J. O'Meara in *Against the Academics* (Westminster, Md., 1950), 70].

[7] "Et forte supra mensam lusoriam, quae ante nos erat, attendit codicem: tulit, aperuit, inuenit apostolum Paulum, inopinate sane; putauerat enim aliquid de libris, quorum professio me conterebat. Tum uero arridens meque intuens gratulatorie miratus est, quod eas et solas prae oculis meis litteras repente comperisset," *Conf.* 8.6.14 [Boulding, 195].

up and read."[8] What Augustine, commanded by the mysterious voice, felt compelled to pick up and read were the writings of Paul, and the passage that Augustine mentions in particular is Romans 13:13–14 ("Not in reveling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and licentiousness, not in quarreling and jealousy. But put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to gratify its desires" (RSV)). Augustine's conversion hinged on this passage, which speaks to much of his past experience and encourages the reader to accept Christ through the grace of baptism.[9] This passage from Paul proved to be decisive as Augustine relates: "I had no wish to read further, nor was there need. No sooner had I finished the end of the verse than the light of certainty flooded my heart and all dark shades of doubt fled away."[10]

After his conversion to Christianity, Augustine continued to draw from the Pauline corpus and to increase his appreciation of Paul's theology. Aside from Paul's doctrine, Augustine appreciated Paul's teaching ability. In *De doctrina christiana*, Augustine cites Paul as an outstanding model of Christian eloquence. Paul's eloquence, found in all fourteen epistles,[11] is greater than that of his pagan detractors because it is coupled not only

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[8] "Dicebam haec et flebam amarissima contrition cordis mei. Et ecce audio uocem de uicina domo cum cantu dicentis et crebro repetentis quasi pueri an puellae, nescio: 'Tolle lege, tolle lege,' " *Conf.* 8.12.29 [Boulding, 206].

[9] *Conf.* 7.21.27. Regardless of whether certain events in *The Confessions* pertaining to Augustine's conversion actually happened, there is no reason to believe that Paul's influence was unimportant, even if that influence became more pronounced during the time between Augustine's conversion and the redaction of *The Confessions*. See Ferrari, "Augustine's 'Discovery' of Paul (*Confessions* 7.21.27)," 40–51. Elsewhere Ferrari argues that because Augustine fails to give an important place to Rom 13:13–14 in his writings before *The Confessions*, the conversion scene never happened. See his "Truth and Augustine's Conversion Scene," in *Collectanea Augustiniana*, eds. Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren (New York, 1990), 9–19). Although it is true that the passage in question receives little sustained attention in the early to mid-390s, nonetheless Paul was important enough to Augustine for him to comment on Paul's letter to the Romans in two works (one of which was unfinished) and on the letter to the Galatians. See his *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex epistula ad Romanos, Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*, and *Epistulae ad Galatas expositio* all edited by J. Divjak, (Vienna, 1971), CSEL 84.

[10] "Nec ultra uolui legere nec opus erat. Statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt," *Conf.* 8.12.29 [Boulding, 207]. Romano Guardini expresses well the Pauline contribution to Augustine's conversion when he says that "in St. Paul universal truths appear in their proper place, namely behind the banners of grace, as revelation. They are understood to be, not autonomous knowledge, but gift", (*The Conversion of Augustine*, trans. Elinor Briefs (Westminster, Md., 1960), 228).

[11] *De doctrina christiana*, ed. W. M. Green (Vienna, 1963), CSEL 80, 2.8.13. Augustine does say that although most people in his time believed that Paul was the author of Hebrews, there were some who doubted its Pauline authorship. See *De civitate Dei*, eds. B. Dombart

with wisdom, but also with humility.[12] The fact that Paul and other biblical authors possess wisdom and humility and make it their point to teach the truth about God does not take away from their eloquence; indeed it heightens their eloquence, and shows that however much pagans may have despised the rhetorical skills of the biblical authors, as Augustine had done years before, eloquence is most eloquent when joined to true knowledge. "Accordingly, let us acknowledge that our canonical authors and teachers were indeed eloquent as well as being wise, with the kind of eloquence that befitted persons of that category."[13]

To show that the authors of the Bible did indeed employ the rhetorical skills of pagan orators, Augustine cites Paul in particular. According to Cicero, there are three modes of speaking: the calm style, the moderate style, and the grand style. Speakers should apply these modes of discourse when they are attempting to teach, delight, and persuade their audience to do good.[14] Christian authors have a particular difficulty in applying these three modes, because everything they say affects in some way the eternal salvation of their readers and listeners.[15] This situation applies not only to the scriptural authors, but also to every Christian preacher. Does it imply, however, that they must always use the grand style of speaking? Augustine explains:

> And yet, while this teacher ought always to be setting forth great matters, he does not always have to say them in the grand manner. But he should do it calmly when he is teaching, moderately when he has something to blame or praise. But when it is something to be done, and we are addressing people who ought to do it, and yet are not willing to, that is when great matters are to be uttered in the grand manner, and in a way suited to swaying minds and hearts. And sometimes one and the same great matter is spoken of calmly if it is being taught, moderately if it is being proclaimed and preached, and grandly if spirits that have turned away from it are being urged to turn back and be converted.[16]

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and A. Kalb (Turnhout, 1955), CCSL 48, 16.22 and Eugène Portalié, *A Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*, trans. Ralph J. Bastian, intro. Vernon J. Bourke (Chicago, 1960), 121–22.

[12] *De doctr. christ.* 4.7.14.

[13] "Quapropter et eloquentes quidem, non solum sapientes canonicos nostros auctores doctoresque fateamur tali eloquentia qualis personis eius modi congruebat," *De doctr. christ.* 4.7.21 (cited passages are from *Teaching Christianity*, trans. Edmund Hill (New York, 1996), 212).

[14] See *De doctr. christ.* 4.17.34.

[15] See *De doctr. christ.* 4.18.35.

[16] "Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere, sed summisse cum aliquid docetur, temperate cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur. Cum vero aliquid agendum est et ad eos loquimur qui hoc agere debent nec

All three modes of speaking are appropriate for Christians, depending on their desire to teach, delight, and sway.

After explaining the Christian use of the rhetorical arts, Augustine then provides a small compendium of Pauline texts to illustrate how the master teacher should apply the three modes of speaking in particular situations. Paul uses the calm style in Galatians to explain how Sarah and Hagar are allegories for the two testaments and to explain the relationship between law and promise.[17] The moderate style can be found in Romans 12–13, where Paul encourages members of his audience to present their bodies as a "living sacrifice," to offer their spiritual gifts in love as they serve the Lord, and to "render to all their due." According to Augustine, Paul uses the grand style in several passages, such as in Romans 8, where Paul urges the Roman Christians to persevere in their faith because those who are called and predestined by God cannot be separated from His love, even by suffering and persecution.[18] In providing examples of the three styles of rhetoric, Augustine cites several other scriptural passages, but all of them are derived from the Pauline epistles, a fact which confirms Augustine's estimation of Paul as a model for Christian teaching.[19] Paul excels as an eloquent teacher because of his ability to apply all three styles judiciously, according to the subject matter at hand; Paul excels as a Christian teacher because of his wisdom and love.

Augustine even believes that the name of Paul, who was the "least of the apostles" and who was "not worthy to be called an apostle"[20] has great significance for Christian life. "What does Paul mean? 'Little.' Therefore, when he was Saul he was proud, lofty; when he was Paul he was humble, little."[21] Precisely because of his being little, Paul is great. The one who was the "least of the apostles" was, in Augustine's view, the one who worked the hardest to spread the Gospel of Jesus.[22] Not only are the style and

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tamen volunt, tunc ea quae magna sunt dicenda sunt granditer et ad flectendos animos congruenter. Et aliquando de una eademque re magna et summisse dicitur si docetur et temperate si praedicatur et granditer si aversus inde animus ut convertatur impellitur," *De doctr. christ.* 4.19.38 [Hill, 222].

[17] See Gal 4:21–31.

[18] See Rom 8:26–39.

[19] See *De doctr. christ.* 4.20.39–43.

[20] See 1 Cor 15:9.

[21] "Quid est Paulus? Modicus. Ergo quando Saulus, superbus, elatus: quando Paulus, humilis, modicus," *In Ioannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus x*, 8.2 (PL 35:2037) [translation by Boniface Ramsey in *Homilies on the First Epistle of John* (New York, 2008), 117]. See also *De civitate Dei* 14.9.; *En. in Ps* 44.22, 67.12.

[22] See *En. in Ps* 90(1).9.

content of Paul's teaching exemplary, therefore, but also worthy of emulation is his example of humility, which is signified by his new name.

For Augustine, Paul is the ideal teacher who models what he teaches. The true teacher is not the one who has mastered the rhetorical arts but the one who lives a holy life. Even as Augustine reflects on this theme at the end of *De doctrina christiana*, he cites 1 Timothy 4:12, "Let no one despise your youth, but set the believers an example in speech and conduct, in love, in faith, in purity."[23] Paul teaches the basic message of all Scripture, namely the love of God and neighbor.[24] Exemplifying the qualities of a good teacher and leader, he writes letters to instruct the leaders of the Christian churches and to praise, admonish, and exhort those in their care. Augustine, however, finds more to Paul's central importance to the Church than his virtuous life and the mode and efficacy of his teaching. What Augustine finds of inestimable value is the substance of that teaching.[25]

2. *Paul's Influence on Augustine*

The influence of Paul's teaching reaches to virtually all aspects of Augustine's theology. Since only a brief overview can be attempted here, this part of the essay will trace the broad outlines of Augustine's views pertaining to central topics such as God, sin, grace, predestination, free will, and the Church.

Since the Johannine theology of the New Testament inspired much of the development of Trinitarian doctrine of the Early Church, one might not think that Saint Paul's writings would have had much influence in this regard. There are several Pauline passages, however, that proved to be central to Augustine's Trinitarian theology. It is true that when, in *De Trinitate*, Augustine first adduces scriptural passages to refute those

[23] Earlier, Augustine mentions that in his view, "anyone charged with the role of teacher in the Church ought to have before his eyes" Paul's letters to Timothy and his letter to Titus (*De doctr. christ.* 4.16.33 [Hill, 219]).

[24] See *De doctr. christ.* 1.30.32.

[25] See *De fide et symbolo*, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1900), CSEL 41, 1.1 and *Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate*, ed. E. Evans (Turnhout, 1969), CCSL 46, 1.1 and 2.7–8. In these passages Augustine cites several passages from Paul (Rom 1:17, 10:10, 10:14, 16:19; 1 Cor 1:20; Heb 10:38), which describe the salvific importance of faith and the necessity of authentic teachers who can communicate that faith.

who deny Christ's divinity, Johannine passages have first priority,[26] but Augustine cites a greater number of Pauline texts than Johannine ones. For example, 1 Timothy 6:16 refers to the "King of kings and the Lord of lords, who alone has immortality." Augustine seems to think that many people apply this phrase to the Father. This interpretation cannot be fully justified, however, because the Son also is immortal. In addition to this argument, Augustine notes that no Person of the Trinity is specifically named. These words, then, must refer to "the one and only true God, the three."[27]

Two other related passages are 1 Cor 8:6 and Rom 11:36. The first passage says, "For us there is one God the Father from whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things, and we through him," and the second reads, "Since from him and through him and in him are all things, to him be glory forever and ever." Both passages involve the use of prepositions and their application to the Persons of the Trinity. Although Augustine reads these passages through a Johannine lens ("All things were made through him" (John 1:3)), he believes that Paul has articulated clearly both that the Son has created all things and that the use of prepositions in the Romans passage, along with the singular "him" after them, shows that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God.[28]

Augustine, in citing these passages and others, is concerned to refute any Arian interpretation which would subordinate the Son to the Father without qualification. In this regard, Philippians 2:6–7 is very important. According to this passage, Christ, "though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross." For Augustine, this passage is crucial because it helps to make sense of the apparent contradiction between those passages that state that the Father is greater than the Son (e.g., John 14:28 and Col 1:15) and those that express the Son's equality with the Father (e.g., John 1:1, 20:28). To determine how the Father and the Son are equal and how they are different, "this rule for solving this question

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[26] See *De Trinitate*, eds. W. J. Mountain and Fr. Glorie (Turnhout, 1958), CCSL 50, 1.6.9.

[27] "In quibus uerbis nec pater proprie nominates est nec filius nec spiritus sanctus, sed beatus et solus potens, rex regum et dominus dominantium, quod est unus et solus et uerus deus, ipsa trinitas," *De Trin.* 1.6.10 (cited passages are from *The Trinity*, trans. Edmund Hill (New York, 1991), 71; but the chapter and paragraph numbers follow the critical edition).

[28] See *De. Trin.* 1.6.12; *De doctr. christ*. 1.5.5.

in all the sacred scriptures is laid down for us in this one passage of the apostle Paul's letter, where the distinction is clearly set out."[29] How does Phil 2:6–8 shed light on the problem? "In the form of a servant which he took he is the Father's inferior; in the form of God in which he existed even before he took this other he is the Father's equal . . . in the form of God he made man, in the form of a servant he was made man."[30]

It is precisely this understanding of equality and difference, derived from Philippians, that Augustine applies to 1 Cor 15: 21–28, which is perhaps the most important Pauline passage in *De Trinitate*. Here is the passage in its entirety:

> For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ. Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death. "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet." But when it says, "All things are put in subjection under him," it is plain that he is excepted who put all things under him. When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to him who put all things under him, that God may be everything to every one. (RSV)

This passage is important for several reasons. First, the subjection language seems to imply clearly that the Son is inferior or subordinate to the Father. Second, different kinds of subjection seem to be indicated, and if this interpretation is correct, the Father and the Son perform different acts of subjugation, one of which is superior to the other. Third, Augustine notes that some interpret the Son's handing over of the kingdom as meaning that he deprives himself of it.

Augustine refutes all these Arian interpretations by interpreting the passage in light of the "rule" from Phil 2:6–8. The first principle to establish is that "what the Father is greater than is the form of the servant, whereas the Son is his equal in the form of God."[31] With this principle in

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[29] "Et haec nobis regula per omnes sanctas scripturas dissoluendae huius quaestionis ex uno capite epistulae Pauli apostoli promitur ubi manifestius ista distinctio commendatur," *De. Trin.* 1.7.14 [Hill, 74].

[30] "In forma enim serui quam accepit minor est patre; in forma autem dei in qua erat etiam antequam hanc accepisset aequalis est patri . . . Proinde in forma dei fecit hominem; in forma serui factus est homo," Ibid. [Hill, 74].

[31] "Vnde nulla cunctatio est secundum hoc esse dictum quod forma serui maior est pater, cui in forma dei aequalis est filius," *De Trin*. 1.8.15 [Hill, 75].

mind, Augustine provides the following interpretation, clearly inspired by several significant Pauline passages: "The fact is that the man Christ Jesus, mediator of God and men, now reigning for all the just who live by faith, is going to bring them to direct sight of God, to the face to face vision, as the apostle calls it."[32] As man Christ will hand over the kingdom to the Father and be "subjected to the Father," but in the "form of God," He and the Father will subject together, because "the Father's working and the Son's are inseparable."[33]

Noticeably absent in these reflections on Paul's understanding of the relationship between the Father and the Son is the Holy Spirit, and yet Augustine's pneumatology owes much to Paul. Augustine repeatedly makes use of passages which link the Holy Spirit with love (within the Trinity and in creation) or which discuss his role in forming and building up the Church. Regarding the Holy Spirit as love, Augustine often mentions Romans 5:5, which says that the "love of God has been poured out into our hearts through the Holy Spirit, who has been given to us." The Spirit is the love of God, or the "bond" or "gift" of God.[34] He is "a kind of inexpressible communion or fellowship of Father and Son."[35]

This communion, however, does not exist only in God. The Father and the Son share that communion, which is the Holy Spirit with humanity: "So the Spirit is both God's who gave it and ours who received it."[36] The Holy Spirit affects a profound union among Christians, uniting them into a single organism, a living body. Augustine emphasizes passages, especially from 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, which accentuate this unity. Augustine is especially fond of the phrases "body of Christ" (1 Cor 12:27) and "temple of the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 6:19), especially because of the ecclesiological resonances they possess. Developing this theme, Ephesians 2:19–22 says:

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[32] "Sed quia omnes iustos quibus nunc regnat ex fide uiuentibus mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus perducturus est ad speciem quam uisionem dicit idem apostolus facie ad faciem, ita ditum est," *De Trin.* 1.8.16 [Hill, 76].

[33] "Inseparabilis enim est operatio patris et filii," *De Trin.* 1.8.15 [Hill, 76]. Similar interpretations exist also in *De fide et symbolo*, 9.18 and in *De diuersis quaestionibus lxxxiii*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher (Turnhout, 1975), CCSL 44A, 69.1–3.

[34] See *De fide et symbolo*, 9.19; *In Iohannis Euangelium tractatus cxxiv*, ed. R. Willems (Turnhout, 1954), CCSL 36, 96.4; *Conf.* 13.7.8; *De Trin.* 13.10.14, 15.18.32. See also 2 Cor 2:6–13.

[35] "Ergo spiritus sanctus ineffabilis quaedam patris filiique communio, et ideo fortasse sic appellatur quia patri et filio potest eadem appellatio conuenire," *De Trin.* 5.11.12 [Hill, 197]. Augustine does have Eunomius' pneumatology in mind as he discusses the relationship of the Spirit to the Father and the Son; see *De Trin.* 15.20.38.

[36] "Spiritus ergo et dei qui dedit et noster qui accepimus," *De Trin.* 5.14.15 [Hill, 199].

> So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.[37] (RSV)

The Spirit effects ecclesial unity precisely by giving it numerous gifts: "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit" (1 Cor 12:4). "And his gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ" (Eph 4:11–12).[38] No individual has all the gifts, but all Christians "have the gift by which their special gifts are distributed to each, that is the Holy Spirit."[39] Augustine believes that the Holy Spirit harmonizes these gifts and perfects the Church so that when the Son "delivers the kingdom to God the Father" (1 Cor 15:24), the Holy Spirit also works in this consummating action: "[H]e will bring believers to the direct contemplation of God, in which all good actions have their end, and there is everlasting rest and joy that shall not be taken away from us."[40]

It is with this ultimate purpose that the Trinity gives existence to creation. God creates from nothing,[41] out of love, so that he can bring those he has chosen to the joy of eternal contemplation.[42] The cause of creation then, "is nothing other than the goodness of the creator who is the one true God."[43] One finds Augustine's insistence on the goodness of creation on numerous occasions, especially in his writings against the Manichaeans. If the origin of evil lies in an evil deity or in a kingdom of darkness, as

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[37] See Augustine's commentary on this passage in *En. in Ps* 111.1.

[38] Augustine comments on this verse and several other Pauline passages in *De Trin.* 15.19.34.

[39] "Non enim singuli quique habent omnia, sed hi illa, alii alia, quamuis ipsum donum a quo cuique propria diuiduntur omnes habeant, id est spiritum sanctum," *De Trin.* 15.19.34 [Hill, 423].

[40] "Tradet itaque regnum deo et patri dominus noster Iesus Christus, non se inde separato nec spiritu sancto, quoniam perducet credentes ad contemplationem dei ubi est finis omnium bonarum actionum et requies sempiterna et gaudium quod non auferetur a nobis," *De Trin.* 1.10.20 [Hill, 79].

[41] See *De fide et symbolo*, 2.2.

[42] See *De Trin.* 1.8.16–17.

[43] "Satis est Christiano rerum creatarum causam, siue caelestium siue terrestrium, siue uisibilium siue inuisibilium, non nisi bonitatem credere creatoris qui est deus unus et uerus, nullamque esse naturam quae non aut ipse sit aut ab ipso," *Ench.* 3.9 [translation of *The Enchiridion on Faith, Hope, and Charity* by Bruce Harbert in *On Christian Belief* (New York, 2005), 278].

the Manichaeans believed, one can look outside of oneself for the source of one's evil actions. Augustine became convinced that this answer led to further problems. As he confesses to God, "I was readier to assert that your immutable substance had been forced into error than to confess that my own mutable substance had gone astray by its own will."[44]

Locating the source of evil in the human will transformed Augustine's understanding of God, the universe, and humanity, and Augustine came to find Paul's letter to the Romans to be the interpretive key for understanding the drama of human salvation. Paul affirms the goodness of God and creation while simultaneously removing the possibility of blaming anything for being the source of evil except oneself. Augustine employs Romans 11:36, "For of him, and by him, and in him, are all things," to show the equality of the Trinitarian Persons, but he also cites it to show the goodness of creation.[45] Augustine describes the relationship between good and evil in the *Enchiridion*, when he says that "we must in no way doubt that the only cause of the good things that come our way is the goodness of God, while the cause of our evils is the will of a changeable good falling away from the unchangeable good, first the will of an angel, then the will of a human being."[46] Augustine associates this "falling away" with Paul's statement that "by one man sin entered into this world, and by sin death; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned" (Rom 5:12).[47]

This pivotal passage and the subsequent soteriology of Paul in Romans is the source of Augustine's doctrine of original sin.[48] Although Augustine is certainly the originator neither of the term nor of the doctrine, his development and articulation of this doctrine proved to be very influential in

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[44] "Et contendabam magis incommutabilem tuam substantiam coactam errare quam meam mutabilem sponte deuiasse et poena errare confitebar," *Conf.* 4.15.26 [Boulding, 109].

[45] See *Conf.* 12.7.7; *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 2.4 (PL 44:962).

[46] "His itaque pro huius breuitatis necessitate tractatis, quoniam causae cognoscendae sunt rerum bonarum et malarum quantum uiae satis est quae nos perducat ad regnum ubi erit uita sine morte, sine errore ueritas, sine perturbatione felicitas, nequaquam dubitare debemus rerum quae ad nos pertinent bonarum causam non esse nisi bonitatem dei, malarum uero ab immutabili bono deficientem boni mutabilis uoluntatem, prius angeli hominis postea," *Ench.*, 8.23 [Harbert, 288].

[47] See *Ench.* 8.26; *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1894), CSEL 28, 6.24.35. On the difference between Augustine's Latin text and the Greek, see Souter, 181–200.

[48] The term "original sin" antedates Augustine and can be found in Tertullian, Hilary, and Ambrose, although the basic idea can be found in Irenaeus and Origen as well.

the history of theology, at first in the debate with the Pelagians, and later in the soteriology of the Middle Ages and early Reformation period.

There are several dimensions of this doctrine. First, God created human nature entirely without sin or defect. Even after sin, "[a]ll the goods which it has in its constitution: life, the senses, and the mind, it has from the sovereign God."[49] Second, "the defect which darkens and weakens those natural goods so that there is need for enlightenment and healing did not come from its blameless maker. It came from the original sin which was committed by free choice."[50] Sin entered the world through free will and weakened "all those natural goods" endowed by God. Augustine often has recourse to the following passage in Ephesians (2:1–7) to demonstrate the consequences of that sin on the remainder of humanity:

> And you he made alive, when you were dead through the trespasses and sins in which you once walked, following the course of this world, following the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience. Among these we all once lived in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of body and mind, and so we were by nature children of wrath, like the rest of mankind. But God, who is rich in mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive together with Christ (by grace you have been saved), and raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, that in the coming ages he might show the immeasurable riches of his grace in kindness toward us in Christ Jesus. (RSV)[51]

All the descendents of Adam and Eve were "dead" and "children of wrath," or, as Paul says in Romans 3:23, "all have sinned and are deprived of the glory of God."[52] Because sin affects the entire nature, humanity on its own cannot attain the sinlessness it originally possessed as a gift: "The whole mass of humanity owes a debt of punishment, and if all suffered the penalty of damnation they deserved, they certainly would not be paying an

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[49] "[O]mnia quidem bona, quae habet in formatione, uita, sensibus, mente, a summo deo habet creatore et artifice suo," *De natura et gratia*, ed. C. Vrba and J. Zycha (Vienna, 1913), CSEL 60, 3.3.3 (cited passages of *Nature and Grace* are from *Answer to the Pelagians* trans. Roland J. Teske, S.J. (New York, 1997), 218).

[50] "[U]itium uero, quod ista naturalia bona contenebrat et infirmat, ut inluminatione et curatione opus habeat, non ab inculpabili artifice contractum est, sed ex originali peccato, quod commissum est libero arbitrio," Ibid. [Teske, 218].

[51] See *De natura et gratia*. 3.3.3, 3.63.75; *En. in Ps* 102.17.

[52] See *De natura et gratia.* 4.4.4.

unjust penalty. Those then who are set free from it by grace are not called vessels of their own merits, but vessels of mercy."[53]

Since these "vessels of mercy" cannot achieve redemption from sin on their own, God must offer it to them. God's offer of grace, however, is not without effect; it is not as though the efficacy of God's grace depends on the free human response to that grace. Augustine develops his doctrine of predestination, a doctrine which is also inspired by Paul, precisely to safeguard the gratuitousness of grace. The two central Pauline passages which support Augustine's doctrine of predestination are Romans 8:29–30 and Ephesians 1:3–12.

The passage from Romans is important because it links predestination with divine foreknowledge and human justification: "For those he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, so that he might be the firstborn among many brothers. And those he predestined he also called; and those he called he also justified; and those he justified he also glorified." For Augustine, this passage makes it evident that salvation is not the result of human merit, but of God's love and mercy.[54] The passage from Ephesians is no less important:

> Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavens, as he chose us in him, before the foundation of the world, to be holy and without blemish before him. In love he destined us for adoption to himself through Jesus Christ, in accord with the favor of his will, for the praise of the glory of his grace that he granted us in the beloved. In him we have redemption by his blood, the forgiveness of transgressions, in accord with the riches of his grace that he lavished upon us. In all wisdom and insight, he has made known to us the mystery of his will in accord with his favor that he set forth in him as a plan for the fullness of times, to sum up all things in Christ, in heaven and on earth. In him we were also chosen, destined in accord with the purpose of the one who accomplishes all things according to the intention of his will, so that we might exist for the praise of his glory, we who first hoped in Christ.

This passage is important because it emphasizes both that God's election is "before the foundation of the world" and that this election is "in Christ"

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[53] "Vniuersa igitur massa poenas debet et, si omnibus debitum damnationis supplicium redderetur, non iniuste procul dubio redderetur. qui ergo inde per gratiam liberantur, non uasa meritorum suorum, sed uasa misericordiae nominator," *De natura et gratia*. 5.5.5 [Teske, 219]. The allusion to "vessels of mercy" derives from Rom. 9:23.

[54] See *De gestis Pelagii*, eds. C. Vrba and J. Zycha (Vienna, 1902), CSEL 42, 3.7 and *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 16.32, (PL 44:983).

so that "we might exist for the praise of his glory." The human response of faith does not derive its impetus from within an autonomous individual, but rather, the response of faith is part of God's gift of predestination to those whom he loves. As Augustine says, "By choosing them, then, he made them rich in faith, as well as heirs of the kingdom. He is, of course, correctly said to choose in them this faith since he chose them in order to bring it about in them."[55]

Augustine expresses this conviction of God's sovereignty and the gratuitousness of predestination numerous times in his writings, not only in his polemical works against the Pelagians, which begin around 412, but even in earlier works such as his letter to Simplicianus. In the first part of this letter, Augustine interprets at some length Romans 9:10–29, which addresses God's free election by grace. Paul's reflections center on the love of God for Jacob and his hatred for Esau (v. 13, referring to Malachi 1:2–3), and he explains the mystery of predestination this way:

> This, then, is correct: "Many are called, but few are chosen." For the chosen are those who have been called in an appropriate way [congruenter], whereas those who did not consent and were not obedient to the call are not chosen, because they did not follow even though they were called. Likewise, this is correct: "It is not a matter of willing or of running but of a merciful God" because, even if he calls many, he still has mercy on those whom he calls in such a way as is appropriate for them to be called so that they may follow. It is incorrect, however, if anyone says that it is not a matter of God's being merciful but of man's willing and running, because God has mercy on no one in vain. But the person on whom he has mercy he calls in such a way as he knows is appropriate for him, so that he may not reject him who calls.[56]

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[55] "Eligendo ergo facit divites in fide, sicut haeredes regni. Recte quippe in eis hoc eligere dicitur, quod ut in eis faciat, eos eligit," *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 17.34 (PL 44:986) [cited passages of *The Predestination of the Saints* are from *Answer to the Pelagians, IV*, trans. Roland J. Teske, S.J. (New York, 1999), 178].

[56] "Verum est ergo: Multi uocati, pauci electi. Illi enim electi qui congruenter uocati, illi autem qui non congruebant neque contemperebantur uocationi non electi, quia non secuti quamuis uocati. Item uerum est: Non uolentis neque currentis sed miserentis est dei, quia etiamsi multos uocet, eorum tamen miseretur quos ita uocat, quomodo eis uocari aptum est ut sequantur. Falsum est autem si quis dicit: Igitur non miserentis dei sed uolentis atque currentis est hominis, quia nullius deus frustra miseretur. Cuius autem miseretur, sic eum uocat, quomodo scit ei congruere, ut uocantem non respuat," *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher (Turnholt, 1970), CCSL 44, 1.2.13 (translation of *Miscellany of Questions in Response to Simplician* by Boniface Ramsey in *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions* (New York, 2008), 195.

Citing Romans 9:16 in this passage, Augustine emphasizes heavily the gratuitousness and freedom of God's election. God calls people in two ways. There is a calling which is not effectual, and this entails an individual's rejection of God's call; there is also a call which is effectual, and this entails an individual's acceptance of God's call. The latter call is what Augustine calls predestination.[57]

Predestination is different from grace insofar as "predestination is the preparation for grace, while grace is its actual bestowal."[58] In *De dono perseverantiae*, Augustine expands on this idea by saying that the "predestination of the saints is nothing other than the foreknowledge and the preparation of the benefits of God by which he most certainly sets free whoever are set free. But where are the rest left by the most just judgment of God save in the mass of perdition?"[59]

There are several facets of Augustine's doctrine of predestination in these passages. First, predestination is based on God's will to grant certain people the gift of faith and his foreknowledge regarding those to whom he would give that grace. Since the response of faith is itself God's gift, God knew to whom he would grant that gift and those to whom he would not. Second, there is nothing one can do to merit predestination. Augustine even makes it perfectly clear that predestination has nothing to do with foreseeing the faith or merits of people apart from grace. The elect are chosen not because they have believed, but they "are chosen in order that they may believe . . . For, if they were chosen because they believed, they would, of course, have first chosen him by believing in him in order that they might merit to be chosen."[60] Third, some people are predestined, and some are not. Since no one can merit predestination, God has absolute freedom to predestine justly and mercifully some people and not others.

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[57] See William S. Babcock, "Augustine's Interpretation of Romans (A.D. 394–396)," *Augustinian Studies* 10 (1979): 55–74.

[58] "Inter gratiam porro et praedestinationem hoc tantum interest, quod praedestinatio est gratiae praeparatio, gratia vero jam ipsa donatio," *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 10.19 [Teske, 165].

[59] "Haec est praedestinatio sanctorum, nihil aliud: praescientia scilicet, et praeparatio beneficiorum Dei, quibus certissime liberantur, quicumque liberantur. Caeteri autem ubi nisi in massa perditionis justo divino judicio relinquuntur?" *De dono perseverantiae*, 14.35 (PL 45:1014) [cited passages of *The Gift of Perseverance* are from *Answer to the Pelagians, IV*, 213].

[60] "Intelligamus ergo vocationem qua fiunt electi: non qui eliguntur quia crediderunt, sed qui eliguntur ut credant . . . Nam si propterea electi erant, quia crediderant; ipsi eum prius utique elegerant credendo in eum, ut eligi mererentur," *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 17.34 [Teske, 178].

Augustine thinks about this election in terms of Jesus' parable of the man holding a banquet in Luke 14:15–24. In this parable, the man called two sets of people, those initially invited and, when those people declined the invitation, "the poor, the crippled, the blind, and the lame."[61] In one sense, God calls the Jews and the gentiles "by that calling by which they too were called who refused to come to the wedding."[62] There is, however, another call:

> [God] calls the predestined by that calling which the apostle specified when he said that he preached to those who were called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. For he said: "But to those who have been called," in order to show that those others were not called. He knew, after all, that there is a special calling which is certain for those who have been called according to God's plan "whom he foreknew and predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son."[63]

Paul's influence on Augustine is readily apparent here. Election is a particular calling not offered to everyone. Those who are called are predestined to be "conformable to the image of his Son, so that his Son might be the eldest of many brothers."[64] No one can earn this election; it is an unmerited gift, the acceptance of which occurs through faith as a response to the preaching of Christ's apostles.

Although the response of faith is itself a gift,[65] Augustine nevertheless believes that human beings have free will. One of the Pelagian criticisms of Augustine's emphasis on predestination would render preaching and exhortation powerless, since people might think that whatever happened was predetermined and beyond their control. If human beings are powerless to change things, it would seem useless to admonish them to change. One rejoinder of Augustine cites Paul as an ideal model of a preacher

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[61] Luke 14:21.

[62] "Vocat enim Deus praedestinatos multos filios suos, ut eos faciat membra praedestinati unici Filii sui, non ea vocatione qua vocati sunt et qui noluerunt venire ad nuptias," *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 16.32 [Teske, 175].

[63] "[I]lla quippe vocatione et Judaei vocati sunt, quibus Christus crucifixus scandalum est; et Gentes, quibus crucifixus stultitia est: sed ea vocatione praedestinatos vocat, quam distinxit Apostolus, dicens, ipsis vocatis Judaeis et Graecis praedicare se Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam. Sic enim ait, Ipsis autem vocatis; ut illos ostenderet non vocatos: sciens esse quamdam certam vocationem eorum qui secundum propositum vocati sunt, quos ante praescivit et praedestinavit conformes imaginis Filii sui," Ibid. [Teske, 175].

[64] Rom 8:29–30.

[65] See *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, 19.38–20.42, where Augustine justifies this position by commenting on Pauline passages from several epistles, including Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Thessalonians.

situating exhortation within the context of predestination: "As if [the doctrine of predestination] were an obstacle to the preaching of the apostle! Did not that teacher who taught the nations in the faith and the truth very often teach predestination without ceasing from preaching the word of God?"[66] Just because predestination precedes grace and grace precedes faith does not mean that the positive human response is coerced. Indeed, God foresees and rewards the free response of faith, but the free response and the reward are also gifts, as well.[67]

> What merit, then, does a human being have before grace so that by that merit he may receive grace, since only grace produces in us every good merit of ours and since, when God crowns our merits, he only crowns his own gifts? . . . For this reason even eternal life itself, which we shall certainly have in the end without end, is given as recompense for preceding merits, but because the same merits to which it is given as recompense were not produced by us through our own abilities but were produced in us through grace, it too is called grace for no other reason than that it is given gratuitously, not because it is not given to our merits but because even the very merits to which it is given were given to us.[68]

Although Augustine goes on to cite Paul's understanding of grace as eternal life (see Romans 6:23), what is important in this passage is that Augustine attempts to balance grace and freedom. Humanity cannot earn grace, but grace can produce merit. These merits are responses to grace and deserve to be rewarded—and yet, the merits are simultaneously God's gifts. No human can merit apart from grace. God predestines, offers grace, prepares the human will,[69] and empowers the human will to respond freely. Those who receive these graces merit none of these actions. When they respond

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[66] "Quasi vero adversata sit Apostolo praedicanti. Nonne ille doctor Gentium in fide et veritate et praedestinationem toties commendavit, et verbum Dei praedicare non destitit?" *De dono perseverantiae*, 14.34 [Teske, 213].

[67] See *De doctr. chr.* 3.33.46.

[68] "Quod est ergo meritum hominis ante gratiam, quo merito percipiat gratiam, cum omne bonum meritum nostrum non in nobis faciat nisi gratia et, cum deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronet quam munera sua? . . . unde et ipsa aeterna uita, quae utique in fine sine fine habebitur et ideo meritis praecedentibus redditur, tamen, quia eadem merita, quibus redditur, non a nobis facta sunt per nostrum sufficientiam, sed in nobis facta per gratiam, etiam ipsa gratia nuncupatur non ob aliud, nisi quia gratis datur, nec ideo quia non meritis datur, sed quia data sunt et ipsa merita quibus datur," *Epistula 194*, ed. A. Goldbacher (Vienna, 1891), CSEL 57, 194.5.19, (translation by Roland J. Teske, S.J. in *Letters 156–210* (New York, 2004), 296).

[69] On the importance of God's role in preparing the will, see *Contra Iulianum*, 2.3.6 (PL 44:676–77).

in faith, they should praise the goodness of God, and when they fail to respond in faith, they can blame only themselves.

How can this be, though? If God's sovereignty is to be taken seriously, should the human refusal of faith and grace not be attributed to God? Augustine knew that some Christians interpreted his theology of grace as implicitly denying free will, but could Augustine be interpreted as affirming free will when humans reject God and denying free will when they accept God? Augustine's understanding of free will actually holds quite an opposite position. Perhaps the fullest explanation of the role of human freedom can be found in his late treatise, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, a work which is in constant dialogue with Paul's writings. When Augustine says in that work that God "has revealed to us through his holy scriptures that there is free choice of the will in human beings,"[70] he certainly has the writings of Paul in mind. Indeed, in 2.4 he adduces nine Pauline texts that imply free will because of the commands they contain. "Where, of course, it says, 'Do not do this,' and 'Do not do that,' and where in God's counsels the act of the will is required for doing or for not doing something, the existence of free choice is sufficiently proven."[71]

Augustine's reliance on Paul, however, goes well beyond the citation of hortatory passages, numerous examples of which can be found elsewhere in Scripture. Augustine finds that the autobiographical reminiscences of Paul's life recapitulate the transformation of all Christians. In rejecting Christ and persecuting the Church, Paul was evil. Augustine even applies the term "merit" to Paul before his conversion: "For, when he persecuted the Church, there was merit in the apostle Paul, but evil merit."[72] The recompense for evil merit is separation from God. Paul, however, "obtained the grace of God which repays good in return for evil."[73] When God extended grace to Paul, that grace could have been freely rejected. Indeed, Augustine interprets Paul's admonishment to the Corinthians that they "not accept the grace of God in vain" as implying that grace can be freely

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[70] "Revelavit autem nobis per Scipturas suas sanctas, esse in homine liberum voluntatis arbitrium," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 2.2 (PL 44:882) [cited passages of *Grace and Free Choice* are from *Answer to the Pelagians, IV*, 71].

[71] "Nempe ubi dicitur, Noli hoc, et noli illud, et ubi ad aliquid faciendum vel non faciendum in divinis monitis opus voluntatis exigitur, satis liberum demonstratur arbitrium," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 2.4 [Teske, 73].

[72] "Meritum enim fuit quidem in apostolo Paulo, sed malum, quando persequebatur Ecclesiam," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 5.12 [Teske, 78].

[73] "Ergo redeamus ad apostolum Paulum, quem certe invenimus sine ullis meritis bonis, imo cum multis meritis malis, Dei gratiam consectum reddentis bona pro malis," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 6.14 [Teske, 80].

refused.[74] What is beyond human freedom is that God offers grace in the first place; what is within human freedom is how humans respond to God's grace with his grace. As Augustine explains, what effected the conversion of Paul "was neither the grace of God alone nor the apostle alone, but the grace of God with him. But that he received a call from heaven and was converted by such an efficacious calling was the grace of God alone, for his merits were great, but evil ones."[75] Conversion, although preceded and accompanied by grace, nevertheless requires a change of heart, a turning of the will from oneself to God. This conversion, then, must take place with the assistance of grace, because the will cannot turn towards God on its own, but it must also take place freely, since coercion of the will could not result in a true conversion.

Once his conversion took place, Paul continued to follow God's will through his ministry to the gentiles. In persevering in his ministry, Paul did many good works, and Augustine identifies three "merits" in 2 Timothy 4:7 ("I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith"). Although God gave Paul the grace to carry out his ministry, Paul truly fought, raced, and kept the faith. As a result of these actions, Paul truly merits a reward which is his own, even if impossible to obtain without grace. Paul "recalls these good merits of his in order that after his good merits he might gain the crown who after evil merits gained grace."[76] The crown is eternal life, which is both a grace and a gift "given in return for good works, as scripture says with perfect clarity, 'God will repay each according to his works.' "[77]

The quotation just cited is taken from a question in which Augustine asks how judgment according to works can be reconciled with the fact that eternal life is a gratuitous, unearned gift. Augustine must balance the quotation's reference to Romans 2:6 ("God will render to everyone

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[74] See 2 Cor 6:1.

[75] "Tamen ne ipsa voluntas sine gratia Dei putetur boni aliquid posse, continuo cum dixisset, Gratia ejus in me vacua non fuit, sed plus omnibus illis laboravi; subjunxit atque ait, Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum: id est, non solus, sed gratia Dei mecum: ac per hoc nec gratia Dei sola, nec ipse solus, sed gratia Dei cum illo. Ut autem de coelo vocaretur, et tam magna efficacissima vocatione converteretur, gratia Dei erat sola; quia merita ejus erant magna, sed mala," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 5.12 [Teske, 79].

[76] "Ista utique jam merita sua bona commemorat; ut post bona merita consequatur coronam, qui post merita mala consecutus est gratiam," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 6.14 [Teske, 80].

[77] "Si enim vita aeterna bonis operibus redditur, sicut apertissime dicit Scriptura, Quoniam Deus reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 8.19 [Teske, 83].

according to his works") with Paul's statement later in Romans 6:23 that "the grace of God is life everlasting in Christ Jesus our Lord." Augustine's reconciliation of these two texts centers on Philippians 2:12–13: "Therefore, my beloved, as you have always obeyed, so now, not only as in my presence but much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for God is at work in you, both to will and to work for his good pleasure." This passage affirms that the Christians in Philippi have been obedient to Paul's teachings, that they ought to "work out" their salvation "with fear and trembling," and that God works in them "both to will and to work for his good pleasure." Although Christians truly "work," God also "works" in them. As Augustine comments on this passage:

> For we should not suppose that he took away free choice, because he said, "For it is God who produces in you the willing and the action in accord with good will." If that were the case, he would not have said above, "With fear and trembling work out your own salvation." For, when they are commanded to work, he challenges their free choice, but they are to work "with fear and trembling" so that they do not become filled with pride over their good works, as if they were their own, by attributing to themselves the good they do. As if, then, the apostle were questioned and it was said to him, "Why did you say 'with fear and trembling?' he gave the reason for these words, saying, "For it is God who produces" them "in you." For, if you fear and tremble, you are not filled with pride as if over your own good works, because it is God who produces them in you.[78]

In Augustine's view, Paul's theological emphasis on grace does not eliminate free will. Grace actually makes free will more free in some sense. Without God's grace, the will can freely choose to reject God; with grace, however, the will freely cooperates with God's "work" so that both God and the individual work freely at the same time "both to will and to work for his good pleasure." Even when grace is efficacious, it never overrides free will or renders the will impotent, but rather grace strengthens and perfects the will.[79]

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[78] "Quando enim jubetur ut operentur, liberum eorum convenitur arbitrium: sed ideo cum timore et tremore; ne sibi tribuendo quod bene operantur, de bonis tanquam suis extollantur operibus. Tanquam ergo interrogaretur Apostolus, et diceretur ei, Quare dixisti, Cum timore et tremor? horum verborum rationem reddidit dicens, Deus est enim qui operator in vobis. Si enim timetis et tremitis, non extollimini tanquam de vestris operibus bonis, quia Deus est qui operator in vobis," *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 9.21 [Teske, 84].

[79] From this point of view, God's will for everyone "to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tm 2:4) is "conditional" and not "absolute." Otherwise, salvation would be dependent on a grace that is not efficacious. If grace is not intrinsically efficacious, then its efficacy really depends on whether humans respond positively to it, placing the

According to Augustine, God's plan of salvation for the human race does not consist of predestinating individuals as such and offering grace to them apart from one another. Rather, God predestines a community of people who form an organic whole. This community is the Church, predestined "before time began"[80] and "drawn from the three kinds of men, Jews, gentiles, and fleshly Christians."[81] Augustine's ecclesiological reflections, although inspired by a number of scriptural and patristic sources, nonetheless are indebted to Paul's understanding of the Church in several ways.

Before examining Augustine's interpretation of Paul's writings, the story of Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus must be mentioned. The story is one of Augustine's favorite passages from Acts, and he often alludes to it when explaining the intimate relationship between Christ and the Church. Paul was still "Saul" at this point, and when he approached the city of Damascus, on his way to persecute Christians, he saw a light from heaven and fell to the ground. Then Paul "heard a voice saying to him, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' And he said, 'Who are you, Lord?' And he said, 'I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting; but rise and enter the city, and you will be told what you are to do.' "[82] The reason Augustine finds this passage so intriguing is that the crucified and risen Jesus asked Paul why he was persecuting him. How could someone on earth be persecuting someone in heaven?

Augustine sees in Jesus' words an expression of the unity between Christ in heaven and His followers on earth. Christ and the Church form a single person,[83] and this person has a body with many parts. To explain this unity, Augustine often draws on Paul's imagery of the human body when talking of Christ and his members. The most illustrative passage is 1 Corinthians 12:12: "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with

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locus of salvation in the human will. For more on how God wills all to be saved in some sense and some to be saved in another sense, see *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 21.42–23.45.

[80] "Inspeximus etiam, propter quorum figurationem ista uel tali ordine fieri uel tali ordine scribi uoluisti, et uidimus, quia bona sunt singula et omnia bona ualde, in uerbo tuo, in unico tuo caelum et terram, caput et corpus ecclesiae, in praedestinatione ante omnia tempora sine mane et uespera," *Conf.* 13.34.49.

[81] "Haec autem ecclesia, ad quam pertinet quinquagenarius numerous, siue quia ex tribus generibus hominum eliquatur, Iudaeis et gentibus et carnalibus christianis . . ." *De diuersis quaestionibus lxxxiii*, 57.2 (translation of *Miscellany of Eighty-Three Questions* by Boniface Ramsey in *Responses to Miscellaneous Questions*, 74).

[82] Acts 9:4–6.

[83] See *En. in Ps.* 61.4. See also *En. in Ps.* 30(2).3–4 and 142.3.

Christ." Relating this bodily imagery to Jesus' manifestation to Paul, Augustine asks "Who was giving him any trouble in heaven? No one, neither the Jews, nor Saul, nor the diabolical tempter; no one was causing him trouble in heaven, but he complained, just as when our foot is trodden on, our tongue yells, because of the organic unity of the human body."[84]

Drawing on the imagery of the Church as Christ's body, Augustine develops the theme of the "whole Christ." Referring to a passage a little later in 1 Corinthians 12, he says,

> We must always, or nearly always, hear Christ's voice speaking from a psalm in such a way that when we contemplate our head, the one mediator between God and humankind, himself human, Christ Jesus, we do not contemplate him in isolation . . . We must think of him as head and body, one whole perfect man, for to us the apostle Paul says, "You are Christ's body, and his limbs." And of Christ himself the same apostle declares that he is the Church's head. But if he is the head, and we are the body, the whole Christ consists of head and body.[85]

These passages from 1 Corinthians are not isolated. Augustine finds similar language in Romans 12:4–5, 1 Corinthians 6:16, Ephesians 2:16 and 4:4, and Colossians 3:15, and he uses this language to argue that "Christ" does not refer only to the Son of God, but to his body, as well. Applied to the psalms then, the "totus Christus" hermeneutic implies that every passage refers to Christ or the Church, or Christ and the Church together.

Another passage of Paul that proves to be vitally important for Augustine's ecclesiology is Ephesians 5:23–32:

> For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Savior. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word, that he might present the church to himself in splendor, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish. Even

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[84] "Quis enim illi in caelo molestus fuit? Nemo, nec Iudaei, nec Saulus, nec diabolus tentator; nemo ibi molestus illi; sed sicut in compage corporis humani pede calcato lingua clamat," *En. in Ps* 44.20 [cited passages are from *Expositions of the Psalms*, 6 vols., trans. Maria Boulding, O.S.B. (New York, 2000–2004), *Expositions of the Psalms, 33–50*, 299].

[85] "Sic semper, aut prope semper audiamus uoces Christi de psalmo, ut non solum intueamur caput illud unum mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum . . . sed cogitemus Christum caput et corpus, totum integrum quemdam uirum. Nobis enim dicitur: Vos autem estis corpus Christi et membra, ab apostolo Paulo. Et de illo dicitur ab eodem apostolo quia est caput ecclesiae. Si ergo ille caput, nos corpus, totus Christus caput et corpus," *En. in Ps* 58(1).2 [Boulding, *Expositions of the Psalms, 51–72*, 149].

> so husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For no man ever hates his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, as Christ does the church, because we are members of his body. "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh." This mystery is a profound one, and I am saying that it refers to Christ and the church. (RSV)

This passage illustrates not only the organic unity which Christ and the Church share, but it shows the cause of that unity, namely Christ's love for the Church. Augustine even links Paul's spousal imagery to the covenantal language describing the relationship of Adam and Eve: "Jesus Christ is one man consisting of head and body, the Savior of the body and the body's members, two in one flesh. They are two in one voice as well, and two in one passion; and when iniquity has finally passed away, they will be two in one rest."[86]

Even though the Church is holy because it receives Christ's holiness, nonetheless there are evil members within the Church.[87] Augustine develops the idea of the two cities to explain how the Church can be holy even though the members are not. Although Augustine draws the image of the city of God primarily from the psalms (Ps 86:3, 47:1–2, 9, 45:5–6) and perhaps even from pre-Christian pagan literature, Paul's influence can be felt in several ways. The city of God is founded by God and exists both in the present world and in heaven; the earthly city "aims at dominion" and "is itself dominated by that very lust of domination."[88] Paul describes the city of God in heaven when he talks about how Hagar "corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the

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[86] "Vnus enim homo cum capite et corpore suo Iesus Christus, saluator corporis et membra corporis, duo in carne una, et in uoce una, et in passione una; et cum transierit iniquitas, in requie una," *En. in Ps* 61.4 [Boulding, *Expositions of the Psalms, 51–72*, 204].

[87] Augustine often likes to note that the Church is "without spot or wrinkle" (Eph 5:27—see *En. in Ps* 132.9, 103(1).7). He also says, however, that the Church is sinful (see *En. in Ps* 37.6). The confusion can be alleviated somewhat by following Augustine's distinction between the Church before redemption, that is, the mass of humanity as unredeemed, which really cannot be considered the Church as such, and the elect community which Christ forms from that humanity through the power of the Holy Spirit. Illustrative passages can be found in *En. in Ps* 44.3,7–8, 25–26.

[88] "Vnde etiam de terrena ciuitate, quae cum dominari adpetit, etsi populi seruiant, ipsa ei dominandi libido dominatur, non est praetereundum silentio quidquid dicere suscepti huius operis ratio postulat si facultas datur," *De civ. Dei*. 1.pr. (cited passages are taken from *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson, ed. David Knowles (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1972), 5). Augustine says elsewhere that the main difference between the two cities is humility and pride (see *De civ. Dei*. 14.13).

Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother."[89] This Jerusalem is the city of God in heaven, made up of the angels and saints.

The city of God also exists on earth and, "formed of mortal men destined to be united with the immortal angels, is now on pilgrimage on earth, under the condition of change, or else is at rest, in the persons of those who have passed from this life, in the secret resting-places of the souls of the departed."[90] Augustine does identify the city of God with the Church on earth in several passages.[91] Elsewhere he identifies it with those predestined to be with God in eternity.[92] Connecting the firmament of the second day of creation with Paul's comment that the Church is "the pillar and bulwark (*firmamentum*) of the truth" (1 Tm 3:15), Augustine shows how multifaceted the Church is when he says that the firmament of creation is the Church of Christ "in those who stand firm, of whom the Apostle says, 'We who have firm footing must bear with the weaknesses of the infirm.' "[93] This passage emphasizes that the Church consists of those in the Church who do not fall away from the grace they have received.

Augustine believes, however, that the "pilgrim" City of God[94] is truly heaven in some sense, though, and that those who are part of the Church in its earthly existence have a true unity with those in heaven even if they do fall away at some point. When Paul says that Christians are "fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God" (Eph 2:19) and that their "commonwealth is in heaven" (Phil 3:20), Augustine understands this as meaning Christians on earth are in heaven. "What? Are we in heaven already? Yes, we are in heaven through our faith . . . If we are not in heaven, what right had Paul to say, 'We have citizens' rights in heaven'?"[95] Love also joins the members of the Church on earth and in heaven. Regarding this dimension of the Church, Augustine asks, "What

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[89] Gal 4:25–26; see *De civ. Dei.* 11.7.

[90] "Cuius pars, quae coniungenda inmortalibus angelis ex mortalibus hominibus congregatur et nunc mutabiliter peregrinatur in terris uel in eis, qui mortem obierunt, secretis animarum receptaculis sedibusque requiescit, eodem Deo creante quem ad modum exorta sit, sicut de angelis dictum est, iam uideo esse dicendum," *De civ. Dei.* 12.9 [Bettenson, 483].

[91] See, for example, *De civ. Dei.* 8.24, 13.16, 16.2, 20.9.

[92] See *De civ. Dei.* 14.26, *De doctr. christ.* 3.32.45, *En in Ps* 47.1.

[93] "Ergo ecclesia Christi in his qui firmi sunt, de quibus dicit apostolus: Debemus autem nos firmi infirmitates infirmorum sustinere," *En. in Ps* 47.1 [Boulding, *Expositions of the Psalms, 33–50*, 336].

[94] See *De civ. Dei.* 15.1–2; 18.47–49.

[95] "Quid igitur? Iam in caelo sumus? In caelo secundum fidem. Si enim non in caelo ubi: Sursum cor? Si non in caelo, unde apostolus Paulus dicit: Nostra enim conuersatio in caelis est?" *En. in Ps* 48(2).2 [Boulding, *Expositions of the Psalms, 33–50*, 369].

is God's city, if not holy Church? When people love one another, and love their God who dwells in them, they form a city for God."[96] Those members of the Church who are joined to the saints by faith and love are truly in the Church, even if they are not predestined. The citizens of the heavenly city who are absent from it will reach the heavenly homeland, if God calls them. No one will know, however, who is called and who is not until the end of time: "In this situation, many reprobates are mingled in the Church with the good, and both sorts are collected as it were in the dragnet of the gospel; and in this world, as in a sea, both kinds swim without separation, enclosed in nets until the shore is reached. There the evil are to be divided from the good; and among the good, as it were in his temple, 'God will be all in all' [1 Cor 15:28]."[97]

3. *Conclusion*

Paul's theology was immensely influential on Augustine's thought. Regarding the Trinity, Augustine addressed passages that both expressed the equality of the Trinitarian persons (e.g., Rom 11:36) and suggested the subordination of the Son and Holy Spirit to the Father (e.g., Rom 5:5, 1 Cor 15: 24ff., and Col 1:15). With respect to the relationship between the Father and the Son, Augustine applied the phrases "form of God" and "form of a servant" from Philippians 2:6–7 to refute Arian interpretations of the New Testament. Augustine also drew especially from 1 Corinthians and Ephesians to address the work of the Holy Spirit, who, although sent by the Father and the Son into the world as a Gift *par excellence*, was nonetheless the Gift and Love shared by the Father and the Son equally within the divine life of the triune God.

The letter to the Romans was Augustine's primary source for reflecting on the role of sin and grace in the good and beautiful universe which God created. God is not the source of evil, but rather, "because of one man's

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[96] "Quia tamen manifestum est Sion ciuitatem Dei esse; quae est ciuitas Dei, nisi sancta ecclesia? Homines enim amantes se inuicem, et amantes Deum suum qui in illis habitat, faciunt ciuitatem Deo," *En. in Ps* 98.4 [Boulding, *Expositions of the Psalms, 73–98*, 470].

[97] "In hoc saeculo maligno, in his diebus malis, ubi per humilitatem praesentem futuram comparat ecclesia celsitudinem et timorem stimulis, dolorum tormentis, laborum molestiis, temptationum periculis eruditur, sola spe gaudens, quando sanum gaudet, multi reprobi miscentur bonis et utrique tamquam in sagenam euangelicam colliguntur et in hoc mundo tamquam in mari utrique inclusi retibus indiscrete natant, donec perueniatur ad litus, ubi mali segreguntur a bonis et in bonis tamquam in templo suo sit Deus omnia in omnibus," *De civ. Dei*, 18.49 [Bettenson, 831].

trespass, death reigned through that one man, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ" (Rom 5:17). Because of this freely chosen opposition to God's will, the first parents lost friendship with God, and they and their descendants could not restore this friendship on their own.

Augustine develops his doctrine of original sin and grace based on this narrative. God chose to restore humanity's relationship with him and to elevate humanity's condition over what it had been before the fall. For this purpose, he sent his Son into the world to suffer and die for humanity and to rise from the dead. These actions released humanity from sin and restored its friendship with God. Through faith in Christ, one receives salvation through Christ's death and through his resurrection the promise of bodily resurrection and eternal life. This faith is a free gift from God that one cannot merit.

Inspired by several Pauline passages which discuss God's election of the saints (Rom 8:29–30, 9:10–25, and Eph 5:1–11), Augustine develops a theology of grace which emphasizes heavily the importance of predestination. God chooses some people for salvation and not others. This election is not based on one's merits, but is absolutely a free gift from God. In Augustine's view, any role of human action in responding in faith to God's call can only be enabled by God's grace. It is not as though God waits to see how people will respond to grace. God gives some people the grace to respond to grace, and he withholds it justly from some people. In either case, whether people accept that grace or not, they have free will.

Augustine finds freedom of the will in several passages in Paul. Not only would Paul's exhortations be useless for people with no free will, but Paul even says that "God will render to everyone according to his works" (Rom 2:6) and that the Philippians should work out their salvation "with fear and trembling" (Phil 2:12–13). While choosing between God and oneself is a free choice, the choice for God requires God's assistance, and in rejecting God, God's assistance is absent.

God does not elect individuals as such, however. God chooses people from among the Jews and the gentiles and forms them into an intricately ordered organism. Augustine finds images of the Church such as the body of Christ (Rom 7:4, 1 Cor 12:27, and Eph 4:12) and the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 3:16, 6:19) in Paul, and he appropriates these images to develop his own ecclesiology. Augustine links the city of God imagery, which is not from Paul, with Paul's image of the heavenly Jerusalem in Galatians 4:26 and in Hebrews 12:22. For Augustine, the Church on earth is

intimately linked by faith and love with the saints in heaven. Even though on earth the saints and sinners are intermingled, nonetheless the saints on earth truly constitute the kingdom of God, even if that kingdom will be consummated only at the end of time when Christ "delivers the kingdom to God the Father" (1 Cor 12:24).

Although Paul's influence on Augustine radiates to numerous theological topics not addressed in this essay such as moral theology, sacramental theology, and eschatology, nonetheless examining how Paul affected the development of some of Augustine's central theological positions is important for understanding the various strands of Augustine's theological vision and for understanding the reception of Paul in the Early Middle Ages. Particularly important in this regard is Augustine's doctrine of grace, which shaped Latin theology long after the Pelagian controversy ended. Aside from its formative influence in the fifth and sixth centuries on numerous ecclesiastical councils (e.g., those of Arles and Orange) and on several notable theologians, such as Prosper of Aquitaine, Faustus of Riez, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Caesarius of Arles, and Gregory the Great, Augustine's doctrine of grace found a legacy in the theological and spiritual heritage of the entire Middle Ages.

MEDIEVAL PAULINE EXEGESIS

COMMENTARIES ON THE PAULINE EPISTLES IN THE CAROLINGIAN ERA

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In his classic study of medieval biblical exegesis, Ceslaus Spicq characterized the commentaries of the eighth and ninth centuries as little more than commenting on the patristic commentators with the result that there was little genuine progress. This was an age, he said, marked by constant repetition of one's predecessors.[1] Yet, as we shall see, this is not an entirely fair assessment. As Bernhard Blumenkrantz has noted, the Carolingian scholars were not mere redactors. Although their works could often be compilations of extracts, such that they could not be called authors in the fullest sense of the word, their choices do indeed reflect a "personal intention" on their part.[2] Indeed, one should not think that the Carolingian commentators merely parroted their predecessors. First of all, the very act of collecting and arranging specific segments of earlier texts is itself creative. Even if the comments themselves were not original, the compiler still made editorial choices based upon his own understanding of the biblical books. Reverence for the great learning and sanctity of the Church Fathers may have inhibited the desire to venture an opinion of one's own but that is not to say that these new commentaries were thereby devoid of significance. Truth be told, there were no medieval commentators of any period who detached themselves from patristic authority and influence. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the commentators of the ninth century had only the Fathers in unmediated form; patristic exegesis had not yet been digested over centuries of sustained biblical commenting. In fact, it would be the Carolingians themselves who passed on the legacy of patristic exegesis to future generations. Hence many of the choices they made when arranging their own commentaries had a lasting effect on those later commentators we might now consider more original.

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[1] P. C. Spicq, *Esquisee D'Une Histoire de L'Exégèse Latine au Moyen Age* (Paris: 1944), 59–60.

[2] Bernhard Blumenkrantz, "*Raban Maur et Saint Augustin: Compilation ou Adapatation? A propos du Latin Biblique*," *Revue du Moyen Âge Latin* 7 (1951): 97.

Carolingian biblical exegesis itself evolved over a period of decades. The most recent modern scholarship detects three stages of development, beginning in the late eighth century when commentators worked with only a limited amount of patristic sources. The second stage that began in the second decade of the ninth century was marked by much greater access to a variety of sources. Hence commentators such as Rabanus Maurus and Claude of Turin had far more material at their disposal than their predecessor Alcuin of York. By about 850 we enter the third stage in which the exegetes took greater control of their sources as they worked them into shorter and more intricately woven comments. The result was that these new commentaries began to take on a more personal tone.[3]

One of the leading experts in the field, John Contreni, notes that the Carolingian period marked an era of "public authority" which supported biblical studies. Already in 819 Rabanus Maurus devoted a whole section of a clerical training text to biblical studies. The central aim of biblical studies at this time was education: to make the Bible comprehensible to laity and clergy alike. Patrons wanted commentaries that drew on as many Fathers as possible and the exegetes set out to be faithful disciples of the Fathers whose work they brought to bear in the commentaries. Yet, in keeping with what we touched on above, the Carolingians were not "uninspired hacks"; they had to find a way to weave together the many works in such a way as to harmonize their sources. Apparent contradictions, therefore, were not the fault of the Fathers but of the careless commentator. Moreover, the Carolingian exegetes sought to present their readers with the most essential and comprehensible aspects of what were often massive patristic works. The exegetical task could never be relegated to a self-contained scholarly pursuit, precisely because the Bible was itself crucial for the formation of Carolingian society as a whole. It was essential, therefore, that the clergy be properly trained, that they understand with the help of the patristic sources what the Bible had to say. Indeed, the Fathers were reckoned to be the supreme guides through the text. Yet a great deal of effort was required on the part of scholars to make the Fathers accessible to ninth-century readers.[4]

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[3] See the introduction to *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout: 2003), 10–12.

[4] John Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Culture," in *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: The Bible and Hemeneutics*, eds. Gerd van Riel, Carlos Steel, and J. J. McEvoy (Leuven: 1996), 1–23; and Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies," in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C., 1983), 71–98. See also E. Ann Matter, "Exegesis and Christian

Essential to this entire project was the recovery of classical learning, especially evinced in the renewed attention paid to the *trivium*, the three liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. The Fathers themselves had been heavily indebted to classical culture and knew well the works of Cicero and Priscian. Thus one finds Cassiodorus in the sixth century citing the works of those he called the *introductores* who provided general hermeneutical rules, and the *expositores*, namely, the patristic commentators on the different books of the Bible. This system was retained by the Carolingians, who placed in the first group such works as Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, and Jerome's *Book of Hebrew Names and Places*, all of which were designed to aid in comprehending the language and style, as well as the names, places and history of the biblical text. The commentators (*expositores*) were primarily the four great Latin doctors (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great) although writers such as Claude of Turin and Rabanus Maurus also called upon Origen. Even though relatively recent, the Venerable Bede enjoyed much esteem among the Carolingians.[5]

Claude of Turin had said that exegetes should not work by their own authority but rather hold to the authorities (*auctoritates*) who preceded them. Since the work of the Fathers was so vast, however, there was need for *florilgeia*, chains of citations that could be arranged by doctrinal themes. In fact, doctrinal debates forced theologians to compile extracts from the Fathers, such as the collection of St. Augustine's statements concerning predestination (*Beati Augustini sententiae de praedestinatione*) arranged by Florus of Lyons. Often cited second, and even third hand, the Fathers had bequeathed the riches of pagan learning to the Carolingians, but they had also insisted upon the uniqueness of Christian wisdom and eloquence. Hence, when Agobard of Lyons said that the authors and translators of the sacred books did not always observe proper grammar, his remarks were denounced by Fridgugise as offensive to the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Gottschalk of Orbais, who had been a grammarian prior to becoming a theologian, noted that one need not follow the rules of Donatus in

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Education: The Carolingian Model," in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*, ed. Patrick Henry (Philadelphia: 1984), 90–105.

[5] Pierre Riché, "Instruments de travail et méthodes de l'exégète a l'époque carolingienne," in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, eds., Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: 1984), 152–54.

all instances. Likewise, Smaragadus had argued that the Latin Bible has its own Christian grammar that would clear up apparent errors.[6]

The Carolingian authors followed Augustine's prescription that Christian study should proceed by both authority and reason. In the course of their study of the Bible, the exegetes posed questions and sought to resolve difficulties. Glosses in the margins of the their texts might read: "The question is why . . ." (*Quaestio est cur*), or "one might ask whether . . ." (*queri potest utrum*). Alcuin of York found a clear place for reason (*ratio*), which "had been given to every person for the purpose of directing and governing one's own life." Pressing concerns within the life of the Church furthered the development of Carolingian theology. It was the debate over the Adoptionist heresy that provided the first opportunity for Alcuin and his contemporaries to make real progress in theological reflection. Later, during the eucharistic controversy, Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie were not content simply to appeal to patristic sources, but also brought reason and logical principles to bear in their works.[7]

That the Latin Fathers exercised the major influence upon the Carolingians is hardly surprising because virtually none of these western scholars, with the exception of John Scottus Eriugena, read any Greek. What they did know of Greek sources and language would have come largely by way of St. Jerome. This also means that their exegetical methods were determined by the contours of their Latin predecessors, who tended to reflect the freer spiritual reading of the biblical text favored by the Alexandrian school (exemplified primarily in Origen). Bernhard Bischoff notes, however, that Antioch's influence can still be detected among the Irish in the seventh century, most notably in the Latin translations made of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Yet these translations were largely confined to Ireland and thus did not have much influence upon the Anglo-Saxon school nor, therefore, upon continental exegesis, which was so heavily influenced by Bede and Alcuin.[8]

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[6] Pierre Riché, "Divina Pagina, Ratio et Auctoritas dans la Theologie Carolingienne," *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull' altro medieovo* 27 (1979): 722–29.

[7] Riché, "Divina Pagina, Ratio et Auctoritas," 732–42.

[8] Bernhard Bischoff, "Turning Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages," in *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. Martin McNamara (Dublin: 1976), 74–78.

1. *Claude of Turin*

Claude of Turin (d. 827), originally Spanish, was the chaplain to Louis the Pious and master of the royal schools of Aquitaine. In about 818 Louis appointed Claude bishop of Turin. His lectures on the Bible were the basis for his commentaries composed at the behest of the emperor. Claude had studied with Leidrad, Archbishop of Tours, who had written to Charlemagne in 813 of how the schools were now successfully training men in biblical studies such that some had learned how to decipher the spiritual meaning of the texts and read them allegorically—all the way from the Prophets and Gospels to the Pauline Epistles. Claude often equipped his commentaries with an index at the front of the book listing the names of the chapters as well as a key to the names of sources whose initials he placed in the margins. In fact, Claude's work marks a real advance on his predecessor Wigbod, for instance, since he offered a much greater variety of sources in short bites adapted specifically to the text at hand. Thus, Michael Gorman reckons Claude to be "the first in the Carolingian period to break free from what might be called the 'catena mentality'." No doubt he was aided in his efforts by being able to make use of the best libraries of his time at Lyons among other places. He even had access to Augustine's *Retractationes* which helped him locate other Augustinian texts.[9]

Claude professed, however, to have no pretensions to originality, remarking in his Galatians commentary that he has largely drawn together passages from Augustine and Jerome's commentaries, although he notes that he has also made use of other works by Augustine that seem pertinent to this exposition.[10] Yet this is not to deny that Claude had specific thoughts regarding the subject matter of the Pauline Epistles. He tells his readers that Paul's central purpose throughout his writings is to abolish human merit and extol the grace of God.[11] When Claude defines the grace of God, it is in keeping with Augustine's dictum: grace is that by which sins are forgiven so that we might be reconciled to God. Claude thereby makes it clear that our sins are forgiven apart from the merit of works.[12] Hence the

[9] Michael Gorman, "The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious," *Speculum* 72 (1997): 279–329. See also P. Bellet, "Claudio de Turin, autor de los comentarios 'In genesim et regum' del Pseudo Euquerio," *Revue Biblique* 9 (1950): 209–223; and Mark Zier, "Claudius of Turin," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: 1982), 3:436–47.

[10] PL 104:841c–842c.

[11] PL 104:840b.

[12] PL 104:845a–b.

Apostle Paul will not glory in "his own righteousness or teaching but only in the faith of the cross through which all sins are forgiven."[13]

None of this is to discount the genuine transformation that takes place in the life of the believer. In this vein, Claude turns to Jerome when discussing the new life in Christ. Paul's life has been completely transformed precisely because Christ now lives in him (Gal 2:20), which means he is filled with all the virtues including wisdom, strength, reason, and peace.[14] Again, in keeping with Jerome, Claude notes that to await the hope of righteousness (Gal 5:5) is to place one's hope in Christ because "he is truth, patience, hope, and righteousness."[15] And then, following Augustine, Claude contends that the new life in Christ will be marked by a freedom to love and freely serve one's neighbor. One will now serve in love, rather than in fear, because love has liberated believers from the yoke of guilt and thereby freed them for mutual service.[16]

On matters of exegetical method, Claude turned to Jerome's comment that allegory is a grammatical art whereby one thing is symbolized by another. The Apostle Paul had laid down the rule for allegory that preserves the truth of the history even as one comes to understand the figures. Hence we find in Galatians 4:24–31 that Paul first recounts that Abraham actually had two wives, and then later shows us what they symbolize.[17] Claude, moreover, follows Jerome's comments on Galatians 3:8, where the Apostle says that Scripture foresaw that God would justify the gentiles, and thus dispels simplistic views of Scripture while extolling its fecundity. Paul's remark does not refer to the mere parchment, but rather "the Holy Spirit and the sense that remains hidden within the words of the text."[18]

2. *Rabanus Maurus*

Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) was a disciple of Alcuin and later abbot of the monastery of Fulda. Like Claude of Turin, Rabanus abided by patristic authorities and claimed only to be collecting their works; his commentaries on Matthew and the Pauline Epistles are indeed "patristic chains." To Ceslaus Spicq's mind they are compilations devoid of any "critical spirit"

[13] PL 104:909c.
[14] PL 104:864c.
[15] PL 104:892d.
[16] PL 104:895d.
[17] PL 104:888a–b.
[18] PL 104:868a.

but (as noted above) this seems an unfair characterization. Spicq does note, however, that while Rabanus's originality may not be found in his commentaries, it can be located in his effort to promote a better understanding of the Bible through the formulation of hermeneutical guidelines. To that end Rabanus followed Augustine's practice as outlined in *De doctrina christiana* and offered three basic rules. When a word or phrase is in doubt, consult the clearer passages of Scripture, and abide by the rule of faith. If all such passages prove to be obscure, then consult their context. And if doubt still persists, one may follow one's own judgment, so long as it adheres to orthodox teaching.[19] We get a glimpse into Rabanus's working methodology in the preface to his commentary on Kings. He says that he has noted the names of his sources in the margins when quoting their words. When on occasion he ventured to offer an opinion similar to his patristic sources he placed the letter M in the margin for Maurus. This practice is something, he says, that he learned from his teacher Alcuin.[20]

Employing the terminology of Cassiodorus, Philippe Le Maître finds that "Rabanus Maurus was at once an *introductor* and an *expositor*." His *De institutione clericorum* served to some extent as an exegetical manual which, while certainly indebted to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, was nonetheless substantially his own work. An even greater effort was his *De universo* which was itself a re-working of Isidore of Seville's *Origenes*. Appealing to the distinction between the literal and mystical senses, Rabanus believed a purely literal commentary to be incomplete: allegory alone "reveals the totality of the sacred mystery" (PL 111:106). And again, it should be noted that Rabanus's use of patristic material was carefully applied. He relied upon the different Fathers for their unique skills: Jerome for his literal explication, Isidore as a grammarian, and Origen for the allegorical sense, although he also relies upon Bede for the allegorical reading. He turned to Gregory for the tropological and finally Augustine for the full range of senses. For all that, however, Le Maître finds that it is in the Pauline commentaries where Rabanus really does slide into the background and performs the function of collector of the patristic sources.[21]

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[19] PL 103:387–88. See Spicq, 38–42; and also Joseph Szövérffy, "Hrabanus Maurus," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 6:306–8.

[20] PL 109:10a.

[21] Phillipe Le Maître, "Les Méthodes Exégétiques de Raban Maur," in *Haut Moyen-Age: Culture, éducation et société; Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, eds. Claude Lepelley and Michael Sot (Nanterre: 1990), 343–52.

In one prefatory letter Rabanus referred to his commentary on the Pauline Epistles as a *collectarium* made from the works of the Holy Fathers on these Epistles.[22] And in another preface, written to the monk and deacon Lupus, he again refers to the *Collectarium in Epistolas Pauli* which he has constructed by gathering the sayings of the Fathers collected into one from diverse works. He notes that he has excerpted those parts which he has deemed necessary so that readers may find the meaning (*sensus*) of the various doctors. Those who do not like his editorial choices are invited to go right to the original sources themselves.[23]

The general prologue to the Epistles is (not surprisingly) drawn from the work of Pelagius, whose Pauline commentaries circulated widely under the impeccably orthodox moniker of St Jerome.[24] In fact, Artur Landgraf reckons the influence of Pelagius on medieval Pauline commentaries to be unmistakable. Sedulius Scottus (PL 103) made use of these commentaries in their complete form, and Pelagius's general prologue to the Epistles was incorporated into various commentaries by the beginning of the twelfth century.[25] The *argumentum* for Romans is drawn from Ambrosiaster and Pelagius (even as he cited it as Jerome).[26] Within the commentary itself, Ambrosiaster, Augustine and Origen are the most frequently quoted authorities.[27] Hence, following Ambrosiaster with respect to Paul's phrase *ex fide in fidem* (Rom 1:17), Rabanus notes that this is the faith of a man who believes in the one who promises. For it is from the faith of the God who promises that the justice of God is revealed in the faith of the man who believes. This is spoken against the Jews who deny that Christ is the one whom God had promised.[28] So it is that the just person lives by faith rather than by the law, since man is not justified before God through the latter but the former.[29]

With respect to exegetical method, when Rabanus commented on Paul's use of allegory in Galatians 4:24 he does begin by quoting Jerome's comments on this verse but then offers an extended quotation from John Cassian's *Collationes* where the saint set forth the classic definition of the

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[22] PL 111:1273a–b.
[23] PL 111:1273d–75a.
[24] PL 111:1275–78.
[25] Artur Landgraf, "Untersuchungen zu den Paulinenkommentaren des 12. Jarhunderts," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 8 (1936): 253–81.
[26] PL 111:1277–79.
[27] PL 111:1287b.
[28] PL 111:1294d–95a.
[29] PL 111:1293a.

four senses of Scripture.[30] Thus Rabanus recognized that the Pauline text presents a perfect opportunity to instruct readers of the commentary in the practice of exegesis itself. In this instance the first level, which pertains to the history of past events, is recounted as the Apostle Paul tells about Abraham's sons and their mothers. Paul then moves to the allegorical level when he speaks of the two testaments, for here the deeds recorded in truth symbolize a greater mystery. When Paul then speaks of the Jerusalem above, he has moved to the anagogical level. Finally, the tropological level is the moral explanation directed towards the correction of one's life.[31]

Lastly, it can be noted that when commenting on the eucharistic instruction in 1 Corinthians 11:23–34, Rabanus chose to follow Ambrosiaster. This is an interesting choice insofar as it yields very little information about the conversion of bread into Christ's body. One reads that the Eucharist is "spiritual medicine" and that when consumed with reverence it purifies the devout. Greater weight is placed upon the redemptive sacrifice of Christ which is recalled in the eating and drinking of his flesh and blood. Christ's sacrifice is compared to that offered by Moses, thereby constituting type and fulfillment.[32]

3. *Florus of Lyons*

Florus (d. 860) was deacon of Lyons and master of the cathedral school. His commentary on the Pauline Epistles consists of material drawn exclusively from Augustine.[33] Zoltán Alszeghy notes the influence of Florus's transmission of passages taken from Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings where it is clear that justification comes through grace. Carolingian theology preserved the close parallel between the Latin words *gratia* and *gratis* (grace and free) in such a way that grace primarily referred to the divine good will, thus an expression of God's saving mercy.[34] Reliance on

[30] PL 49:963–64.
[31] PL 112:331a–c.
[32] PL 112:103b–c.
[33] Allen Cabannis, "Florus of Lyons," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 5:111–12. See also Paul-Irénée Fransen, "Description de la Collection Grégorienne de Florus de Lyons sur l'Apôtre," *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988): 278–317; and Fransen, "Description de la Collection Hiéronymienne de Florus de Lyons sur l'Apôtre," *Revue Bénédictine* 94 (1984): 195–228. See also Spicq, 45–46.
[34] Zoltán Alszeghy, *Nova Creatura: La Nozione della Grazia nei Commentari Medievali di S. Paolo* (Rome: 1956), 41–42.

Augustine is also manifested in Florus's own *Sermon on Predestination* (PL 119:95–102) as he weighed in on the predestination debates of the ninth century, adopting what might be considered a moderate Augustinian position of single predestination.

Up until the twelfth century, Florus's exposition enjoyed great popularity as it circulated under the name of Bede. This popularity came to an end in the twelfth century, however, when such a collection of Augustine's sayings was eclipsed by other commentaries and was no longer transcribed in its entirety.[35] The edition of Florus's Pauline commentaries contained in the *Patrologia Latina* is deceptively brief because of the decision made by the nineteenth-century editors to omit the full quotations and provide only the references (PL 119:280c). In reality, therefore, the medieval reader would have had a substantial amount of material at his fingertips and so have been very much indebted to Florus's efforts.

While it is true that Florus's Galatians commentary, for instance, is a compilation of passages taken entirely from Augustine, he really does draw on a wide variety of the saint's works, from *Against Faustus* and *City of God* to the commentaries on the Psalms and the Gospel of John. As noted, the selection process itself reveals Florus's own theology, which he could thereby convey as backed by the full authority of the greatest of the western doctors. When choosing material for the comments on Galatians 3:1–6, Florus quotes a passage from the *De civitate Dei* where Augustine considers Abraham's justification in relation to circumcision. Here Augustine appeals to Galatians 3:6 in order to argue that it was Abraham's faith that had justified him and not the act of circumcision. Hence the Apostle intends to commend the grace of God.[36] What Florus produced with his Pauline commentaries is no mean feat; he must have read both widely and deeply in Augustine in order to find suitable material.

4. *Sedulius Scottus*

Sedulius Scottus (d. 860) was an Irish monk who had emigrated to the continent and worked for a time in Liège. In addition to being a biblical commentator, he was an accomplished poet and grammarian. Sedulius

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[35] André Wilmart, "Sommaire de L'Exposition de Florus sur les Épîtres," *Revue Benedictine* 38 (1926): 205–16; and Wilmart, "La Collection de Bède le Vénérable sur L'Apôtre," *Revue Benedictine* 38 (1926): 16–52.

[36] PL 119:366d.

commented on all the Pauline Epistles and drew chiefly from Jerome, Augustine, and Pelagius (cited as Jerome). His exegesis is careful and literal as he pays close attention to the Hebrew and Greek for important words. In the introduction to his Pauline commentaries Sedulius noted that there are seven sorts of circumstances to account for as one reads: person, fact, cause, time, place, manner, and material. This is to say: who does it, what he does, why he does it, when he does it, where he does it, and how he does it—for instance whether well or wickedly, foolishly or wisely.[37] Sedulius points out that according to the logicians a person is an individual essence or substance of a rational nature, but he finds that there are many ways in which a person can be considered: race, citizenship, parents, education, profession, dignity, customs and much more. So it is that Jerome recounts that Paul belongs to the tribe of Benjamin etc.[38]

In his Romans commentary Sedulius observed a seven-fold division in Paul's opening remarks: First, the Apostle speaks of himself; second, he extols the Gospel of God; third, the mediator of God and man in keeping with his divine and human natures; fourth, he shows the election of the apostolic flock; fifth, he declares the general call of the gentiles to faith of Christ; sixth, the special call to the Romans themselves; and finally he expresses his hope that grace and peace which are gifts of the Holy Spirit be made present to the Roman Church from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. With this division in mind, says Sedulius, we can now proceed to elucidate each part individually.[39]

Grace is equated with the forgiveness of sins and peace is the reconciliation of the impious to God the creator. Sedulius notes that the word grace (*gratia*) is related to *gratim* which is interpreted as fullness, which in turn signifies charity, inasmuch as the fullness of the law is charity.[40] The justice of God now revealed had been hidden in the Law. It is revealed to those who, by their faith in the Old Testament, come to have the faith of the New Gospel. Thus they are directed from the faith of the law to the faith of Christ. Appealing to Augustine, we move from faith in the words by which we believe in what we do not see to the faith of things that we will obtain in eternity. And lest Paul seem to reprove works when commending faith

[37] *Sedulii Scotti Collectaneum in Apostolum*, eds. Hermann Josef Frede and Herbert Stanjek (Freiburg: 1996), 1. See also Denis G. Brearley, "Sedulius Scottus," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 11:141.

[38] Frede ed. 1–2.

[39] Frede 17. PL 103:9b–c.

[40] Frede 29. PL 103:15b.

and grace, it is made clear that the just man who lives by faith is the man who has good works.[41]

Sedulius connected exegetical method to salvation history when he observed that the Galatians had reverted to the Law only when they forsook the spiritual meaning of the text and began to follow the bare literal sense. Relying on Jerome, he finds that Paul has presented the Church with an exegetical rule based on his treatment of Genesis 21 (Gal 4:21–31). The Apostle follows allegorical principles even as he maintains the truth of the history. In this way one can explain the figures of the Old Testament, since Abraham really did have two sons, and on that historical basis Paul demonstrates what they prefigure. This leads Sedulius to cite the standard four levels of Scripture: history, allegory, tropology and anagogy. Unlike Rabanus Maurus, who quoted John Cassian's treatment of the four levels at length, Sedulius only briefly recounted how Jerusalem can be read as at once temporal city, church, soul, and heavenly city.[42] It should be noted that Sedulius did not think that Christians were the only ones capable of reading the biblical text spiritually. The Patriarchs and Prophets must have also done this since they too were justified by faith and not by works of the law.[43] It is by faith alone (*sola fide*) that all believers across the ages are saved. By faith, believers put on Christ in order to become children of God by grace, not by nature. Only Christ, the unique Wisdom of God, is the Son by nature.[44]

The righteousness of God entails both sanctification through faith and the remission of sins.[45] Salvation does indeed mean coming to Christ by faith alone. Yet, says Sedulius, the Apostle Paul still believes in works of grace—for without these, faith is dead. Although it is true that a person can be justified by faith without works of the law, since faith works through love in the heart, this must not be to the neglect of works. Those who act unjustly, following their initial justification, surely spurn the grace of justification.[46]

In fact, none of the saints, nor indeed the Lord himself, destroyed the law. Only its temporal glory has been surpassed when compared with the eternal glory to come in Christ. In fact, says Sedulius, Paul proposes

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41 Frede 39. PL 103:19b–c.
42 Frede 538–89. PL 103:191a.
43 Frede 522. PL 103:185a.
44 Frede 530–31. PL 103:188a–b.
45 Frede 97. PL 103:42b.
46 Frede 103–104. PL 103:45a–b.

two sorts of law: one of works and the other of faith; it is the latter that excludes self-glorification. The root of justice is not grounded in works, but rather it is from the root of justice that there grows the fruit of works.[47] This is what it means to serve in the newness of the spirit. It entails freedom from the old spirit contained in the bare letter of the law. Believers are called instead to grasp the full content of the spiritual sense unveiled by the Holy Spirit.[48] Of course, one is also set free from sin, which is itself often equated directly with the devil. Although when Paul confesses that sin dwells within, Sedulius takes this to be the custom of sinning that has been transfused from Adam. It dwells within as though it were a guest, as one thing abiding within another. Freedom and servitude can, however, be taken in different ways. There is, says Sedulius, culpable freedom and there is laudable servitude. To be free from justice is a crime whereas to be a servant of justice is praiseworthy. This in turn pertains to matters of grace and free will. Those who are free from justice are so by their own choice, whereas those set free from sin are such purely by the grace of Christ.[49]

Lastly, with regard to the matter of predestination, Sedulius adopts a rather moderate stand, rooting predestination in divine foreknowledge. He contends that God chose to save by faith alone those whom he foreknew would believe. In that sense, he foresaw their merits and predestined their reward.[50] When it came to Jacob and Esau, therefore, God knew what each one was going to do. Indeed, says Sedulius, God would condemn no one prior to sin, just as he would crown no one before he had been victorious. Actually, God even knows that those people who will persevere in the good may at some earlier time be evil, just as those who will eventually abide in evil may once have been good. In this way God remains an impartial judge who hands down a verdict in light of a person's final and freely chosen condition. Sedulius insists that God does indeed foreknow future works, and that knowledge forms the basis of his decision. Of course, the saved must rely on divine grace even as the damned get their just desserts. So it was that God loved Jacob through his gratuitous mercy while he hated Esau through his due judgment.[51] Divine grace and human free will must ultimately work in tandem. It does not

[47] Frede 111. PL 103:46c–47d.
[48] Frede 159. PL 103:66b.
[49] Frede 158–60. PL 103:63d–67d.
[50] Frede 190–92. PL 103:79a–80a.
[51] Frede 208–09. PL 103:87a–d.

suffice for man to will alone; he needs the mercy of God. Yet the mercy of God alone is not sufficient apart from man's will. When man misuses his free will he perishes.[52]

5. *Anonymous of Mont Saint-Michel*

In 1995 Gérard de Martel published a set of Pauline commentaries that originated in the Abbey of Mont Saint-Michel. Although the manuscript (Avranches 79) dates to the first part of the eleventh century, the author was most likely an Irishman writing in the middle of the ninth century. The author draws on a number of patristic sources but tends to follow one or two in particular, depending upon the epistle. In the case of Galatians, he is primarily indebted to Augustine and Jerome. Despite the fact that the author specifically refers to his own work as a *collectio* in which he will gather together the "little flowers of the Fathers," Martel points out that this author does not simply copy large passages verbatim in the manner of Rabanus Maurus. Rather, he weaves together different sources, some of which he cites explicitly and some of which he has culled from florilegia. He principally follows the biblical text of the Vulgate although he is conscious of textual variants and frequently alerts the reader to alternative versions with phrases such as "or as other codices have it . . ." (*sive ut alii codices habent*).[53]

One example of such an awareness of textual variants is apparent in his treatment of Galatians 3:1 where the text may either read *praescriptus* (written beforehand) or *proscriptus* (proscribed). The commentator's own text reads *praescriptus* but he notes that it can be written in two ways and can be explained in three ways. As he charts the three different explanations we see how ably he draws upon his patristic sources. Within the space of just a few lines he interweaves Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Pelagius and Jerome (none of whom are explicitly named). The author contends that, if one does read the text as *praescriptus* i.e., "written beforehand," then Paul would be castigating the Galatians for rejecting the divinity of Christ after Paul had brought them to believe based upon the predictions of the Law and the Prophets. If, however, the text reads *proscriptus*, meaning "condemnation and expoliation," then Paul is upbraiding the Galatians

[52] Frede 213–14. PL 103:89a.

[53] See the introduction in *Expositiones Pauli Epistolarum ad Romanos, Galathas et Ephesios*, ed. Gérard de Martel, CCCM 151 (Turnhout, 1995), v–xxix.

for being deceived into believing that Christ is himself condemned and thus insufficient for salvation. Finally, another reading of *proscriptus* would be in keeping with the Roman practice of confiscation so that Christ has been deprived of his inheritance in the Galatians as they turned away from the grace that comes by faith and took up the works of the Law.[54]

The anonymous exegete's reading of Galatians 4:22–26 blends together the comments of Augustine, Pelagius, and Jerome, while making use of the last's etymological reading of place names. The author concludes that Hagar prefigures the servitude of carnal observations, while Sarah symbolizes the covenant of grace. The former serves the letter in the spirit of fear and the latter fulfills God's commandments moved by the Divine Spirit in love.[55] It is significant that the author devotes some of his most extensive comments to this new life in the Spirit as he begins with Paul's remark that the entire Law is fulfilled in the love of neighbor (Gal 5:14) and continues through the Apostle's call to walk in the Spirit (Gal 5:25). Here too he draws on a range of patristic sources including Gregory the Great. Pelagius's enduring influence on medieval commenting is borne out as the author appeals to his observation that when Paul speaks of crucifying the desires of the flesh (Gal 5:24) he is refuting those who think that faith alone is sufficient apart from good works. For, as Pelagius continues (Gal 5:25), if we are reborn through the Spirit we will comport ourselves in a spiritual manner.[56]

6. *Haimo of Auxerre*

Haimo of Auxerre was an astute commentator who had a lasting effect on the medieval commentary tradition. Active during the years 840–860, he was already a famous exegete and preacher in his own day and was also well known for stirring up interest among his young students at the monastic school of Auxerre. It appears that he left the Abbey of Saint Germain in 865 to become abbot of the monastery at Cessy-les-Bois where he remained until 875. His former student Heiric (d. 883) took over at Auxerre and continued the work of his master.[57]

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[54] CCCM 151.178.

[55] CCCM 151.195.

[56] CCCM 151.202–207.

[57] Édouard Jeauneau, "Les Écoles de Laon et D'Auxerre au IX Siècle," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'AltroMedioevo* 19 (1972): 510–11; and John Contreni,

Although Beryl Smalley regards Haimo as something of an "anticlimax" after John Scottus Eriugena, she grants that he remains important because of his enduring influence into the twelfth century. Haimo stood, says Smalley, on the line between the age of the compiler and the genuine author of a commentary.[58] Despite Smalley's reservations, modern scholars have come to hold Haimo in increasingly high esteem as a thoughtful and innovative biblical exegete. Nowhere is this more evident than in Haimo's commentary on the Pauline Epistles. Henri Barré reckons Haimo's Pauline commentaries to be his "master work," which best characterizes his method. He also finds in Haimo the central traits of Carolingian spirituality exemplified in his meditation on Scripture and appeal to the Fathers. Haimo's stated purpose, notes Barré, was to instruct for the sake of edification. Haimo sought to increase understanding (*aedificatio intellectus*) and thus resolve questions (*solutio quaestionum*), all for the sake of exhortation and consolation.[59] Dominique Iogna-Prat likewise believes that Haimo's Pauline commentaries were his most important work. Indeed, their popularity throughout the Middle Ages is borne out by the fact that the commentaries circulated in whole or in part in 166 manuscripts through the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, the *Patrologia Latina* edition (PL 117), which is based on the *editio princeps* prepared at Strasbourg in 1519, is defective in places, including some sections of Galatians, Titus, and Colossians.[60]

For many years Haimo of Auxerre's biblical commentaries had circulated under the name of Haimo of Halberstadt and were so classified in the *Patrologia Latina* (116–118). However, in 1907 Edward Riggenbach examined these editions and concluded that the commentaries could not have been written by the German bishop of Halberstadt but rather by the French monk of Auxerre.[61] In fact, the *Collectanea* of Heiric help us establish Haimo's authorship since he seems to have drawn upon his master's commentaries. In addition to the commentaries on the Pauline Epistles,

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"Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium (Cessy-les-Bois), and a New Sermon on I John V, 4–10," *Revue Benedictine* 85 (1975): 303–20.

[58] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: 1978), 39.

[59] Henri Barré, "Haymon D'Auxerre," *Dictionnaire Spiritualite*, ed. Marcel Viller et al., 17 vols. (Paris: 1932–95), 7.1: 91–97.

[60] Dominique Iogna-Prat, "L'oeuvre d'Haymon d'Auxerre: État de la question," in *L'École Carolingienne D'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830–908*, eds. Dominque Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: 1991), 157–79.

[61] Edward Riggenbach, *Die älteste lateinischen Kommentare zum Häbräerbrief* (Leipzig: 1907).

the works securely considered to be Haimo's are the commentaries on Isaiah, Apocalypse, Songs, Genesis, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets.[62]

Ermenegildo Bertola and Riccardo Quadri offer excellent insights into the style and method of Haimo's commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. First of all, the commentaries are marked by a plain and simple form of explication that is easily understandable and illustrated with examples and biblical sentences. Moreover, Haimo attaches special importance to philological matters and handles questions of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew etymology. Since Haimo did not actually know Greek or Hebrew, he had to depend upon secondary sources for his etymologies. On textual matters Haimo also shows no hesitation about appealing to the Greek, albeit secondarily, where he thinks it offers a better reading than the Latin. He not only compares the Latin and Greek, but also the various MSS of the Latin Vulgate. Thus Haimo would have had another Latin text before him as he remarks upon a variant reading (*alia translatio*). Haimo also attempts to purify the biblical text of interpolations and notes where some have added words from a commentary that are not in the biblical text itself. He makes use of the Fathers, especially the Latin. Although his most immediate sources are Isidore of Seville and Claude of Turin, Haimo also cites a number of recent authors such as Cassiodorus from the sixth century and Bede from the eighth, as well as Greek authors such as Chrysostom and Theodosius, Eutyches, Didymus and Origen. Haimo exhibits a strong command of classical sources and is familiar with the Greek myths and Jewish legends, as well as Latin and Greek history. He is quite familiar with Virgil and makes use of such authors as Priscian and Ovid. Furthermore, he knows the history of heresy and can cite the names of famous heretics. In the midst of so much tradition, however, Bertola notes that Haimo is still willing to offer his own thoughts.[63]

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[62] Riccardo Quadri, "Aimone di Auxerre luce dei 'Collectanea' di Heiric di Auxerre," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 6 (1963): 1–48. For recent studies of Haimo's Old Testament commentaries see Sumi Shimahara, "La Représentation du Pouvoir Séculier chez Haymon D'Auxerre," in *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture: The Role of Exegesis in Early-Christian and Medieval Culture*, ed. Ineke van't Spijker (Leiden: 2009), 77–99; Elisabeth Mégier, "Spiritual Exegesis and the Church in Haimo of Auxerre's Commentary on Isaiah," in *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture*, 155–75.

[63] Ermenegildo Bertola, "Il Commentario Paolino di haimo di Halberstadt or di Auxerre e gli Inizi del Metodo Scolastico," *Pier Lombardo* 5 (1961): 29–54; and Quadri, 8–9. See also John Contreni, "The Biblical Glosses of Haimo of Auxerre and John Scottus Eriugena," *Speculum* 51 (1976): 411–34. See also: Ian Christopher Levy, *The Bible in Medieval Tradition: The Letter to the Galations* (Grand Rapids: 2011), 37–44, 79–130.

Hence we find that when commenting on Romans 2:25, Haimo notes that "here one should not follow Claude [of Turin], but rather Ambrose." Circumcision stands for the Jewish people themselves. "And this is the sense (*et est sensus*...): O Jew what does circumcision profit you... if understanding the Law spiritually you believe in Christ to whom the Law bears witness."[64] Haimo notes in his comments on Romans 4:2 that certain manuscripts have 'from works of the Law', but this is a faulty text (*quidam codices habent 'ex operibus legis', sed false scriptum est*). For the Law had not yet been given, unless perhaps one takes it to refer to the Law that would later be given.[65] And on Romans 6:11, he notes that the text is better in the Greek as read in Origen (*melius habetur in Graeco, ut in Origene legitur*...).[66]

Johannes Heil has recently surmised that Haimo worked on his Pauline commentaries for many years as he transformed an earlier homiliary into a full-fledged commentary.[67] With respect to the style of these commentaries, although it is true that they were not yet divided into interlinear and marginal glosses, such later divisions do appear as nascent in his work. Bertola points out that Haimo's notations between the words look remarkably similar to the interlinear comments found later in the twelfth-century *Glossa Ordinaria*. Since many of the citations of the Fathers found in the marginal Gloss have been drawn from Haimo, it is clear that Haimo's explanation (*sententia*) had become part of the marginal Gloss. His commentaries, moreover, offer us a glimpse into the way the texts were actually being read in the schools. Here the methods are developed that will assume center stage centuries later. When there are diverse interpretations of a passage, Haimo will choose one as preferable, even though he does not justify his choice. However, he is also willing to allow two or more interpretations to rest side by side and notes how "this passage can be taken in two ways" (*hoc dupliciter intelligi potest*). This demonstrates the richness of Holy Scripture; diverse interpretations are permissible so long as they are not contrary to the faith. After a particularly difficult

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[64] PL 117:383a–b.

[65] PL 117:394b.

[66] PL 117:415a.

[67] Johannes Heil, "Haimo's Commentary on Paul: Sources Methods, and Theology," in *Études D'Exégèse Carolingienne: Autor D'Haymon D'Auxerre*, ed. Sumi Shimahara. (Turnhout, 2007), 103–21. See also Heil's "Labourers on the Lord's Quarry: Carolingian Exegetes, Patristic Authority, and Theological Innovation, A Case Study in the Representation of Jews in Commentaries on Paul," in *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout, 2003), 75–95.

passage Haimo will make a note such as: "The word order is this" (*ordo verborum est*) or "The construction of this verse is as follows" (*istius versiculi ista est constructio*). He will reconstruct the wording of the Pauline text to make it more comprehensible, and will clarify the meaning, the *sensus*. He often uses the expressions: "That is the sense," (*sensus autem iste est*) or "The sense of the saying in this passage is . . . " (*sensus dictionis in isto loco*). Thus, even when the grammatical construction itself is clear, Haimo may still have to explain what Paul meant by a certain phrase. Furthermore, he will offer theological speculation of his own to explain the Apostle's meaning and thereby provide the *sententia*. Already present in his work is the division of *littera, sensus*, and *sententia* that Hugh of St. Victor would speak of in the twelfth century. One does not yet encounter the full-fledged scholastic *quaestio*, however, for as Bertola observes, the "question" still serves a purely exegetical foundation for Haimo; it is a didactic instrument used solely in the explication of Scripture.[68] There can be little doubt as to Haimo's contribution to the greater history of medieval biblical exegesis. Ann Matter finds that work which began at Auxerre with Haimo, and continued to flourish in later generations with Heiric and Remigius, is indicative of "an increasingly vital urban school tradition." In fact, she contends that the tradition of glossing that eventually came to fruition in the *Glossa Ordinaria* produced at Laon in the twelfth-century can ultimately be traced back to the school at Auxerre.[69]

One is immediately struck by the level of theological sophistication exhibited throughout Haimo's commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. They reveal an intense interest in the central doctrinal questions of his epoch, most notably the adoptionist controversy that preoccupied a previous generation of Carolingian scholars such as Alcuin of York and Paulinus of Aquileia, as well as the Trinitarian debate that broke out between Gottschalk of Orbais and Hincmar of Reims regarding the undivided operation of the Trinity. Given the space that Haimo devotes to these Christological and Trinitarian matters, and the precise terminology he employs when discussing them, it appears that Haimo was indeed attempting to bolster Carolingian orthodoxy through his Pauline commentaries.[70]

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[68] Bertola, 40, 45–47, 50–52; Quadri, 8–9.

[69] E. Ann Matter, "Exegesis and Christian Education: The Carolingian Model," in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*, ed. Patrick Henry (Philadelphia: 1984), 90–105.

[70] For more on this see Ian Christopher Levy, "Trinity and Christology in Haimo of Auxerre's Pauline Commentaries," in *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture*, 101–123.

Throughout the Pauline commentaries, Haimo consistently equates the Christian faith with belief in the Holy Trinity. When the Apostle speaks of all people "coming to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tm 2:4), Haimo associates this knowledge with recognition of the Holy Trinity, which is the highest and substantial truth.[71] True Christian devotion, or *pietas* (1 Tm 6:6), is also understood as "faith and knowledge of the Holy Trinity."[72] "Knowledge of the truth" (Ti 1:1) amounts to "knowledge of the whole Trinity, which is the highest truth."[73] As Christ is the truth and the life (Jn 14:6), so the one who possesses the Son has the Father and the Spirit as well, for "the whole Trinity is the one eternal life." The Son, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, is "the one and true Savior, and is indeed God."[74] The "word of Christ" (Col 3:16) is *evangelica doctrina* while "every wisdom" refers to this gospel teaching and "the faith of the Holy Trinity."[75] That Christians should be able to respond to whomever asks a question of them (Col 4:6), means that one responds to the interrogations of the heretic by confessing the substance of trinitarian and christological orthodoxy. We ought to confess our belief in God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit—that they are three: Trinity in persons and unity in substance; and in the Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man.[76]

Just as correct belief in the Trinity is the substance of the Christian faith, itself founded upon Holy Scripture, so it is that the Trinity, and specifically the Person of the Holy Spirit, is essential to the explication of Scripture. For according to Haimo, Scripture was written through the dictation and revelation of the Holy Spirit, who is of one substance with the Father and the Son.[77] The faithful know that it was by the speaking of the Holy Spirit that the Law and the Gospel were written, for the Spirit is the Lord of the Law and Gospel. Indeed, it is through the Spirit that the faithful receive the faculty to understand the Divine Scriptures. The Spirit is the Lord of Scripture and nothing contained therein is hidden from him; rather, the Spirit reveals its contents. Thus the presence of the Spirit means the liberty of the soul and the faculty of understanding the Old and New Testaments. Whoever is filled with the Holy Spirit through the faith of Christ has freedom of the soul and the ability to discern the obscurities

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71 PL 117:789d–790a.
72 PL 117:796a.
73 PL 117:811d.
74 PL 117:813a–814a.
75 PL 117:761d–762a.
76 PL 117:764.
77 PL 117:691c.

of the Law and to penetrate the grace of the Gospel.[78] Those who are filled with the grace of the Spirit are thus enabled to interpret the Divine Scriptures and speak of the divine mysteries.[79]

Haimo's interest in the Persons of the Trinity also manifests itself in his treatment of justification. In his Romans commentary, he notes that the righteousness of God (Rom 1:17) is in fact the righteousness by which God makes believers righteous; this is what has been manifested in the Gospel. This is the righteousness by which all believers are justified through the gift of the Holy Trinity. Hence it is called the righteousness of God because, by imparting it to the faithful, God renders them righteous.[80] Indeed, Haimo is quite clear that the righteousness of God is that righteousness by which we are justified by God.[81] This takes a christological turn, because the righteousness of God the Father is none other than the Son himself through whom we are justified.[82] Indeed, says Haimo, this righteousness is not that by which God is himself essentially (*essentialiter*) righteous, but rather Jesus Christ by whose faith we are justified—together with good works.[83] Although it can be said that it is Christ himself who justifies, the Apostle may also have in mind God the Father who justifies those who believe in his Son.[84] Yet either way, Christ himself is clearly at the center of the righteousness that the believer receives as a divine gift. For God the Father promises his Son in whom we find our justification; through faith in his passion we are justified and washed clean in the water of baptism.[85]

No doubt, for Haimo, we are indeed justified freely (*gratis*) which is to say without preceding merits. For example, the person who comes to baptism having never done anything good to that point will be immediately justified. He is freely justified through grace which is a gift of God. Yet Haimo is always keen to stress the vital soteriological role of the Church's sacraments. We are redeemed and justified through the passion of Christ which, joined to baptism, justifies one through faith, and then later through penitence. Hence the two are conjoined; someone cannot be justified by one without the other. Nor can faith in the Lord's passion, apart from the

78 PL 117:621c–d.
79 PL 117:776a.
80 PL 117:372d.
81 PL 117:391a.
82 PL 117:390d.
83 PL 117:448d.
84 PL 117:392b.
85 PL 117:392c.

water of baptism, cleanse someone unless perhaps by way of martyrdom which can be accepted in the place of baptism. Nor again can the water of baptism apart from faith in Christ's passion purify someone. The two are joined together to produce perfect redemption and perfect cleansing. Thus were one to die immediately after baptism, one would still be saved. Yet as one continues to live one should adorn faith with good works—precisely because faith without works is dead (Jas 2:26).[86]

Haimo definitely exhibits a concern for good morals within the new life of the believer. He notes that the Law of Moses is two-fold: it contains at once mysteries and precepts. The mysteries and sacraments came to an end with the advent of Christ, because Christ is the end of the Law. Yet the precepts remain and must be kept even now. Thus, to speak of "works of the Law" refers to ritual demands such as carnal circumcision and sabbath observance.[87] The Law in its more expansive sense—understood as an expression of divine truth—is ultimately fulfilled in love for God; this is the way to righteousness.[88] That the righteous now live by faith pertains to what is conceived in the heart, proclaimed by mouth, and adorned with good works. Thus the righteous person lives unto eternal life. Once more will Haimo invoke the Epistle of James: "Faith without works is dead" (Jas 2: 17).[89] Faith must be adorned with good works, therefore, lest it be rendered inoperative and thereby amount to a mere dead faith. For faith in Christ works through love.[90] It was through grace that we received the fullness of justification freely from God at the time of baptism. Yet even as we stand in grace—referring to the faith of justification and the forgiveness of sins—we still labor strenuously in good works. Hence, while in the present age we are children of God in hope, in the life to come we will be such in reality—provided that we are found to be in good works at the hour of our death.[91]

Haimo consistently linked the Church's sacraments to possibility of a new and transformed life in Christ. The love of God (Rom 5:5) refers both to that love by which God loves us, and also that by which we love God—the love which is infused into our hearts at the time of baptism and the laying of hands. It comes through the Holy Spirit which is bestowed upon

[86] PL 117:391c–d.
[87] PL 117:389c–d.
[88] PL 117:389d–90a.
[89] PL 117:373a.
[90] PL 117:451b.
[91] PL 117:402c.

us apart from our own merits.[92] As Christ rose from the dead, so we should live in the virtues now that the once-sinful soul has died to criminal acts. And if we do sin after baptism, we can still rise again through a worthy repentance.[93] Freed from sin through the passion of Christ, through the water of baptism, we who had once been servants of the devil become servants of God. And it will be in the consummation of our works that we can find the eternal life given to those who have persevered. Yet for all this emphasis on perseverance in good works, one must never lose sight of the decisive power of divine grace. Whatever the elect have received—whether faith or charity or any good work—they have received from the grace of God. They receive eternal life through the help of Christ without which we can possess nothing good.[94]

The intersection of divine grace and human freedom within the soteriological process comes to the fore in discussions of predestination. When Haimo takes up the matter of predestination directly he contends that "those whom God foreknew" (Rom 8:29) refers to those whom God knew would believe and thus abide in the faith.[95] Yet the calling, justification and glorification are all free acts of God's grace set in place apart from any preceding merits. The call comes from grace and justification by means of Christ's passion, which itself proceeds through baptism and a faith adorned with good works.[96] God exhibited his grace and mercy through Jacob and his righteous justice was fulfilled through Esau. We must be clear, though, the election of Jacob, and that of the gentiles, was not based upon their merits, but rather on the grace of God. As to why Jacob was elected without any good works while Esau was hated apart from any evil works, only God knows, for he knew all things before they came to pass and his judgment is always just. Both were tainted by original sin, says Haimo, but God loved Jacob out of his gratuitous mercy and rejected Esau out of his just judgment. Throughout it all faith remains a gift: by calling one person to faith God shows his mercy by granting him faith so that he will believe. Yet this is only the beginning. For God has mercy on this man so that he might then live justly and persevere in the good works that will later be rewarded. Yet in a very Augustinian manner, Haimo affirms God gives the elect all of the necessary requirements: the good of willing,

92 PL 117:403b–c.
93 PL 117:414b–d.
94 PL 117:418b–d.
95 PL 117:436b.
96 PL 117:437a–b.

doing, and persevering. For the good will of man alone does not suffice, says Haimo, unless the mercy of God comes first so as to give him the good to will and the good to perform.[97]

We noted Haimo's insistence throughout his Pauline commentaries on the essential role of the Christian sacraments in the life of the believer. With regard to the Church and Eucharist—which is to say the Body of Christ—Haimo speaks of the Church simply as the body of Christ. Jesus Christ is the head directing the members who Haimo identifies as all the elect who have been brought to life.[98] Yet the term *corpus Christi* is not exhausted by this one definition. Haimo observes that the body of Christ is at once that which he assumed in the Virgin's womb—the whole Church of the faithful—as well as being the body that is daily consecrated in the Church.[99]

When commenting on 1 Corinthians 11:23, Haimo notes that the body referred to in this eucharistic passage is the flesh of Christ assumed in the Virgin's womb—the *verum corpus* sacrificed for our salvation. Priests daily consecrate this body in church with the power of divinity that fills the true bread which is the body of Christ. There are not two bodies, Haimo insists, namely the flesh Christ assumed and the bread, precisely because they form the one true body of Christ. And despite the fact that the host is fractured and eaten, Christ remains whole and alive throughout. Just as the body that hung on the cross for our salvation was immolated, so daily for our salvation that bread is offered to God which, although it appears to be bread, is indeed the body of Christ. The Lord left to us this sacrament out of concern for our weakness, for even as we sin daily we have a true sacrifice by which our sins can be expiated.[100] It should be noted, finally, that the *De corpore et sanguine Domini* attributed to Haimo in the *Patrologia Latina* (PL 118:815–18) is not completely authentic. While it does include material from Haimo's 1 Corinthians commentary at the end, the first part actually dates from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[101]

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97 PL 117:443a–d.

98 PL 117:707a. See also PL 117:578d.

99 PL 117:420c. See the classic study of this whole period by Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*, trans. Gemma Simmonds et al. (Notre Dame: 2006).

100 PL 117:572c–d.

101 Marie-Hélène Jullien, "Le *De corpore et sanguine Domnini* attribué à Haymon," in *Études D'Exégèse Carolingienne: Autor D'Haymon D'Auxerre*, ed. Sumi Shimahara. (Turnhout, 2007), 23–49.

7. *Atto of Vercelli*

The last of the commentators we will examine lived at perhaps the very limits of the Carolingian era. Atto of Vercelli, who had been trained in grammar, theology and both civil and canon law, was appointed bishop of Vercelli in 924 where he set out to reform the diocese. To that end he composed his Pauline commentaries for the instruction of the canons of Vercelli. The best of them are Romans and 1 Corinthians, which seem to exhibit the most care shown in composition. Actually, as Suzanne Wemple points out, only the first six commentaries can in fairness be attributed to Atto, since the rest are copied wholesale from Claude of Turin. It seems that Atto was in a hurry by the time he got to Ephesians, for there he simply referred to a passage in the text with the phrase: *de eo quod* rather than quoting the whole text. As for the first six commentaries, Atto drew upon Augustine, Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Claude of Turin, Haimo of Auxerre, Pelagius, Pseudo-Primasius, and perhaps Rabanus Maurus. His most immediate source, however, was Claude of Turin.[102] Even if Atto's Pauline commentary is, to quote Spicq, "personal without being profound," its sophistication is nevertheless evident as he always sought the exact literal sense. Hence Atto investigated Hebrew, Greek and Syriac words and also paid attention to textual issues.[103]

Atto's earlier training becomes apparent in his handling of texts and his use of logic. At the beginning of his Galatians commentary, for example, Atto offers a rather lengthy *argumentum* in which he likens the relationship of letter and spirit in the biblical text to the humanity and divinity of the Person of Christ. The Word of God came forth into the world clothed in flesh and appeared to all under the aspect of humanity although his divinity was recognized by only a few. Likewise, the words of the Law and the Prophets were veiled and thus concealed their true meaning from most people. As Christ's divinity was hidden beneath his flesh, so the spiritual understanding remains concealed beneath the letter. Yet, as blessed eyes will recognize the divinity hidden beneath the flesh, so too the blessed faithful will grasp the spiritual understanding hidden beneath the letter. Thus, says Atto, the Apostle is rebuking those whose eyes can barely penetrate the letter and feel free to follow the carnal law which they

[102] Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State, and Christian Society in Tenth-Century Italy* (Rome: 1979), 9–12, 24–26, 31–37.

[103] Spicq, 53–55.

believe might justify them. These are the very people who said that Paul was not a true apostle because he had not known Christ in the flesh. Paul's opponents, who were trying to subvert the Galatians, lacked the spiritual eyes necessary to penetrate the mysteries of the legal observances. For to understand the Law and the Prophets spiritually is to live in the grace of freedom. That is why one must penetrate the intention of this Apostle.[104] Thus, in keeping with Jerome, Atto points out that Scripture's own foresight (Gal 3:8) must not be taken to refer to the letters or the parchment but rather to the Holy Spirit.[105]

Evidence of Atto's careful attention to issues of language and textual variation can be seen as he draws upon Jerome when appealing to the Greek exemplar in comparison to the Latin.[106] Atto's is one of the few medieval Latin texts that reads *praescriptus*, rather than *proscriptus*, in Galatians 3:1. We touched on this text earlier when looking at the Anonymous of Mont Saint-Michel. In any event, Atto concurs with Jerome's reading that Christ had been *praescriptus* in the sense of being announced beforehand in the Old Testament. Yet, well aware of the variant readings, he notes that some manuscripts have *proscriptus* which, as he says, means alienated. Those who read it that way, he instructs, take this passage to mean that Jesus was proscribed inasmuch as the Galatians receded from the freedom of grace and passed into the servitude of the Law. Atto prefers the first reading, however, because it was through ignorance that they sinned, not through zeal.[107]

When Atto deals with Paul's confrontation of Peter at Antioch we see that the art of dialectic is put to work as Atto reveals Paul's own logical procedure. Atto freely admits to following Augustine and concludes that Paul had genuinely rebuked Peter because he was compelling the gentiles to keep Jewish customs although the reprimand was more for their sake than Peter's. What is most interesting about Atto's treatment of this passage, however, is his attention to the logic inherent in Paul's discourse. Paul, we are told, employs a "syllogism" that runs: "If you since you are Jew . . ." (Gal 2:14). Here is the *quaestio*, as Atto notes, "one might ask why" (*quaeri potest quare*) Paul had rebuked his fellow apostle. The answer is that he had to be rebuked publicly for the sake of the those who had followed Peter's hypocrisy out of fear. Yet again, "someone might ask," why

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104 PL 134:491d–493c.
105 PL 134:516a.
106 PL 134:507a–c.
107 PL 134:514a–b.

Paul rebuked him since Paul did the same thing when he became a Jew to Jews (1 Cor 9:20). There is a response to this question at the ready (*sed responderi potest*). Peter and Paul did not act with the same intention. Peter acted by way of hypocrisy, whereas Paul behaved with compassionate affection.[108] With regard to another Pauline syllogism: "If righteousness is through the Law etc." (Gal 2:21), Atto notes that the Apostle assumes this part of the syllogism but then adds another section to it in order to perfect it. Atto reconstructs Paul's argument for the reader. The Apostle begins with: "If righteousness is through the Law, then Christ died in vain" and completes the argument with the implied affirmation that Christ's death was not in vain. This leads to the "conclusion" that humankind is not justified through the righteousness of the law.[109]

Looking at Atto's Romans commentary we see that he draws on Pelagius for the prologue, noting that the precise number of fourteen epistles demonstrates the harmony between law and grace: hence the Decalogue and the four Gospels. As for the Romans themselves, they were people of little faith and merit, some of whom believed that they were saved by their own merits rather than the grace of God. Atto notes that the Romans had not first received the faith from Paul. Some claim they heard it from Peter, others say Barnabas, and still others say the seventy-two disciples. It is certainly possible, according to Atto, that the Romans received the faith of Christ through the preaching of Barnabas, or some other disciple, and then were confirmed in the same faith by Peter, and strengthened all the more by Paul. At any rate, having received the faith, it was then corrupted by false apostles who led them into a carnal understanding of the law and the prophets. For many among the believing Jews were telling the gentile believers that the faith of Christ was of no avail apart from fleshly circumcision. Hearing of all this dissension, the Apostle wrote to the Roman community to recall them to the concord of peace and the unity of the faith by showing them that they were all sinners in need of God's grace. None are saved by their own merits but instead by the grace of God.[110]

For Atto, the righteousness of God is Christ himself which is revealed through him. The movement from faith to faith (Rom 1:17) is from the faith of the law to the faith of the Gospel, from the faith of words and deeds to the faith of eternal recompense, from faith in man to faith in God. In that

[108] PL 134:510a–511a.
[109] PL 134:513c.
[110] PL 134:125–28.

sense the just shall live by faith, but a faith fulfilled by works—since faith without works is dead in itself.[111] Here in Romans Atto sets up hypothetical interlocutors. Someone could say: 'How can you claim, Apostle, that man is not justified by works of the Law when the precepts of the Law are the same as those of the Gospel?' And to this Paul responds: 'Through the law came knowledge of sin. For the Law cannot put away sin but only points it out.'[112] There are indeed many works contained within the law of faith, says Atto, but not of a carnal sort as in the law of Moses. In the law of works God says: do as I command. In the law of faith one says to God: grant what you command. We pray to God, therefore, that he might grant to us that we can do what we cannot accomplish on our own.[113] Of course, a life led by faith does have its moral demands. One is not justified by faith alone as though, having received faith, one may live wickedly. Only were one to die immediately after receiving faith could one be justified by faith alone inasmuch as he has had no time to work.[114] Thus if one of Paul's Jewish interlocutors were to say: 'O Paul you destroy the law,' this is false. For the Law is not destroyed by faith but actually established, because faith calls upon grace through which the Law can then be fulfilled. Grace cleanses the will, says Atto, so that it might be directed by righteousness.[115]

Having defended the place of good works in the Christian life, Atto certainly does not lapse into Pelagianism. In fact, when commenting on Romans 5:12, Atto finds that the Apostle "destroys the error of the Pelagians" who claim that original sin is contracted from Adam by imitation only rather than by birth. And this error leads them to conclude that it is unnecessary to administer the sacrament of baptism to children on the grounds that there is no original sin present. If Paul meant imitation, says Atto, he would not have written 'through one man,' but through the devil. Here Atto appeals to Augustine that all men were that one man, such that when he was cast out of paradise so were we all.[116] If imitation of Adam alone made us unjust then imitation alone would make us just through Christ. In point of fact, though, righteousness comes not only by way of imitation, but through the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit. In Christ

[111] PL 134:138a.
[112] PL 134:159d–160a.
[113] PL 134:163a.
[114] PL 134:163c.
[115] PL 134:164a–c.
[116] PL 134:173b–c.

there is a spiritual regeneration, therefore, to counter the carnal generation through Adam.[117]

Finally, on the subject of predestination, Atto is quick to affirm that God predestines no one to evil. There cannot be predestination without foreknowledge, since God foreknows what he has predestined. But God can foreknow things that he does not himself make happen. Predestination is the preparation of God's grace and grace is the effect of predestination. Those whom God foreknows will persevere in the good are those he predestined, which is to say that he prepared them to be conformed to the image of his Son.[118] Atto insists that no one believes unless first called by divine grace. Yet while it is true that our will can do nothing good unless divine grace comes first, the grace of God works nothing good in us unless we yoke our own will to his divine will.[119] As for those who are ultimately lost, it must be remembered that God forces no one to sin. He simply does not offer the justification of grace to these sinners. If it is said that God hardens hearts (as with Pharaoh) it is merely that he chooses not to show mercy.[120] By his just judgment, therefore, God permits the hearts of sinners to remain closed.[121]

8. *Conclusion*

The work of the Pauline commentators represents all that was best and most vital about Carolingian biblical scholarship. In just a few decades these scholars managed to organize a massive amount of patristic material in the service of an educational reform program—a societal reform program—that had the added consequence of benefiting biblical exegesis for centuries to come. If they had done nothing else but sort through patristic sources and apply them to the relevant Pauline texts, they would have done their descendents a great favor. We must not lose sight of what a labor-intensive project it must have been to read through the commentaries and tracts of the Fathers and then make choices among them as to which sources should be applied where—especially when one considers the sheer breadth of the Pauline corpus. Yet these commentators

117 PL 134:179b–c.
118 PL 134:210b–c.
119 PL 134:222b–c.
120 PL 134:223c–d.
121 PL 134:247a.

did much more than this, of course, as they also applied the requisite textual and grammatical analysis needed to make the Pauline Epistles that much more comprehensible to both a lay and clerical audience. The Pauline Epistles—so rich in doctrinal material—were soon to prove indispensable to the bourgeoning schools of the eleventh century. Already in the ninth century, however, Carolingian commentators were starting to plumb the depths of the divine mysteries as they had first been discussed by the Apostle. It seems fair to say that the Carolingian contribution to medieval biblical scholarship reached its apex in Haimo of Auxerre who at once exemplified the most innovative exegetical technique and subtle theological reflection. This contribution was certainly not lost on the Laon editors of the *Glossa Ordinaria* who relied on Haimo substantially for their own Pauline commentary. And given the normative role of the Gloss throughout the Later Middle Ages, it is safe to say that all medieval scholarship—from the Lombard to Lyra—owed an enormous debt to the Pauline commentators of the Carolingian era.

ELEVENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF SAINT PAUL: THE ROLE OF GLOSSES IN PAULINE EXEGESIS

Ann Collins

Paul's epistles have endured as touchstones for Christian identity throughout the centuries. Paul spoke of unchanging truths with relevance for each age, becoming "all things to all men" in every generation (1 Cor 9:22). As a person and thinker, Paul offered everything exciting to eleventh-century sensibilities. He supplied the right material to an emerging academic culture when scholarly institutions and methods were under review. Here was a teacher who upheld the truth against ideological foes, who wielded the sword of divine force as well as the quick wit and sharp tongue of human talent.

Fittingly, the epistles were among the most frequently studied sections of the Bible in the eleventh century, but many commentators glossed Paul and the Psalms in tandem.[1] These texts seem oddly matched, combining the zest of the verbal contest with the poetry of the liturgy, and contrasting the bravado of Paul to the humility of David. However, both the earthly and spiritual were marks of Paul's character. A man who was squarely planted on the earth, Paul was also "caught up to the third heaven" (2 Cor 12:2), or as one commentator put it, snatched up "beyond every creature and all the elements" to the knowledge of spiritual things.[2] This too was the goal of eleventh-century exegesis. Exegetes admired—and copied—Paul's pugnacity and wordiness, but they desired his insight. Their fascination with Paul sprang from their own questions and doubts. Could a champion of the truth use worldly methods in his arguments? How could false

[1] Beryl Smalley, "La *Glossa Ordinaria*: quelques prédécesseurs d'Anselme de Laon," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 9 (1937), 365–400. With the exception of the Psalms commentary attributed to Bruno (*P.L.* 152), these commentaries survive in fragments. Glosses on the Psalms thought to be written by Manegold of Lautenbach, Berengar, and Lanfranc are identified in Smalley, "La *Glossa Ordinaria*," pp. 374–78, 395–97. See also Margaret Gibson, "The Twelfth-Century Glossed Bible," *Studia Patristica* 23 (1989), p. 242, n. 49; Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 52–53. Commenting on both the Psalms and Paul was a practice continued by later exegetes, Anselm of Laon, Gilbert de la Porée, and Peter Lombard.

[2] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1650, fol. 88v; hereafter PB Phill. 1650. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—Muenchen, Clm 18530a, fol. 51r; hereafter BSB Clm 18530a. Gloss on 2 Cor 12:2.

ideologies and their proponents be implicated? And, ultimately, what was the truth to be sought? In the eleventh century, scholars' identification with Paul yielded innovative approaches to exegesis and influenced original formats, methodologies, and theological interpretations. The lessons of exegesis found public expression in the mid-eleventh century when a theological contest of Pauline scale drew upon scholars' verbal skills to define the meaning of the eucharistic change.

1. *The Commentators*

Pauline commentaries included the books attributed to Paul (Romans through Philemon), as well as the anonymous epistle to the Hebrews. Unfortunately, the eleventh-century record for Pauline exegesis is fragmentary. A small number of commentaries survive, few are complete, and ascertaining their authorship is problematic. Existing commentaries indicate the outlines of a "great movement" of scholarly endeavor, but as Beryl Smalley warned, we must "eke out our knowledge by guesswork" in order to identify its personnel and methods.[3]

The identification of manuscripts and authors is ongoing. Surviving manuscripts indicate that some of the great men of the eleventh century wrote commentaries on St. Paul. While few complete commentaries have survived, some material was absorbed into later collections. These compendia are the only sources for glosses attributed to Drogo, Berengar, Hermann, and Manegold. Two manuscripts contain Berengar and Drogo material, identified by Smalley as Berengar of Tours and Drogo of Paris.[4] Additional material attributed to Berengar survives in manuscripts of Robert of Bridlington's and Anselm of Laon's commentaries.[5] A further manuscript source for Berengar preserves material attributed to "Armannus,"

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[3] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952; repr. Notre Dame, Ind., 1964), p. 46.

[4] Bern, Bürgerbibliothek Bern 334, part ii, fols. 86r–156r; hereafter BB Bern 334, ii. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 143, fols. 1r–184v; hereafter Vat. lat. 143. The manuscripts contain five Drogo glosses in common. There are approximately forty-five Berengar glosses. About half of these are found in both manuscripts; other glosses are unique to one manuscript or the other. All the Drogo glosses and a number of the Berengar glosses are edited in Smalley, "La *Glossa Ordinaria*," pp. 390–94.

[5] Four glosses are found in common in the commentaries. Manuscripts are cited in Smalley, "La *Glossa Ordinaria*," p. 389, n. 45 and Margaret Gibson, "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria* in Medieval Exegesis," in *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1992), pp. 26–27, notes 65, 67.

possibly referring to Hermann, the schoolmaster of the cathedral school at Rheims.[6] An entirely different set of glosses naming "Herimannus" has been ascribed to Hermann of Reichenau.[7] Regrettably, a direct comparison of the two Hermann commentaries cannot be made since fragments from different epistles survive in each of the manuscripts.[8] Finally, fragments attributed to "Manegaldus in glosis super apostolum" preserve notes on Hebrews 1:3 and 1 Corinthians 10:16. Modern scholars take these to be fragments from the lost Pauline commentary of Manegold of Lautenbach.[9]

Fewer commentaries reach us in their complete state. The text of a commentary traditionally attributed to Bruno the Carthusian is a unique example, surviving in over twenty manuscripts.[10] Only with the commentary of Lanfranc of Bec are authorship and text clear-cut. Here at last, attribution is certain. Eleven Lanfranc manuscripts survive as well as a seventeenth-century transcription of a lost manuscript, making the establishment of Lanfranc's complete text possible.[11] However, the question of

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[6] The attribution to Hermann is suggested by Margaret Gibson, "Lanfranc's 'Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971), p. 93, n. 2. The manuscript is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana A.88 sup., fols. 1r–109r; hereafter Mil. Bib. Amb. A.88 sup. The Berengar gloss is on fol. 12r (Rom 9:27). The Hermann glosses are on fols. 3r (Rom 2:12) and 37r (1 Cor 15:28).

[7] St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 64; hereafter St. Gall, Cod. Sang. 64. The manuscript, catalog, and bibliography are accessible on the internet resource, Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland, a project of the Medieval Institute of the University of Fribourg (www.e-codices.unifr.ch). Accessed on 5.31.09. The manuscript preserves approximately twenty-five glosses attributed to Hermann. The Hermann glosses are combined with material attributed to Augustine, with fewer glosses attributed to Jerome and Boethius.

[8] The sections that are glossed in Mil. Bib. Amb. A.88 sup. in Romans and 1 Corinthians are not glossed in the St. Gall manuscript. St. Gall Cod. Sang. 64, 18 and 97 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch).

[9] Oxford, Bodleian Laud. Misc. 216, fols. 4v, 153r–153v; hereafter Ox. Bod. Laud Misc. 216. Two medieval catalogues, one from Cremona and the other from Bury St. Edmunds, list this commentary. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, p. 48, n. 5. The comments on 1 Corinthians have been edited in Odon Lottin, "La soi-disant 'Lettre de Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry sur la Cène,' et sa source," in *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* 5 (Gembloux, 1959), pp. 147–49. The attribution to Manegold of Lautenbach is summarized in Lottin, "Manegold de Lautenbach source d'Anselme de Laon," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 14 (1947), 218–23. On this see also Anselme Stoelen, "Bruno le Chartreux, Jean Gratiadei, et la 'Lettre de S. Anselme,' sur l'eucharistie," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 34 (1967), pp. 19–20.

[10] *P.L.* 153, 11–566. The manuscripts and uncertainty regarding date and authorship are discussed in Anselme Stoelen, "Les commentaires scripturaires attribués à Bruno le Chartreux," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 25 (1958), 177–247.

[11] Margaret Gibson, "Lanfranc's 'Commentary,'" 86–112; Ann Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 35–73. The lost manuscript was transcribed by Luc D'Achery in 1648 and is the edition published in Migne, *P.L.* 150, 103–406.

Lanfranc's entire corpus of commentaries on St. Paul is somewhat muddled by the existence of a completely unique set of glosses attributed to "Lantfranch" and extant in two eleventh-century manuscripts. The earlier of the two (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1650, fols. 39r–138v) was produced at the monastery of St. Vincent, Metz *c*. 1050.[12] A copy was made from the Metz book at Tegernsee by 1060 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—Muenchen, Clm 18530a, fols. 1v–108v).[13]

So then, while acknowledging the difficulties of attribution, the list of eleventh-century commentators on St. Paul can be loosely sketched to include Berengar of Tours, Drogo of Paris, Lanfranc of Bec, Hermann of Rheims (and/or Hermann of Reichenau), Manegold of Lautenbach, and Bruno the Carthusian. The biographies of these men illustrate the diverse career paths open to talented churchmen of the eleventh century: they were monks, abbots, cathedral canons, archbishops, and players in papal and royal politics. One, in the case of Berengar, was condemned as a heretic. These men did share a single common trait. Early in their careers, they were associated with some of the renowned schools of eleventh-century Europe, including Bec, Tours, Rheims, and Paris.[14] These were men, like Paul himself, who were impelled to use the tools of human knowledge. They were trained to see technical distinctions between correct and incorrect reasoning; in fact, they were primed to identify and engage in ideological disagreement. When the eucharistic debate erupted in the 1050s, initially centered on Lanfranc and Berengar, its tone was reminiscent of

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[12] Valentin Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1 (Berlin, 1893), pp. 69–72, no. 48. Also published in the series *Die Handschrisften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 12 (Berlin, 1893).

[13] Christine Elisabeth Eder, *Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee im frühen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Tegernseer Handschriften* (Munich, 1972), pp. 113–14, no. 93.

[14] In addition to the sources previously cited, the following works provide biographical information and bibliographies for closer study of the commentators: H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003); J. de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérenger: la controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle* (Louvain, 1971); G. R. Evans, "Berengar of Tours," in *Fifty Key Medieval Thinkers* (London, 2002), 62–65; John R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 29 (1954), 661–77; I. S. Robinson, "The Bible in the Investiture Contest: The South German Gregorian Circle," in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diana Woods (Oxford, 1985), 61–84.

Paul's wrangles with his opponents. Truth was on the line, and an arsenal of new verbal tools was available for its defense.[15]

However, the use of such tools could be problematic. The truth of *divine* matters was at stake, and the commentators' biographies indicate the dissonance between secular techniques and devotion. Medieval sources claimed that many scholars, one notable exception being Berengar, made a transition from secular learning to religious life. Bruno's departure from Rheims to found the monastery at Chartreuse was the most striking example of an eleventh-century exit from the scholarly and political life, but others made similar choices. According to the *Vita Lanfranci*, Lanfranc abandoned the circles of learned men to enter the monastery at Bec.[16] Goswin of Mainz named Hermann of Rheims and Drogo of Paris among a group of teachers who left the "novelties" of the schools to enter "the peace of theology." Their choice was compared to Berengar, "that apostle of Satan," and to the intellectual curiosities and carnal understanding of Scripture taught at Tours.[17] The sources' vocabulary varied. Lanfranc's *Vita* compared his scholarly efforts (*in studiis litterarum*) to his new search for knowledge of God (*ut tibi servire valeam et sciam*). Goswin contrasted the dangers of the schools to the desire for "theologiae otium." Yet, in both cases, exclusive preoccupation with the secular arts was condemned, and the distortion of true teaching was feared. Such sources echoed a central question of the eleventh century: How should an early education apply to a new vocation? Scholars' choices varied, but the tension between secular and sacred studies persisted far beyond their "conversions." Men such as Lanfranc and Drogo continued teaching, and to varying degrees, utilized their past training.[18] These same questions were played out in their Pauline commentaries. Training in the arts was qualified—if not truly rejected—scrutinized, and justified in their study of the Scriptures. Their

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[15] See, for example, Charles M. Radding and Francis Newton, *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours* (New York, 2003), pp. 1–31.

[16] [Milo Crispin], *Vita Lanfranci*, ed. Margaret Gibson in *Lanfranco di Pavia e L'Europa del secolo xi nel ix centenario della morte (1089–1989)*, ed. Giulio D'Onofrio (Rome, 1993), p. 669.

[17] Gozechin of Mainz, *Apologia duae: Gozechini epistola ad Walcherum,* 29.649–33.726, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 33–35.

[18] Robinson, "The Bible in the Investiture Contest," pp. 61–66; Irven M. Resnick, "Attitudes Towards Philosophy and Dialectic During the Gregorian Reform," *The Journal of Religious History* 16 (1990), 115–25.

glosses on Saint Paul were tools for considering this dynamic between worldly methods and sacred truths.

2. *The Glossed Format*

The commentators' experimentation with manuscript formats was rooted in their scholarly context. Academic methods and new book types were mutually influential. With the exception of the Manegold fragments and the commentary attributed to Bruno, all of the Pauline commentaries survive in glossed manuscripts. A glossed book harmonized at least two texts on one page. In glossed Bibles, the biblical text was generally ruled and written in a central column, and the commentary text was written in the margins and interlinear spaces in a smaller script. The gloss format was both restrictive and elastic—only short notes could fit alongside the biblical text, but these notes could be inserted at will.

The eleventh-century glossed format built upon Carolingian precedents. Carolingians had studied the secular texts in their classrooms. Schoolmasters relied on their marked copies of Vergil, Prudentius, Arator, and other classical authors to teach the basics of grammar and rhetoric. A teacher might annotate his copy to prepare lectures or to guide a student's comprehension, or a scholar might gloss the text based upon his private reading. Notes were added to both margins and interlinear spaces.[19] On the other hand, Carolingian glossed Bibles were planned and ruled to accommodate both biblical and commentary texts from the outset. Several ninth-century scriptoria were capable of producing such books. About two dozen luxury glossed Psalters remain, but few Carolingian scriptoria produced well-planned glossed texts on biblical books other than the Psalms. The Carolingian Psalters included only marginal glosses, and their function differed from the schoolbooks. They did not evolve from use or study, but were produced as finished texts with set commentaries.[20] When eleventh-century schoolmen made the Biblical text the focus of their studies, they could pick and choose elements from

[19] Gernot R. Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?" *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 153–73.

[20] Margaret Gibson, "Carolingian Glossed Psalters," in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), 78–100; Gibson, "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria*," 5–27; Gibson, "The Twelfth-Century Glossed Bible," 232–44.

these earlier books. The tools were in place to introduce the Bible into the classroom and to create legible copies for a variety of uses.

Rare extant eleventh-century glossed Bibles indicate that scribes experimented with such methods in producing their glossed books. Some glossators used existing Bibles and simply wrote glosses in the margins and between the lines (Figure 1). These books looked and functioned like the Carolingian classical glosses. Material was added at will, and interlinear as well as marginal notes were included. Easy for scribes to produce, these books were untidy and challenged readers to find the appropriate gloss for each Bible verse.[21] The better format for efficient use ruled the Bible into a narrow column and reserved interlinear and marginal space for the gloss text (Figure 2). These carefully planned books required the resources of the scriptorium, not the impromptu exchange of the classroom. In these books, the difficulties of physically harmonizing multiple texts on one page—and aligning one text to the other—were mastered. Systems of markers were designed to connect the Bible and marginal gloss. As the biblical text was read, a symbol inserted in the space above a word or phrase directed the reader to the margins where the same symbol was appended to the appropriate gloss. When alphabetical markers were used, the reader could find glosses in the margins quickly, in sequence.[22] Such innovations improved an existing format and permitted multiple uses for the same text.

The Metz and Tegernsee manuscripts are exceptional examples of these points. In the Metz text, we see a glossed book in the making, while the Tegernsee manuscript demonstrates the methods used to produce a refined glossed copy. The Metz Bible was written in the late tenth century, and glosses were added in the eleventh century. Several strands of gloss material were written in different hands and at different times, some unattributed and others excerpted from authoritative sources. It would seem that one unattributed strand was written first, consistently inserted

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[21] For example, the Metz glosses (PB Phill. 1650, fols. 39r–138v) and one of the Lanfranc manuscripts (Bern, Bürgerbibliothek Bern 334, part iv, fols. 240r–352v) in which eleventh-century glosses were added to ninth or tenth-century Bibles.

[22] The Tegernsee manuscript (BSB Clm 18530a, fols. 1v–108v) ruled glosses in the margins to the left, right, and above the biblical text. Another eleventh-century manuscript of the Lanfranc commentary (Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives Additional Manuscript 172, fols. 9v–161r; hereafter Cant. Cath. Add. 172) ruled the gloss in one column and employed the more sophisticated alphabetical system. On this manuscript, see Richard Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c. 1200* (London, 2008), pp. 147–68, no. 15.

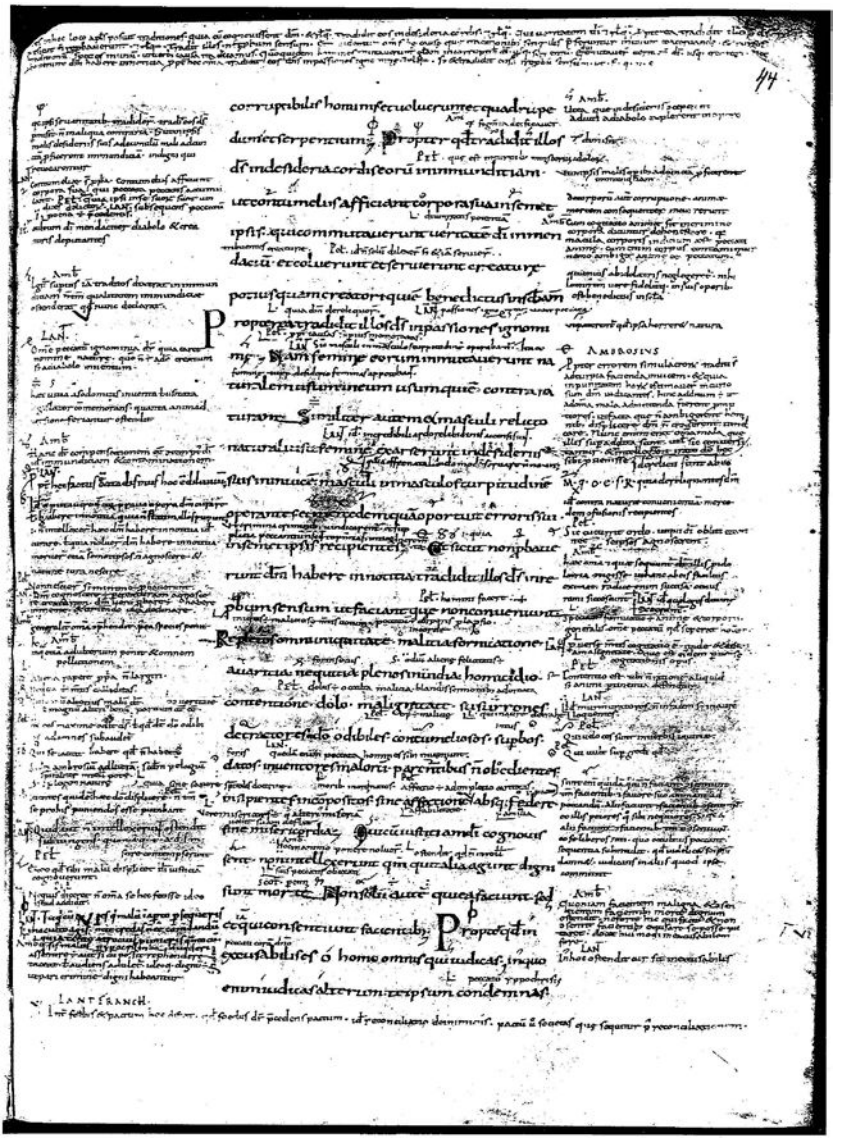

Figure 1. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1650, fol. 44r.

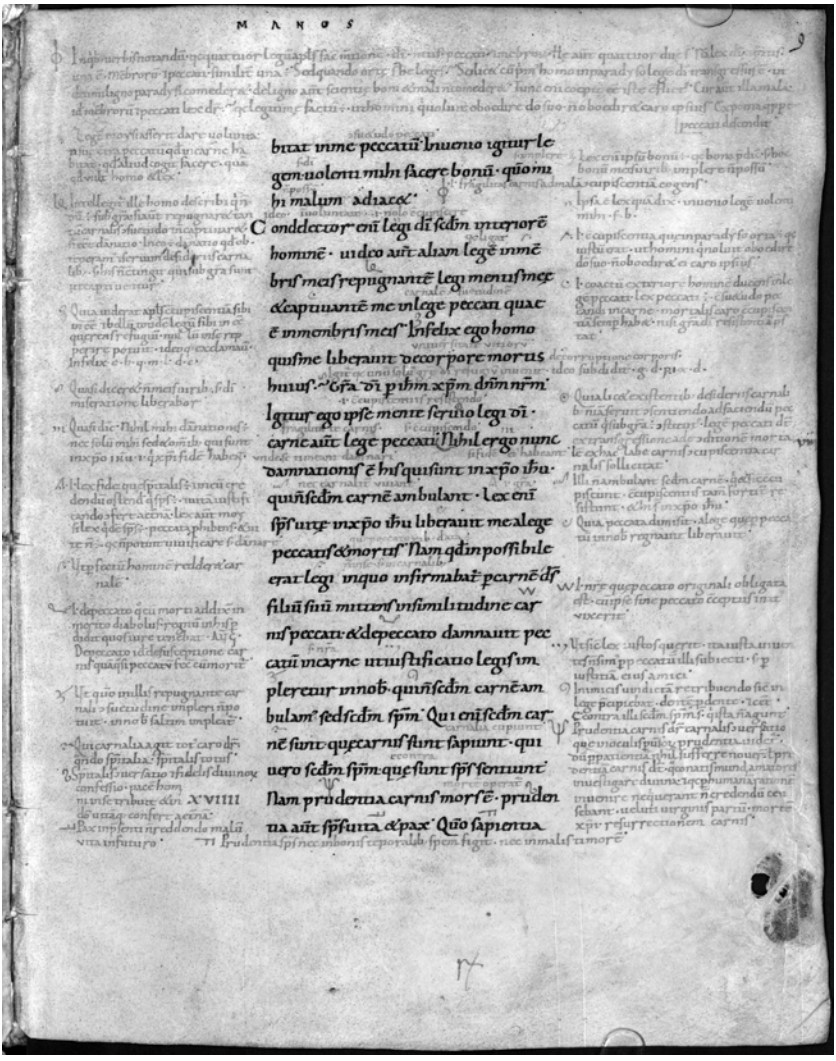

Figure 2. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek—Muenchen, Clm 18530a, fol. 9r.

from the beginning to the end of the manuscript.[23] Each of these glosses was written next to the verse that it explicated. This was not true of other glosses. Additional material was inserted sporadically, wherever there was space. These strands were not written throughout the manuscript, but added here and there until they were eventually discontinued after Ephesians.[24] Early folios acquired a messy appearance with the addition of these glosses, and the glosses' quantity and haphazard arrangement make it tricky for the reader to correspond commentary and text.

The layers of material in the Metz book represented different sources and matters of interest. Some strands identified geographical references or persons, recurrently cross-referencing the epistles and Acts to identify the events, places, and companions of Paul's travels.[25] Others pointed out linguistic issues.[26] Many glosses offered elementary theological explanations.[27] The theological component of the epistles was expanded with material attributed to authorities such as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose (the Ambrosiaster), Origen, Pelagius, and Cassian.[28] The only strand attributed to a contemporary author was to "Lantfranch." This author was profoundly interested in Paul's linguistic dexterity.[29] As layers of material

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[23] PB Phill. 1650, fols. 43r–138v.

[24] PB Phill. 1650, fols. 43r–101r.

[25] "Ierapolis est civitas in qua sepultus est iohannes baptista." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 109r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 74v) on Col 4:13. "Vir alexandrinus ex iudeis, episcopus corinthiorum, quem propter dissensiones quae in corintho errant, ad vicinam insulam cretam cum zena, legis perito putandum est transisse, et cum pauli epistola dissensionibus quae corinthi ortae fuerant temperatis, rursum corinthum revertisse." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 125r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 92r) on Ti 3:13.

[26] "In hac vero sententia quantum ad latinitatis regulam attinet, sed superfluas iuxta regulam quoque grecae linguae, habet compositionem et constructionem." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 84r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 46r) on Rom 7:11. "Maranatha sirum est et interpretatur dominus noster venit." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 78v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 39v) on 1 Cor 16:22. "Syrum et grecum simul posuit." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 50v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 9v) on Rom 8:15.

[27] "Vult ostendere christum non propter se passum, sed propter alios, sive tam humilis sensus in vobis sit, quam fuit in christo" and "non substantiam divinitatis evacuans, sed honorem inclinans." and "secundum humanam naturam intelligendus est quam divinam." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 102v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 67r) on Phil 2:5–9.

[28] "AG. [Augustinus] inde iste subiunxit. *Propterea dilexi testimonia tua* [Ps 118:119]. Tanquam diceret quoniam lex sive in paradyso data, sive naturaliter insita, sive in literis promulgata, *praevaricantes* fecit *peccatores terrae, propterea dilexi testimonia tua* quae sunt in lege tua de gratia tua ut non sit in me id est in iustitia mea, sed tua." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 46r on Rom 3:23.

[29] PB Phill. 1650, fol. 44r. For this strand's interest in Paul's use of language and arguments see the glosses throughout Romans, e.g., PB Phill. 1650, fols. 45r, 50v, 55r, 55v. Margaret Gibson and Beryl Smalley have debated whether this material is evidence of a second commentary written by Lanfranc of Bec. Smalley, "La *Glossa Ordinaria*,"

were added to the Metz book, markers were devised to connect the biblical text and marginal glosses. Significantly, these were free-form and whimsical shapes, meaning the scribes who added additional material were not constrained by an alphabetically ordered system. Material could be inserted in any order, wherever there was enough space on the folio, but then the reader was at some pain to find the matching markers to correspond verse and gloss.

The Tegernsee text was directly copied from the Metz manuscript. This is evident in Scriptural variants that were reproduced in the Tegernsee book.[30] Markers and display glosses at the top of each folio were also copied exactly.[31] However, the scribe made format changes that produced a visually pleasing and highly readable book. The Tegernsee volume is larger, and the Pauline text was ruled in twenty-six rather than twenty-nine lines as in the Metz book. Less biblical text per folio automatically created more space for glosses. Even with these changes, a neat and regularly ruled copy could not accommodate the abundant material of the Metz book, and, indeed, gloss material was frequently omitted from the Tegernsee manuscript. There does not seem to be any editorial theory behind these omissions except the need for more space. No strand was omitted entirely, but some glosses from each strand were not copied.[32] Similarly, material was abbreviated to fit the available space.[33] Most significantly, the order of glosses was reworked so that every gloss could align with its biblical verse.[34] There was no longer any indication of the order in which material had been added—the clues in the Metz book were smoothed away

pp. 378–89; Gibson, "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria*," pp. 13–16. This issue cannot be fully addressed here, but, the question is whether the Metz-Tegernsee material corresponds to the authentic Lanfranc material. Gibson noted the Metz-Tegernsee "Lanfranc" glosses' use of the arts (their *verbal pyrotechnics*) as techniques that Lanfranc thought to be incompatible with biblical study: "Si tu iniustus iniuste iudicas iniustum, quanto magis deus iustus te iuste iudicabit iniustum." Gibson, "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria*," p. 16. This issue will require further study of both the style and content of the "Lantfranch" material.

[30] PB Phill. 1650, fol. 86r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 47v) 2 Cor 9:6; PB Phill. 1650, fol. 105r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 70r) Phil 4:20; PB Phill. 1650, fol. 115v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 81v) 1 Tm 1:10; PB Phill. 1650, fol. 71r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 32r) 1 Cor 11:19.

[31] For example, PB Phill. 1650, fols. 43r-51r (BSB Clm 18530a, fols. 1v–10r).

[32] PB Phill. 1650, fols. 62v-63r, 65r, 68v, 69v, 71r, 98r (BSB Clm 18530a, fols. 24r, 26r, 29v, 30v, 32r, 61v).

[33] PB Phill. 1650, fol. 63r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 24r) on 1 Cor 4:9; PB Phill. 1650, fol. 43v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 2r) on Rom 1:14.

[34] PB Phill. 1650, fols. 6or, 70v, 88v, 99v (BSB Clm 18530a, fols. 21r, 31v, 50v–51r, 62v).

entirely. A reader of the Tegernsee book might reasonably assume that all the material was excerpted and included by one author, not by many.[35]

The Metz book illustrates the importance of a format that could be changed and successively supplemented. One strand of gloss material was written as a guide for the later additions, and this material was added at different times by different scribes. A glossed Bible could incorporate layer upon layer of material, and its text could evolve as long as blank space remained on the page. This was an exceptionally important tool in a textual environment where material could not be easily edited or erased, and where resources and time were valuable. Collections like the Metz glosses became polished texts only in later copies. In the Tegernsee manuscript, there was no evidence of the glosses' original disorder, which were copied and presented as a cohesive work. Consequently, the function of the copy was antithetical to the original composition, as the glosses were transformed from their original, elastic form into an edited text. Glossed texts took on new lives in such copies, becoming whatever the copyist deemed. Scribes might omit strands of material, add new material, or ignore attributions. In these final copies, the glosses went beyond their original draft function, transmitted beyond the authors' original circle as new resources for further communities of scholars, schools, and libraries.

Some of these observations can be tested with the Lanfranc manuscripts, the only glossed commentary with a significant number of surviving manuscripts. Although his original manuscript does not survive, the text and the extant manuscripts reveal a good deal about Lanfranc's writing process. The material evidence of the Metz Bible and the textual evidence of the Lanfranc commentary indicate a similar development in their composition. Study altered content. Analysis of Lanfranc's glosses and his sources indicates that he started his composition with the Ambrosiaster as his primary source. The Ambrosiaster influenced his initial interpretation of St. Paul, and excerpts from this source and Lanfranc's own glosses presented a unified interpretation in the early epistles. Abruptly, Lanfranc's interpretation shifted at Galatians, conforming to a more Augustinian interpretation. It would seem that his encounter with the *Ad Galatas* of Augustine influenced his exegesis and caused him to add more Augustinian excerpts from the *Collectaneum* of Florus of Lyons.[36]

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[35] Also, material is inconsistently attributed in the Tegernsee manuscript. These omissions are most common in the first half of the text (before Ephesians) where the Metz manuscript contains the greatest amount of material.

[36] Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue*, pp. 146; 152–53.

Lanfranc wrote his glosses as notes on the Fathers, and as tools for testing different interpretations of the Bible. He included additional material as his interpretation of St. Paul altered and as further sources became available. The Metz Bible tells a similar story. Its gloss was originally created as an adaptable draft, increased bit by bit. We can only speculate, but perhaps, like the Metz book, Lanfranc's original book showed signs of his additions and their order of inclusion.

The editorial possibilities of gloss copies are evident in the Lanfranc manuscripts. With the exception of two eleventh-century manuscripts, these are twelfth-century productions. They represent the next generation's ever increasing enthusiasm for the biblical gloss and technological innovations in its production. Like the Metz manuscript, Lanfranc's original composition must have included attributions to his sources, creating the opportunity for copyists to edit different strands. Several manuscripts included only the Lanfranc material. Another manuscript included the Augustine glosses but omitted the Ambrose material. One manuscript omitted the attributions to Lanfranc and his sources altogether, giving the false impression that one author composed all of the material. Alphabetical markers and classification systems replaced more primitive markers. Several manuscripts added large amounts of extraneous material. In three manuscripts, the glosses were written in continuous columns with brief biblical lemmata.[37] The Tegernsee and Lanfranc manuscripts are reminders of the care that must be taken in determining the original text and format of the Pauline glosses. Later copies drastically altered original compositions. The Metz book gives us an idea of how these originals were produced and how they might have looked, while the Tegernsee book offers some insight into the intentions behind the production of a copy. The surviving glossed manuscripts on St. Paul represent a fusion of the Carolingian glossed precedents. Like the glossed classical texts, their content evolved from the scholarly efforts of teachers and their students. However, in polished copies, scribes built upon Carolingian techniques to produce well-planned glossed Bibles.

3. *The Function of the Glosses*

Observing how a glossed Bible was made speaks to how it was used. Glossators weighed authorities and interpretations, and this exercise

[37] Gibson, "Lanfranc's 'Commentary,' " 86–112.

influenced their exegesis. We cannot determine the ultimate uses for the Metz glosses, but they make this process visible and point to the importance of the gloss as a scholarly and even corporate enterprise. Many students and teachers could use one book, a precious resource, to hone their exegetical skills. Perhaps one scholar was interested in Jerome; or another summarized Ambrosiaster for his students; perhaps a third tested his exegetical skill and composed his own glosses. The book as a whole was useful to others. Although we can merely hypothesize the reasons for each addition, we can recognize how these texts originated from scholarly pursuits. The dim outline of student-teacher clusters is perceptible in other surviving glosses, even in those produced by individuals. Drogo and Berengar studied under Fulbert at Chartres, and Lanfranc studied under Berengar. Lanfranc used his glosses in his classroom.[38] This was a skill that was passed down from teacher to student, and introduced to another generation as scholars moved and established their own schools. Copies of glosses preserved a respected teacher's instruction and adapted it to new contexts.

We are indeed operating by guesswork—but the Pauline glosses should be seen as indicators of exegetes' comprehensive work: the books they collected, studied, taught, and wrote. As we would expect, the Metz library owned a number of patristic works in the 1050s, and was, apparently, better stocked than the Bec library at the time of Lanfranc's composition of his glosses. Sometimes the glosses hint at these interconnections between scholars' books. After his arrival at Bec, Lanfranc collected, corrected, and annotated patristic and classical works.[39] One of these annotated works was the *Collectaneum* of Florus. Lanfranc noted passages in the margins of his copy of Florus and later included some of these sections in his Pauline gloss.[40] In turn, Lanfranc's glosses on the Psalms and St. Paul were the sources of his lectures at Bec:

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[38] Smalley sees the possibility of a student-teacher relationship in material attributed to Manegold and possibly borrowed by Anselm of Laon. The school context of the eleventh-century glosses is an important precedent to Anselm's project at Laon, the ultimate school gloss. At Laon, many scholars, working under Anselm's direction, produced glosses on the Bible. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 47–50. We are on progressively shaky ground here, but Hermann and Bruno taught contemporaneously at Rheims. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Rheims," pp. 665–66.

[39] Margaret Gibson, "Lanfranc's Notes on Patristic Texts," *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971), 435–50; R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), pp. 35–38.

[40] Collins, *Teacher in Faith*, pp. 135–38.

> I knew a man in France by the name of Lanfranc who was very skilled in dialectic. Now he has devoted himself to studies in the church and has sharpened the intellect of many by his subtle skill in explicating the Psalter and the Pauline epistles. Many from our country have flocked to hear him.[41]

Influences from the Pauline glosses can be traced to the writings of some of Lanfranc's students, notably Ivo of Chartres and Anselm.[42] A glossed Bible was an excellent source for a teacher's lectures. The teacher referenced his notes as the text was read and explained in the classroom. Again, the flexibility of the format is pronounced. Some glosses could be skipped, or the brief notes might direct the teacher toward a fuller presentation. The student could ask a question and the answer would be readily available to the teacher. While the master need bring only one book to class, he could refer to material from multiple sources at a glance.

Glosses were sources for written works as well as oral instruction. I. S. Robinson's study of South German Gregorian writers connects their writings to a number of glossed Bibles, patristic works, and canon law books from the cathedral library of Constance. Glosses in these books corresponded to the authors' treatises. For example, Bernold compiled *sententiae* from the Constance glosses, and based his treatises upon the *sententiae*. These *sententiae* were used by other writers, including Bernold's teacher, Bernhard of Hildesheim, and Manegold of Lautenbach. Similarly, glosses on Jerome's commentary on Matthew, Gregory's *Moralia*, and the Bible correspond closely to Manegold of Lautenbach's *Liber Ad Gebehardum*. The glosses were sources for the treatise, indicating that if the glossator and Manegold were not "one and the same . . . they were remarkably unanimous about what was most relevant in the codices of the cathedral library of Constance."[43]

Finally, the Pauline glosses were sources for later commentators. Glossators such as Lanfranc and the Metz compilers incorporated earlier material into their glosses. In turn, these eleventh-century glosses became sources for later collections. Two of the Lanfranc manuscripts are compendia of patristic and eleventh-century material. These are Bern, Bürgerbibliothek Bern 334, part ii, fols. 86r–156r and Vatican City, Biblioteca

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[41] Williram of Ebersburg, *The "Expositio in Cantica canticorum" of Williram, Abbot of Ebersburg: 1048–1085*, ed. Erminnie Hollis Bartelmez (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 1.

[42] Bruce C. Brasington, " 'Non veni Corinthum': Ivo of Chartres, Lanfranc, and 2 Corinthians 1.16–17, 23," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* n.s. 21 (1991), 1–9; Southern, *Saint Anselm*, pp. 41–42.

[43] Robinson, "The Bible in the Investiture Contest," pp. 71–72.

Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 143, fols. 1r–184v. Both manuscripts were produced in the twelfth century and have the glosses of Lanfranc, with his excerpts attributed to Ambrose and Augustine, at their base. Glosses attributed to Origen, Hilary, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, Leo, Berengar, and Drogo were merged with the Lanfranc material to form a compendium of material, patristic and contemporary. Beryl Smalley identified this collection as a source for the authors of the *Glossa ordinaria*.[44] In this example, we can detect three layers of use: Lanfranc's extraction of Augustine and Ambrose, the compendium's incorporation of multiple strands of material, and the *Glossa ordinaria*'s selective quotation from the compendium. The glossed format's adaptability is particularly evident in its application to later glosses. Rather than consulting numerous original commentaries or treatises, material from many authors could be efficiently scanned and selected. The preferred biblical sections and commentators were readily identified, compared, and adapted to a new commentary.

4. *Methodology and the Liberal Arts*

As the product of the classroom, glosses addressed scholars' principal concerns: literacy and faith. In eleventh-century commentaries, the Bible was the medium of instruction in both. At their most basic level, glosses assisted comprehension, allowing a detailed reading of a primary text. The following example from the Metz-Tegernsee glosses demonstrates how seamlessly the Pauline text could be assimilated with the aid of a glossed apparatus:

> 1 Corinthians 9:2–4:
> si aliis non sum apostolus sed tamen vobis sum nam signaculum apostolatus mei vos estis in Domino. mea defensio apud eos qui me interrogant haec est. numquid non habemus potestatem manducandi et bibendi.[45]
>
> *And if I be not an apostle to others, but yet to you I am. For you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. My defense with them that examine me is this. Have we not power to eat and drink?*

Interlinear glosses established the flow of Paul's words. "Aliis" was glossed "id est, iudeis," and "vobis" was glossed "corinthiis." Although short, these

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[44] Smalley, "*La Glossa Ordinaria*," pp. 371, 399.

[45] B. Fischer, J. Gribomont, H. D. F. Sparks, W. Thiele, eds., *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatem versionem*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1969). English translation of the Vulgate text will be quoted from the Douay-Rheims version.

were important prompts: If "others," the Jews, do not claim my apostleship, certainly "you," the Corinthians, do. For you are the "seal" (glossed *id est, indicium*) of my apostleship. These short notes were the groundwork for a fuller interpretation. Marginal glosses fleshed out Paul's "defense" (glossed interlineally as *protectio*). When the Jews asked what kind of a man is this Paul—an apostle or not? Paul's defense was his apostleship of the Corinthians. The glosses had made a simple rhetorical point. Paul had already established his apostleship and could now counter the Jews' reservations.[46] When Paul went on to list the marks of freedom for the apostle in the following verses (1 Cor 9:5–15), these earlier glosses had set the context. Although an apostle's authority may warrant freedom, such a man must be careful lest his freedom scandalize his followers.[47]

Glosses could contain much more sophisticated theological statements, but assisting basic understanding was at the heart of all the glossed commentaries. Every reader of the epistles has been confused by Paul's digressions, and every serious student of Paul has wished for a guide to his complex arguments. Brief notes written alongside the text were ideally designed for the clarification of such points. In one of his glosses, Lanfranc rephrases Galatians 3 this way: "It is as if he said: 'The blessing is either from faith or works. But it is not from works for the curse proceeds from works. Therefore the blessing is from faith.' "[48] According to Lanfranc, Paul had framed his argument in a syllogism. This was useful to know before the larger interpretive work of exegesis was tackled, and no other format could deliver quite the same service so effectively. The gloss format was suited to the epistles' content and to the scholars' interests. Their glosses developed from a new attitude toward the biblical text as the Bible became the core text of the schools and was subjected to the same rigorous, literary analysis previously reserved for secular authors.[49]

However, subjecting the Bible to analytical tools was a sticky enterprise. Should secular writings be imposed upon Scripture? Useful as classical

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[46] "Mea defensio apud illos qui dicent, qualis est paulus, utrum apostolus an non? Hic respondebitur quod paulus sit apostolus corinthiorum." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 67v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 28v) on 1 Cor 9:3.

[47] "Et aliter. Nota quia cum tantae auctoritatis vir esset, ut haec omnia fuisset et haec cum licentia potuisset habere, tamen propter offendiculum fratrum vitavit habere." and "Quam dominus discipulis dedit cum eos ad praedicandum misit." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 67v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 28v) on 1 Cor 9:1 and 9:4.

[48] "Quasi diceret. Aut ex fide est benedictio, aut ex operibus. Sed non ex operibus. Ex illis enim maledictio. Ex fide igitur." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 82v, on Gal 3:10.

[49] See Gibson, "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria*," pp. 12–13.

methods may be, the ultimate objective in studying the Bible was articulating doctrine and increasing faith. This conflict was addressed in some glosses as writers analyzed the very methods they used and considered limits for applying secular arts to sacred texts. Since the Lanfranc and Metz-Tegernsee commentaries are complete, we can identify the full context of this conundrum in their glosses. Both commentaries looked to Paul to define their own approach. Paul's references to his ideological opponents were numerous, and he adopted a disputatious tone that was reminiscent of the secular texts. A close reading of the epistles warranted the question: Did Paul use the secular arts? Lanfranc and his contemporaries had studied and taught the secular texts, and this was reasonable to ask. In the eleventh century, the "secular arts" meant the *trivium*: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. The ancient authors that represented the liberal arts included Priscian, Cicero, and possibly the Boethian commentaries.[50] According to Lanfranc, Paul was the only apostle who was knowledgeable in the arts.[51] All the same, Paul does not claim that the arts were the source of his eloquence:

> Paul denies that he speaks in 'the learned words of human wisdom,' yet, in his writings, there can be found such subtle disputation of the topics and so subtle a striving for consent, when the situation merits it, that nothing like this or greater may be found in any type of writings. Whence beyond a doubt it must be believed that he did not consider the rules of the secular arts in writing or speaking, but that he spoke such things in such ways through the teaching of the Holy Spirit from whom and through whom is all profitable knowledge.[52]

Lanfranc's solution is not entirely satisfying. Paul knew the arts, even used them. The epistles seem to be suffused with the arts' influence, but they were not the source of his teaching. Divine inspiration was. For Lanfranc this was enough of a solution to regulate his use of the arts throughout

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[50] The Bec library's collection of classical texts is analyzed by Suzanne J. Nelis, "What Lanfranc Taught, What Anselm Learned," *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 75–82. See also Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 39–50.

[51] "Forte propter se hoc dicit, quia solus inter alios apostolos saecularium litterarum peritus, terrenarum opum dives romanae dignitatis parentela conspicuus fuit. Ut ipse testatur in actibus apostolorum. *Ego homo quidem sum iudaeus, a tarso ciliciae, non ignotae civitatis municeps* [Acts 21:39]. Et alibi interroganti tribuno utrum romanus esset, respondit etiam. *Et tribunus. Ego multa summa civitatem hanc consecutus sum. Et paulus ait. Ego autem et natus sum* [Acts 22:27–28]. Et alias *eo rationem reddente*, exclamavit festus. *Insanis paule. Multae te litterae, ad insaniam convertunt* [Acts 26:24]." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 38r on 1 Cor 1:26.

[52] Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 39r on 1 Cor 2:13.

the commentary and to direct others to do the same. If Paul's example opened the door to the secular arts, it also indicated that an inordinate use of their methods could distort doctrine and jeopardize faith, and the exegete must be careful.

The Metz collection did not have quite the same worries. Glosses enthusiastically called attention to Paul's use of multiple classical authors. For example, Paul's sermon to the Athenians referred to the secular authors: "For in him we live, and move, and have our being: as some also of your own poets have said: For we are also his offspring" (Acts 17:28). A gloss explained: "It is the apostle's way to accept the lessons of the world's wisdom, if not as authoritative then at least for edification. As he does with Virgil: 'For we are also his offspring.' "[53] In this example, Paul cited a secular source to teach a sacred truth to a pagan audience. According to another Metz gloss, Paul also knew Menander and Epimenides, or possibly Callimachus of Cyrene, and he quoted them in 1 Corinthians and Titus.[54] The Metz collection's standards were less stringent than Lanfranc's. Paul had used the arts to construct his arguments, and this was licit for the exegete too. Glosses acknowledged the arts' limits in defining truth, but without applying a universal standard for their application. The implication was to use the arts where you will, where they have some use.[55]

While the Metz collection and Lanfranc acknowledged Paul's use of the arts, this took them in different directions. Paul's example established a methodological premise for Lanfranc's entire commentary. Since other glosses survive in fragments, we cannot be certain if other exegetes did the same, but Lanfranc's certainly stands out as the most conservative of the extant material. Lanfranc was keen to define the bulk of Paul's rhetorical style beyond the influences of any secular sources. The only classical method that Lanfranc consistently related to the epistles was the Ciceronian topics. In about thirty instances, he highlighted Paul's use of a dozen of the topics (such as framing an argument by species or genus;

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[53] "Mos est apostolis de mundana sapientia accipere testimonia, et si non ad auctoritatem, tamen ad aedificationem. Ut virgilius *ipsius enim genus sumus* [Acts 17:28]." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 76v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 37v) on 1 Cor 15:33.

[54] "De minandri comedia est hic versus." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 76v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 37v) on 1 Cor 15:33. "*Cretenses semper mendaces*. hoc epimenides sive callimachus cyrenensis de laudibus iovis contra cretenses dixit." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 123v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 90v) on Ti 1:12.

[55] As for example, in an unattributed gloss: "Gramatica ars et dialectica, quaeduae quia inter falsa et vera diiudicant, veritatem habent, sed non secundum pietatem, quia veritas pietatis ostendit aeternitatem praemiorum, quae in his duobus artibus non invenitur." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 123r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 90r) on Ti 1:1.

from opposites or similarities; or from cause and effect). For example, when Paul said: "For I know that there dwelleth not in me, that is to say, in my flesh, that which is good," the Apostle demonstrated the truth by disproving its contrary.[56] Lanfranc had given a nod to Paul's use of the arts and the commentator was within his rights to identify them, but Lanfranc's prevailing method was to identify Paul's debate with his adversaries, their false assumptions, and Paul's response. Often this was framed by a question that had been asked of Paul. In the eighth chapter of Romans someone had interrupted Paul's discourse on creation's anticipation of "the revelation of the sons of God" (Rom 8:19): "It is as if someone asked: 'Are not those who serve God set free from vanity and corruption even in this life?' The Apostle responds to this objector." Romans 8:24 supplied Paul's answer: "We hope that we will be delivered into eternal life, but we are not free yet."[57] The formula used here and repeated in many of Lanfranc's glosses, "quasi (quis) diceret," framed the epistles as a series of questions and answers. Again, this was seen as a method used by Paul and properly copied by the exegete and teacher. It emulated Paul's technique and deepened inquiry. Answers were present in the text but needed to be highlighted and explained in glosses, and a question pointed the way.

If truth was present in the text, it was not always easily identifiable. All the commentators indulgently acknowledged Paul's notoriously difficult prose and relished the challenge of unraveling the meaning of unclear passages. As we will see, some commentators pushed Paul to the limit, giving multiple ways of stating the same thing, or pushing Paul's arguments to their extreme conclusions, or proving possible alternative meanings. The intention behind Lanfranc's glosses was exactly the opposite by stripping Paul's verbosity to its bare bones. Lanfranc would analyze Paul's words only after carefully establishing their "order," and, successively and in greater detail, would define terms, removing extraneous words or possible meanings. The construction of 2 Corinthians 5:21 was confusing: "eum qui non noverat peccatum pro nobis peccatum fecit." Lanfranc simplified the phrase: "The order is: God the Father made him, Christ, sin." The meaning of this was still unclear: "That is, a sacrifice for sin, so we might

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[56] "Per ablationem unius contrarii, more suo probat alterum, quia in religione christiana immediata sunt bonum et malum. Omnis enim homo secundum religionem christianam, aut bonus aut malus." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 20v on Rom 7:18.

[57] "Quasi quis diceret. Nonne qui deo serviunt, etiam in hac vita a vanitate et corruptione liberantur? Huic obiectioni respondet apostolus dicens. Spem habemus ut in aeterna vita liberemur, sed nondum in hac vita liberati sumus." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 22r on Rom 8:24.

be made just." The point was clarified further: "That is, [we are] justified in him." And refined once again: "That is, [justified] in the faith of Jesus Christ."[58] Lanfranc observed this process in gloss after gloss. The "ordo" component of the glosses kept his interpretation close to Paul's original wording, while the qualifications, introduced by "id est" and similar phrases, permitted him to make careful distinctions about meaning and theological impact. It was a cautious methodology and observed the rules that Lanfranc had set by clarifying Paul's meaning without introducing arbitrary methods.

Finally, Lanfranc and the Metz glosses looked beyond Paul's methodologies to Paul himself to define and justify their own approaches. Saint Paul's example as a teacher was supremely compelling. He had upheld the truth while deftly combating the noxious teaching of opponents. He had molded his student, Timothy, into an ideal teacher and the perfect example of Paul's own doctrine. In the Metz glosses, Paul's challengers were identified as the "pseudo apostles," "heretics," and "philosophers."[59] Paul was the "good teacher," and others were "negligent teachers," indifferent to true teaching and good works. In verses such as 1 Corinthians 4:14–17, Paul distinguished himself from these opponents: "You have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet not many fathers. For in Christ Jesus I have begotten you by the gospel." In the Metz commentary, Paul was more than a teacher and could be called "father" because he had begotten his followers through baptism, a claim that other, false teachers could not make.[60]

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[58] "Ordo. Deus pater *eum* christum *fecit peccatum*, id est, hostiam pro peccato, *ut nos efficeremur iustitia*, id est iustificati in ipso id est in fide iesu christi." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 68v on 2 Cor 5:21.

[59] "Inanis doctrina philosophorum in qua nulla edificatio est caelestium." and "Cum ea operatur quae illa fieri posse negat, stultitiam illam esse et probat, id est dum virgo parit, dei filius patitur, moritur, ac verus homo resurgit. Aliter mundi sapientia est maledicentem maledicere, amicum diligere, inimicum odio habere, talionem pro talione reddere, haec apud deum stultitia est." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 62v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 23v) on 1 Cor 3:19. "Sicut enim serpens maiora promisit ut propria subtraheret, sic maiora heretici quam quae christi doctrina habet promittunt ut sanam doctrinam corrumpant." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 87r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 49v) on 2 Cor 11:3. "Contra philosophos hoc ait, quorum omnis pene disputatio de elementis est, ex visibilibus creaturis, et qui rebus naturalibus, virtutem estimant dei dicentes, ex nihilo fieri nihil posse." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 107r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 72r) on Col 2:8.

[60] "Certus numerus pro incerto, quasi diceret, quamvis multos magistros habeatis in christi doctrina, tamen hi vos non genuerunt in baptismo sicut ego, ideo in cunctis oportet vos me audire, magis quam alios." and "in baptismo habetis [glossing *sed non multos patres*]." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 63v (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 24v) on 1 Cor 4:14.

Lanfranc interpreted these verses differently: Paul was a father because he was *first* a teacher. Lanfranc made the distinction between the good and bad teacher repeatedly in his glosses as well, but the consequences of erroneous teaching were even graver and applied to his own circumstances as readily as to Paul's. Baptism would have limited the analogy of Paul as teacher—since, in the eleventh century, teachers did not commonly baptize their students. Lanfranc taught that *any* good teacher spiritually generated sons when his own faith was instilled in them. The seed of faith was sown through the teacher's example in conduct, doctrine, and love.[61] This paradigm allowed Lanfranc to make a direct correspondence between Paul's world and his own. Paul's opponents were likened to teachers he knew: They too used words for words' sake, to confuse not to edify their students. They too sought worldly gain.[62] Lanfranc specifically censored any teacher's inordinate use of dialectic:

> He calls dialectic wisdom, through which the cross, that is Christ's death, seems to be made empty to those who understand it simply. For example: God is immortal; however, Christ is God; therefore Christ is immortal. Thus too can the virgin birth and certain of the other mysteries be misconstrued. However, for those who clearly understand, dialectic does not weaken the mysteries if it is correctly used, but when the matter demands it, dialectic supports and strengthens them.[63]

Lanfranc's classification of the teacher brought him back to what he was most anxious to protect—the divine force of Scripture. A good teacher was wary of twisting the truth to accommodate either a subjective viewpoint or an extrinsic method.

The Lanfranc and Metz-Tegernsee commentaries illustrate a central conflict in eleventh-century thought. Paul could be seen as an advocate of novel methods, or the very reason to be wary of them. All the commentaries, even Lanfranc's, utilized secular methods, and all the commentaries,

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[61] "Nati et parti fuerant in fide christi iesu. Sed quia illorum quidam hanc fidem dimiserant, parturiendi iterum ab apostolo erant, quoadusque fides christi formaretur in eis." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 85r on Gal 4:19. "id est quem in fide genui." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 119v on 1 Tm 1:2. "Ordo, doctor in fide et in veritate." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 121r on 1 Tm 2:7. "Adulter non querit prolem, sed voluptatem corporis explere. Tales sunt qui pro terreno commodo verbum dei praedicant, non querentes filios spirituales generare." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 65r on 2 Cor 2:17.

[62] "Leves, instabiles, nova semper desiderantes." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 130v on 2 Tm 4:3. These teachers do not understand the things they say: "id est quaestiones de quibus aguunt," Cant. Cath. Add. 172 fol. 119v on 1 Tm 1:7 and "quia nescit solvere ea quae proponit." Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 125r on 1 Tm 6:4.

[63] Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 37r on 1 Cor 1:17.

even the more adventurous, claimed some care in their use. In 1 Timothy 6:20, Paul entreated Timothy to avoid "the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called." The Metz Bible originally glossed "of knowledge falsely so called" of the "art of dialectic, because true knowledge is not found there."[64] The Tegernsee scribe copied this as "of the art of dialectic because true knowledge *is* found there."[65] Certainly, the Metz reading is correct, but the variant highlights an ambivalence in eleventh-century glosses on St. Paul: the usefulness and drawbacks of the secular arts were simultaneously acknowledged.

Although other authors' glosses survive in fragments, it is possible to determine something about their methods. Like the Lanfranc and Metz commentaries, Berengar's glosses directed attention to Paul's patterns of speech and word choices. He was apt to define Paul's tone to qualify Paul's meaning. Paul's inclusive expression: "Let us go on to things more perfect" in Hebrews 6:1 was qualified. Berengar explained: "Note the expression by which he relates himself to the Hebrews. It is not as if he shares their flaws."[66] However, Berengar's most recognizable method was the construction of a chain of proofs from multiple Scriptural passages, but with idiosyncratic, even unexpected, conclusions. The echo of related verses reverberates throughout his extant glosses. Sometimes this entailed the direct comparison of one Scripture to another. For example, he expanded the meaning of 1 Timothy by reference to Paul's words in 2 Corinthians. Jesus was "the mystery of piety which was manifested in the flesh" (1 Tm 3:16), but Jesus as "sacramentum" extended to our bodies. We are "always bearing about in our body the dying of Jesus, that the life of Jesus may be made manifest in our bodies" (2 Cor 4:10).[67] In other glosses, Berengar followed Paul's argument closely and added a quotation or paraphrase to prove his point. Berengar annotated Paul's unclear references in Colossians 2:12: "Qui suscitavit illum a mortuis." Christ, inasmuch as he

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[64] "Artis dialecticae quia ibi non invenitur vera scientia." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 119v.

[65] "Artis dialecticae. Quia ibi invenitur vera scientia." BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 86r.

[66] "B. *ad perfectionem feramus.* nota loquendi genus quo iungit illis personam suam non quia perfectio desit." Berengar questions Paul's tone in 1 Cor 4 and details possible meanings depending on Paul's use of irony. Vat. lat. 143, fol. 40r (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 100v) on 1 Cor 4:10. Compare to Lanfranc's conclusions on the same verse. Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 42r. See also BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 109r on 1 Cor 15:29 and Vat. lat. 143, fol. 44v (BB Bern 334, ii, fols. 102r–102v) on 1 Cor 7:16.

[67] "BRG. *Quod manifestatum est* [1 Tm 3:16]. Unde supra. *Mortificatione iesu in corpore nostro circumferentes, ut et vita iesu manifestetur* [2 Cor 4:10] in carne nostri mortali. Hoc ergo ait *manifestatum est* in mortificatione carnis et vivificatione spiritus." BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 139v on 1 Tm 3:16.

was divine, raised himself from the dead, inasmuch as he was human (*Ipse secundum quod deus* suscitavit *se secundum hominem*). This reading was substantiated by other Pauline passages: "God was in Christ 'reconciling the world to himself' [2 Cor 5:19] 'by his own blood [Heb 9:12].' "[68]

Berengar's method was interpretive and creative, and took Paul a bit outside of himself, even while using Scripture to construct a proof. It is tempting to read Berengar's glosses biographically, given his part in the eucharistic controversy. Even though later scholars continued to include Berengar in their glossed collections, they were not easy on him. Scribes of twelfth-century collections preserved Berengar's harsh interpretation of 1 Corinthians 5:4–5 that advocated the expulsion of wayward members from the church, as well as his comparison of false ministers to the antichrist in 2 Thessalonians 2:7.[69] For later readers, Berengar's actions in the eucharistic controversy were implicated by his own glosses. In terms of the glosses' original composition, such sentiments would have been pointedly defiant if written during the debate. Beryl Smalley dated them to the 1050s before the events of the controversy became public.[70]

The glosses attributed to Drogo, although few in number, are distinctive in method. Drogo, to an even greater degree than Lanfranc or Berengar, paid exacting detail to the text. Each of his glosses scrutinized the text and concluded with a proof of its veracity. For example, in Romans 3:20:

> In that he says 'by the works of the law no flesh shall be justified' [3:20], the sentence is clear and true, whether you take 'works of the law' to mean carnal observances, or moral dictates, or both. However, the next statement,

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[68] "BR. Ipse secundum quod deus *suscitavit* [Col 2:12] se secundum hominem. Deus erat in christo *mundum reconcilians sibi* [2 Cor 5:19] *per proprium sanguinem* [Heb 9:12]." Vat. lat. 143, fol. 133v on Col 2:12. This technique is most dramatically seen in the following gloss: "BRG. *Gloriam domini* [2 Cor 3:18] patris non in moyse servo, sed in eadem ipsi patri imagine quae est filius. Unde illud *qui videt me videt* [Io 12:45] et patrem. *Tranformamur a claritate* filii *in claritatem* [2 Cor 3:18] patris per spiritum qui donum est utriusque. Unde hic inferius *qui est imago dei* [2 Cor 4:4]. *Transformamur* autem, id est, transitum facere a lumine ad lumen instituimus. Unde illud *nemo novit* patrem nisi filius et *cui voluerit filius revelare* [Lk 10:22; Mt 11:27]. Vel *transformamur a claritate* servi *in claritatem* filii [2 Cor 3:18], in eandem ipsi filio imaginem ituri. Unde illud *qui dicit se in* christo *manere debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare* [1 Io 2:6]." BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 112v on 2 Cor 3:18.

[69] "BR . . . *tradere satanae*. Id est, expellere ab ecclesia correctionem et admonitionem ab illo suspendere." Vat. lat. 143, fol. 41v (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 101r) on 1 Cor 5:4–5. "BRG. *Mysterium operatur*. Id est etiam in ipsis vitiis accessionis invenitur iniquitas sed mystica, id est, pietatis nomine palliata, ut velint haberi ministri christi cum sint pseudo." Vat. lat. 143, fol. 127v (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 137r) on 2 Thes 2:7. See also BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 136v on 2 Thes 1:4–5.

[70] Smalley, "*La Glossa Ordinaria*," pp. 394–95.

> 'for by the law is the knowledge of sin,' does not seem to fit. For if it is read without the addition of 'only,' it is indeed true, but does not seem to connect with the preceding sentence. However, if 'only' is understood, the sentence now seems false.[71]

In this gloss, Drogo went on to resolve the textual choices he had posed. Each was considered, discarded or accepted, in order to determine the correct reading and its meaning. In fact, all of the surviving Drogo glosses provided alternative, or possible, opposing interpretations. Drogo worked through each possibility to identify the truth. A distinctive method was to state the premise (provided in a quotation from the text), state the contrary, follow this opposite assertion to its ultimate point, demonstrate its incongruity, and thereby prove Paul's point (as understood by Drogo). This process required methodical attention to the text, and tight reasoning. It also held the potential for misunderstanding—an inattentive student could easily lose his way and come to the erroneous conclusion:

> 'By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified' [Gal 2:16]. For if this were the case, justification would not be in Christ alone. But justification is in Christ alone. For if justification is not in Christ alone, then we would sin in deserting the law when we seek to be justified in Christ alone. But this is not the case. For if it were the case, then Christ would be 'the minister of sin' [2:17]. But 'God forbid' [2:17]. Therefore, if Christ is not 'the minister of sin' [2:17], we do not sin when we seek to be justified in him alone. And if we do not sin when we seek to be justified in him alone, then justification is in Christ alone. And if this is true then 'by the works of the law no flesh shall be justified' [2:16]. For if I say this, then 'I make myself a transgressor' [2:18] if I should desert the law, which I concede, justifies.[72]

Drogo began with the premise of the Pauline text: "By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified." He ended with the same, after disproving its contrary, i.e., the law *does* justify. There were larger dangers to this method. There was the opportunity to introduce a dialectical schema that was alien to the text itself, and, consequently, to manipulate the text and its meaning. Lanfranc's warning was pertinent: While dialectic might support the truth, the truth could also be misconstrued by its improper use. Sacred truth was dependent upon the teacher's abilities and intentions.[73] For Lanfranc and his contemporaries, glosses were used to test such boundaries. Their varying choices indicate a great deal about the

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[71] Vat. lat. 143, fol. 7r (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 88r) on Rom 3:20.
[72] Vat. lat. 143, fol. 92r (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 120v) on Gal 2:16.
[73] Above, note 63.

methods that were considered, adopted, or rejected in the eleventh century. Lanfranc emerges as the most circumspect regarding these issues, by setting a standard for the use of the liberal arts and by demonstrating such methods in his glosses.

5. *Theological Interpretation and the Eucharist*

Faith was the ultimate goal of study, and instruction in the biblical text must always go deeper, from basic reasoning to the acceptance of faith. Secular tools could prepare the way. For Berengar, the individual's perception was an essential, primary component of exegesis. His glosses credited some interpretive power to those "who by use have their senses exercised to the discerning of good and evil" (Heb 5:14).[74] To the contrary, Lanfranc always subordinated the individual's interpretive skill to Scripture's authority. Lanfranc was careful to elevate "the teaching of the Holy Spirit" over the "rules of the secular arts" in Paul's doctrine. And what held for Paul must hold for the exegete.[75] Methodologically, Berengar and Lanfranc appear to have approached exegesis from opposite directions. But regardless of their evaluation of the secular arts, all the commentators claimed the same objective: to apprehend the divine truth that was contained in human words. The Pauline text was indispensable to the understanding of law, grace, works, faith, Christology, and the uniquely eleventh-century concern, the Eucharist. All of the eleventh-century writers addressed these issues, and, at least in the cases of the Metz collection and the Lanfranc commentary, patristic material supported their reading.

The events of the eucharistic controversy are germane to the commentaries' dates and content, particularly as Lanfranc and Berengar were the controversy's earliest and most notorious figures. Lanfranc wrote his commentary as the new schoolmaster at Bec, perhaps as early as the 1040s.[76] The Metz glosses, and probably Berengar's, were written before the concerns of the debate permanently altered eucharistic theology and

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[74] "BRG. Discretione boni, id est scripturarum, quantum ad discernendas eas." Vat. lat. 143, fol. 166r (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 149r) on Heb 5:14. This verse is not glossed in Lanfranc's commentary. "BRG. *Omnia autem probate*. Omnia discutite, vel secundum illud accipiatur. De singulis dubitare non erit inutile. *Ab omni specie*. Etiam si malum non sit et fieri possit ut speciem mali praetendat, nemo praecipitanter agat." Vat. lat. 143, fol. 125v (BB Bern 334, ii, fol. 136v) on 1 Thes 5:21–22.

[75] Above, note 52.

[76] Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue*, pp. 195–98. For a later dating to after 1055, see Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 50–52.

commentary on 1 Corinthians—although, as might be expected, none of Berengar's glosses on the Eucharist or 1 Corinthians 10 and 11 survive. For early commentators, eucharistic theology fits into their overriding exegetical concerns. The Metz collection is representative of untroubled and straightforward terminology. Its contributors accepted that the body of Christ was consecrated in the Mass, but without an attempt to describe how this happened or how, exactly, the body should be defined.[77] In the Metz glosses, the larger lesson of 1 Corinthians was church order. Paul's eucharistic teaching related to discipline, the community's worship, and the individual's reception of the sacraments. The meaning of the consecrated body was not pursued any further.[78]

Lanfranc's glosses made a stronger statement about the real presence. The bread and wine are "converted into the flesh and blood of Christ." And again, in the Mass, "the Church daily assumes the flesh that Christ assumed from the virgin."[79] However, such statements were rare in the context of the entire commentary and were written before the necessity existed to address the Corinthians text within the framework of debate. In fact, these glosses were written in support of other theological points, namely, the allegorical meaning of Melchisedech in Hebrews, and the allegory of Christ and the Church in Ephesians. Lanfranc did not pose any theory for the eucharistic change in the Corinthians verses. These glosses supported the predominant concern of his exegesis on Romans and Corinthians, the dispensation of Christ in both the Old and the New Testaments. The roles of the old and new sacraments were correlated. The manna in the desert had conveyed the spiritual meaning of the Lord's body, the body which is now celebrated in the Church. The old sacraments served as a cautionary tale. The Church's sacraments must be received in faith and with attendant works, just as the manna ought to have been. In comparison to Lanfranc's later eucharistic treatise, his glosses presented a

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[77] "Quid est enim mortem domini annuntiare nisi ad memoriam revocare, quod fit cum aut consecramus aut percipimus corpus ipsius." PB Phill. 1650, fol. 71r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 32v) on 1 Cor 11:26.

[78] "Hic enim tria principalia peccata in eis reprehendit, ut in sequentibus demonstrat. Primum quod cibum corporalem in aecclesia sumebant, deinde quod ante communionem christi corporis, ipso cibo vescebantur, et nihil pauperibus dabant et quod contensiosi erant." and "dominica cena debet omnibus esse communis, quia christus tradidit equaliter sacramenta suis discipulis illa nocte qua traditus est." and "Quasi dixisset apostolus. Cavete ne illud corpus indigne comedatis, dum corpus christi est, nam indigne hoc comeditis, si pauperibus nihil de vestris dabitis et si escam aliquam ante spiritalem et dominicam cenam sumitis." PB Phill. 1650, fols. 70v–71r (BSB Clm 18530a, fol. 32r) on 1 Cor 11:18–24.

[79] Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fol. 142v on Heb 5:10 and fol. 95v on Eph 5:32.

simple and unperturbed articulation of the Eucharist's meaning, without addressing philosophical formulations of change or challenging erroneous doctrines.[80]

In these early commentaries other concerns still predominated. Then the silence of some decades fell over Pauline commentary, just as the eucharistic debate reached its full intensity. After 1050 Berengar's teaching was noted and widely condemned; Lanfranc and Berengar denounced each other's doctrines; Berengar was identified as arch-heretic, while Lanfranc was revered as the defender of orthodoxy. In 1059 Berengar was called to Rome and unhappily assented to a eucharistic confession, stating that the bread and wine are the true body and blood after consecration, that the Lord's body is sensually broken by the priest and crushed by the teeth of the recipient. Berengar subsequently recanted this oath. He and Lanfranc wrote their eucharistic treatises and assaulted one another's intelligence, character, and teaching. Former colleagues, the one-time teacher and his student, faced off in a public and bitter debate.[81]

The disputed topic was the meaning of Christ's words in 1 Corinthians 11 and the Gospels: "This is my body, which shall be delivered for you." Scholarly attention to the Pauline text had led to this moment, and the classroom contributed to the fervor and expertise of a growing number of theologians who were eager to test the polemical waters. When commentary resurfaced in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, it showed every sign of the debate's influence. The commentary attributed to Bruno the Carthusian and the fragments attributed to Manegold were in an entirely different category than the glosses of Lanfranc and the Metz collection. These commentaries were indisputably influenced by developments in eucharistic theology. They belong to a set of commentaries on 1 Corinthians 10:16 that demonstrate a remarkable similarity. All were based on the Ambrosiaster's teaching on 1 Corinthians 11:26: Christ's blood saves the believer's soul, and Christ's body saves the believer's body.[82]

In the Manegold material, Ambrosiaster's teaching was applied to a sophisticated definition of the real presence. The commentary is organized as a set of theological questions. 1 Corinthians 10:16 is itself a question: "The

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[80] Cant. Cath. Add. 172, fols. 49v–53v on 1 Cor 10–11.

[81] The early events of the controversy are summarized in Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 63–97.

[82] Gary Macy, "Some Examples of the Influence of Exegesis on the Theology of the Eucharist in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 52 (1985), pp. 66, 70–4; Stoelen, "Bruno le Chartreux," 18–83.

chalice of benediction which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? And the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord?" This "communicatio" or "participatio" was the issue. Manegold rephrased the question: "That is, does not the cup cause us to have some communion with the blood of Christ?" This set the stage for defining just what was received in the Eucharist, and by whom. Yes, we do have communion with Christ: our body with his body, and our soul with his blood. This resolution was clarified. The elements are separate, but we receive the whole Christ in either. Do we receive Christ twice? No, we receive the immortal and impassible Christ once. But if the body of Christ is inviolable, how can it be crushed by teeth or eaten by mice? Because only the species is crushed, while the body remains incorruptible. But what does this entail for the reception of the elements by the faithful and the unfaithful? And so on.[83]

These distinctions relied on the hard-won definitions of the eucharistic debate, particularly the substantial change from bread and wine to the Lord's body and blood. They also adjusted the objectionable realism of the 1059 oath by reserving any violence to the species alone.[84] Commentary on 1 Corinthians had traveled far since the simple theological definitions of the Metz and Lanfranc glosses. Yet at its core, the methods of the Manegold commentary were those used by the glossators. One premise was established and resolved before moving on to the next. Questions showed the way. Like the questions placed alongside Paul's text in glosses, these questions directed theological analysis and framed inquiry as a debate. What objections could be raised, and what response should be offered? The Manegold commentary was a more sophisticated and technical development of the glossators' methods, systematically applying dialectical technique to a comprehensive treatise on the reception of the Eucharist. However, the tension between sacred truth and secular methods remained a constant. Like earlier commentators, Manegold pressed such methods as far as he dared, while also acknowledging their limits. He too warned that there was a point where questions should cease and where a certain amount of knowledge must suffice.[85]

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[83] Ox. Bod. Laud Misc. 216, fols. 153r–154v. For the commentary attributed to Bruno on 1 Corinthians 10 see *P.L.* 153, 175–76.

[84] Gary Macy, "The Theological Fate of Berengar's Oath of 1059: Interpreting a Blunder Become Tradition," in *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, 1999), 20–35.

[85] "Nec est inquirendum quid fiat de illo corpore. deus enim conficit hoc quod scit." and "et ista sapienti de corpore christi sufficiant." Ox. Bod. Laud Misc. 216, fol. 153v.

In format, method, and content, Pauline commentary was receptive to eleventh-century concerns. In their Pauline glosses, early-eleventh-century scholars had raised the possibility of combining the liberal arts with theology. Although their methods and evaluations of the arts varied, some consensus regarding the applicability of secular methods to sacred texts had been established. Later theologians extended this conversation and adapted these methods to their works, within different formats, and in an increasingly public forum. Throughout the eleventh century, exegetes pushed the glossed book's possibilities to produce a format that was malleable in its composition and diverse in its application. In so doing, they developed an ideal research tool. The glossed Bible would prove to be a critical tool in the increasingly scholastic milieu of northern Europe, making the legacy of eleventh-century commentators considerable. When twelfth-century authors turned to the epistles, they received a tried-and-true format for delivering their own exegesis. They built upon the methods tested by their predecessors, including their early evaluations of the liberal arts. Finally, they inherited a synthesis of patristic and contemporary opinion, a source for their own commentaries. These were the shoulders that later commentators such as Lambert of Utrecht and Anselm of Laon, and even Gilbert de la Porrée and Peter Lombard, stood upon. Their efforts were caught up in the fabric of that "great movement" of scholarly attention to the Pauline text that was initiated by Berengar, Lanfranc, Drogo, and their contemporaries.

TWELFTH-CENTURY PAULINE EXEGESIS: WILLIAM OF ST. THIERRY'S MONASTIC RHETORIC AND PETER ABELARD'S SCHOLASTIC LOGIC

Steven R. Cartwright

The Romans commentaries of William of St. Thierry and Peter Abelard provide excellent examples of mature monastic and early scholastic exegesis of St. Paul. Written probably simultaneously in the mid-1130s, they reflect the culmination of one tradition of exegesis and the development of another. Elsewhere in this volume Ian Levy has described the early medieval exegesis of Paul, which was done mostly by monks, who in the eighth through tenth centuries had the scholarly and physical resources to compose commentaries that taught doctrine and exegetical method. Ann Collins described the next steps in exegesis, developed both by monks such as Lanfranc and the scholars of the developing cathedral schools. This chapter shows the next steps of Pauline exegesis in the twelfth century that would lay the foundation for thirteenth-century scholastics such as Thomas Aquinas, described by Franklin T. Harkins. In these steps we see a major turning point in medieval exegesis and theology: the high-water mark of centuries of monastic exegesis, and the first fully confident scholastic exposition of Paul.

I argue that these two commentaries on Paul reflect different approaches to the use of liberal arts in the interpretation of Scripture and the work of theology. William's commentary reflects the ancient Augustinian emphasis on rhetoric as the primary means of expounding Scripture, while Peter's reflects the almost equally ancient Boethian subjection of rhetoric to dialectic. The Augustinian method had been in long decline by the time William wrote his commentary, whereas the Boethian method has been ascendant for over a century, and was beginning to be successfully applied to the exposition of Scripture.

William and Peter are famous, of course, for the theological controversy of 1139/1140 in which William accused Peter of numerous theological errors. William did not accuse Abelard directly, but delated him to Bernard of Clairvaux and wrote a treatise outlining his errors. Peter did not respond to William—it is questionable whether he was aware that William had sounded the alarm—but he did defend himself in writing

against Bernard, and avoided a direct disputation with Bernard at the Council of Sens when he believed Bernard had unduly influenced the bishops attending the Council prior to his arrival. Abelard appealed to Rome, quickly ending the Council, and set out for Rome, never arriving there, but finishing at Cluny, where Peter the Venerable reconciled Abelard with Bernard prior to Abelard's death in 1142.

The Romans commentaries of the two scholars likely had a bearing on their disputation, but that is mostly beyond the scope of this chapter. I will concentrate primarily on their method and content, with reference to the dispute as necessary, and also examine, first, the role of Paul in their thought. In other words, why Paul? Why Romans?

1. *William of St. Thierry*

William wrote his Romans commentary in the mid 1130s, beginning it while abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St. Thierry near Rheims, and finishing it as a Cistercian monk at the foundation of Signy, near the Ardennes. He had already written several works dealing with contemplative experience and/or Christian doctrine. The works show a scholar skilled in rhetoric and dialectic, and desirous to deepen his own experience of God. They also show, in their quotations of scripture, a reliance on St. Paul, among other parts of scripture, of course, notably the Psalms. Several of these works were commentaries on the Song of Songs, reflecting William's continuing interest in this part of scripture. Yet William would refrain from his last and most extensive commentary on it until after commenting on Romans.

William's Romans commentary is the longest of his surviving, complete works (he never completed his last Song commentary due to the dispute with Abelard). It brings together many themes, both contemplative and dogmatic, that William had begun to explore in his earlier works, often in language very similar to or expanding upon parts of his earlier works. For example, in his first work, *On Contemplating God*, William explores what it means to love God, in language similar to what he would use later in the Romans commentary:

> And yet, O Lord, when all is said and done, I am quite positive that, by your grace, I do have in me the desire to desire you and the love of loving you with all my heart and soul. Thus far you have brought me—to the point, that is, of desiring to desire you and of loving to love you. But when I love like that, I don't know what I love. What does it mean, to love love

> and desire desire? If we love anything, it is by love that we love; and it is by desire that we desire all that we desire. But maybe when I love love, it is not the love that I love—the love, that is, with which I love that which I want to love and by which I love everything that I do love at all—but it is I myself whom I love in the act of loving when in the Lord I praise and love my soul, this soul which beyond all doubt I should loathe and detest if I found it anywhere else but in the Lord and his love.[1]

At the end of this work are brief discourses on the work of the Son and the Holy Spirit, which link this work to the experience William desires: Christ's incarnation and death, which stir up our love for God; salvation, divine righteousness and justice, mercy, grace; and the work of the Spirit of adoption that causes the lover to cry out, "Abba, Father!" and which unites the lover to God. Much of what William says here would echo in the later works, especially in the Romans commentary, and he in fact quotes Romans several times in this passage. A couple of short samples make this clear:

> . . . And everything he did and everything he said on earth, even the insults, the spitting, the buffeting, the cross and the grace, all that was nothing but yourself speaking in the Son, appealing to us by your love, and stirring up our love for you.
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> . . . So then, love-worthy Lord, you love yourself in yourself when the Holy Spirit, who is the Love of the Father for the Son and of the son for the Father, proceeds from the Father and the Son. And that love is so great that it is unity, and the unity is such that it is oneness of substance—that is the Father and the Son are of the same being. And you also love yourself in us by sending the Spirit of your Son into our hearts, crying: "Abba, Father!" through the sweetness of love and vehemence of good intention that you have inspired.[2]

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[1] *On Contemplating God*, 4, in *On Contemplating God, Prayer, Meditations*, trans. Sister Penelope, CSMV, Cistercian Fathers Series 3 (Kalamazoo, 1970), pp. 41–42; *De contemplando Deo*, 5, ed. Paul Verdeyen, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 88 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 156.97–107: "Tamen, tamen, Domine, certe certus sum per gratiam tuam desiderium desiderii tui, et amorem amoris tui habere me *in toto corde et in tota anima mea.* Hucusque te faciente profeci ut desiderem desiderare te, et amem amare te. Sed hoc amans, quid amem nescio. Quid enim est amare amorem, desiderare desiderium? Amore amamus si quid amamus; desiderio desideranus quicquid desideramus. Sed forsitan cum amo amorem, non amo amorem quo amo quod amare uolo, et amo quicquid amo, sed me amantem, cum in domino laudatur et amatur a me anima mea, quam procul dubio detestarer et odio haberem, si eam alibi quam in Domino et in eius amore inuenirem."

[2] *Contem* 10–11, CF 3, pp. 51–59, especially at 52 and 54–55; CCCM 88, 12–17, pp. 161.268–166.438, especially at pp. 161.300–162.303 and p. 163.334–40: "Et quicquid fecit, quicquid dixit in terra, usque ad opprobria, usque ad sputa et alapas, usque ad crucem et sepulchrum, non fuit nisi loqui tuum nobis in Filio, amore tuo prouocans et suscitans ad te amorem

In a later work, his *Meditations*, begun at St. Thierry and finished at Signy, just like the Romans commentary and therefore contemporary with the Romans commentary, William considers the question of election, foreknowledge, predestination, and free choice, which, of course, he would consider in the Romans commentary. Some passages from the *Meditations* compare with similar passages in the commentary, and represent perhaps preliminary sketches of what William would discuss more fully in expounding Romans:

> Foreknowledge concerning things created, therefore, is foreknowledge on the part of God; but, when viewed in regard to men, it is predestination, which term includes election and reprobation equally. That is why he tells us: "You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." Predestination is at once the preparation for grace and the result of it. And why one should be taken into grace and another rejected, is a question you had best not ask, unless you wish to go astray.[3]

Contrast this passage with William's comments on Romans 8:29–30, where he quotes the same passage from Augustine on predestination:

> Predestination is the preparation of grace and it cannot exist without predestination. . . . So God's predestination for good is a preparation for grace, as I said, and grace is the effect of that same predestination.[4]

In Meditation 3, William says this about the Trinity:

> And no man sees the Father except the Son, neither does any see the Son except the Father; for this is to be the Father—to see the Son, and this is to

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nostrum. . . . Amas ergo te, o amabilis Domine, in teipso, cum a patre procedit et filio Spiritus sanctus, amor Patris ad Filium, et Filii ad Patrem; et tantus est amor ut sit unitas; tanta unitas ut sit omousion, id est eadem Patris et Filii substantia. Amas et teipsum in nobis, mittendo Spiritum filii tui in corda nostra, a dulcedine amoris, a uehementia inspiratae a te nobis bonae uoluntatis clamantem: *Abba, Pater* . . ."

[3] *Med* 1.9, trans, Sister Penelope, CF 3, pp. 92–93; I.9, CCCM 89, ed. Paul Verdeyen (Turnhout, 2005), p. 6.86–91: "Itaque praescientia Dei de creatura, quantum ad Deum, praescientia est; quantum ad homines, praedestinatio. Ipsa est electio uel reprobatio. Vnde est illud: *non uos me elegistis, sed ego uos.* Praedestinatio autem, gratiae est preparatio. Gratia uero ipse est effectus. In quam cur unus assumatur, alter relinquatur, noli quaerere si non uis errare." William quotes two different passages of Augustine: *De praed. sanct.* X.19 and *In Ioh.* 26.2.

[4] *Exposition on the Epistle to the Romans*, 8:29–30, trans. John Baptist Hasbrouck, Cistercian Fathers Series 27 (Kalamazoo, 1980) (Hereafter CF 27), p. 176; *Expositio super epistolam ad Romanos*, ed. Paul Verdeyen, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 86 (Turnhout, 1989) (Hereafter CCCM 86), p. 126.580–91: "Praedestinatio est gratiae preaparatio, quae sine praescientia non potest esse. . . . Quocirca praedestinatio Dei, quae in bono est, gratiae est, ut dixi, praerparatio. Gratia uero est ipsius praedestinationis effectus."

> be the Son—to see the Father. But the Lord adds, "and he to whomsoever the Son shall have willed to reveal him." Now the Father and the Son have not two wills, but one, which is the Holy Spirit.[5]

Compare this with William's comment on Romans 11:33–36:

> These are the riches of the wisdom of God, because to know God the Father and Jesus Christ whom he has sent is eternal life. No one knows the Father but the Son, and no one knows the Son except the Father and he to whom he wills to reveal him. He wills to do so through the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the will of the Father and the Son.[6]

This passage from Meditation 5 quotes Romans 8:3 and uses imagery similar to that which William would use in his comment on the same verse:

> But turn your judgment into mercy, Lord, and condemn sin by sin. . . . But first, Lord, let the fire of your perfect love inflame my heart, let its great heat sweat and cook out of me all the poison of sin; let it search out and wash away with the tears of my eyes all that defiles my conscience.[7]
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> When we remember with the sure sacrament of faith and a pious affection of heart what you have done for us, faith, as it were, receives with its mouth, hope chews it, and charity cooks into salvation and life the blessed and beatifying food of your grace. There you show yourself to the soul which desires you, accepting the embrace of her love and kissing her with the kiss of your mouth.[8]

Commenting on Paul gave William the opportunity to teach his monks, whether at St. Thierry or Signy, both doctrine and experience. Paul was, for William, as for all medieval teachers of the faith, the Apostle, the

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[5] *Med* 3.6, CF 3, p. 105; CCCM 89, 3.8, p. 16.76–80: "*Nemo* autem *uidet Patrem nisi Filius, et Filium nisi Pater*, quia hoc est esse Patri, quod uidere filium, he hoc est esse Filio, quod uidere Patrem. Sequitur et dicit: *et cui uoluerit Filius reuelare.* Voluntas autem non alia Patris est, non alia Filii, sed una eadem, quae est Spiritus sanctus."

[6] Rom 11:33–36, CF 27, p. 223; CCCM 86, p. 161.926–30: "Hae sunt diuitiae sapientiae Dei, quia scire Deum Patrem et quem misit Iesum Christum, ipsa uita aeterna est. *Nemo autem nouit Patrem nisi Filius, et nemo nouit Filium nisi Pater, et cui uoluerit ipse reuelare.* Voluerit uitique per Spiritum sanctum. Voluntas Patris et Filii Spiritus sanctus est."

[7] *Med* 5.8, CF 3, p. 122; CCCM 89, 5.13–14, p. 30.1102–103, 109–12: "Sed conuerte, Domine, iudicium tuum in misericordiam, et *de peccato damna peccatum* . . . Sed primum dignare cor meum igne perfecti amoris tui inflammare; exundet in me magnus eius ardor, et excoquat omne peccati uenenum; exploret et diluat lacrimis oculorum meorum omne conscientiae meam contagium."

[8] Rom 8:3, CF 27, p. 153; CCCM 86, p. 108.715–20: ". . . cum certo fidei sacramento et pio cordis affectu recolentibus nobis quid pro nobis fecisti, fides quasi ore suscipit, spes ruminat, caritas excoquit in salutem et uitam beatum et beatificum gratiae tuae cibum. Ibi enim te exhibes animae desideranti, acceptans amplexum amoris sui, et *osculans eam osculo oris tui* . . ."

authoritative teacher and exemplar. William praises Paul several times in the commentary, calling him a "wonderful teacher,"[9] "the man of God,"[10] and the "circumspect preacher of grace;"[11] he notes the "brilliance of the Apostle's knowledge,"[12] and that "Paul seems insane with love and totally drunk with the Holy Spirit."[13] And throughout the commentary, William discusses not only what Paul says, but provides his own insights into why Paul is saying these things.[14] He identifies himself completely with Paul, his teaching, and his experience, making Paul's spiritual experience his own. Paul's authority for him is clear; he even identifies the "gospel of Paul" with the preaching of Christ, noting there is no disagreement between them, since one proceeds from the other.[15] Some years later, in his last major work, the Golden Epistle, William would say this about Paul to the Carthusian monks of Mont-Dieu:

> In the first place then the newcomer to the desert must be taught to follow the teaching of the Apostle Paul and offer up his body as a living sacrifice, consecrated to God and worthy of his acceptance, the worship due from him as a rational creature. St. Paul goes on to check overhasty and inquisitive examination into the things of the spirit and of God on the part of the animal man in his beginner's zeal.[16]

Later in this same work William would say this:

> The Scriptures need to be read and understood in the same spirit in which they were written. You will never enter into Paul's meaning unless by constant application to reading him and by giving yourself to constant meditation you have imbibed his spirit. You will never understand David until by experience you have made the very sentiments of the psalms your own.[17]

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[9] 6:20, CF 27, p. 124; CCCM 86, p. 88.1029.

[10] 8:2–3, CF 27, p. 149; CCCM 86, p. 105.602.

[11] 15:18–19, CF 27, p. 260; CCCM 86, p. 190.942.

[12] 8:10–11, CF 27, p. 160; CCCM 86, p. 113.105.

[13] 9:1–5, CF 27, p. 183; CCCM 86, p. 132.800–801.

[14] See William's introduction to Romans 5 at the beginning of Book 3, and his comments on 5:12, 6:3–4, 7:14–15, 7:22–23, and 7:24–25.

[15] 16:21–27, CF 27, p.267; CCCM 86, p. 196.1147–49: "Euangelium Pauli et praedicatio Christi nichil dissonum, nichil habent diuersum, cum alterum ex altero procedat."

[16] *The Golden Epistle* 18.70, trans. Theodore Berkeley OCSO, Cistercian Father Series 12 (Kalamazoo, 1971), pp. 35–36; *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei* 70, ed. Paul Verdeyen, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 88 (Turnhout: 2003), p. 242.498–503: "Primum itaque docendus est rudis incola heremi, secundum apostolicam Pauli institutionem, ut exhibeat corpus suum hostiam uiuentem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium suum. Qui etiam compescens in novitio feruore animalis hominis, qui nondum percipit ea quae Dei sunt, circa spiritualia ac diuina praeproperam et curiosam inquisitionem . . ."

[17] *Golden Epistle* 31.121, CF 12, p. 51; *Epistola* 120, CCCM 88, p. 253.861–66: "Quo enim spiritu scripturae factae sunt, eo spiritu legi desiderant; ipso etiam et intelligendae sunt. Numquam

Clearly St. Paul and his epistle to the Romans influenced William greatly. William looked to the Apostle and all his epistles throughout his career, and departed long enough from his meditations on his other favorite work of Scripture, the Song of Songs, to expound Romans. He saw the task of expounding Romans as the opportunity to bring together various strains of contemplative and doctrinal thought into a single work.

Perhaps also influential on William's decision to expound Romans was the fact that St. Paul's epistles had become, since the late eleventh century and into the early twelfth century, the subject of much commentary. Besides those eleventh-century commentators mentioned by Ann Collins, we may note as well these contemporaries of William and Abelard, who also commented on Paul: Bruno the Carthusian (d. 1106), Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), Radulfus of Laon (d. 1131), Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154), Herveus of Bourg-Dieu (d. 1150), and Peter Lombard (d. 1160).[18] This revived interest in exegesis, including the interest in Paul, seems to have gone hand-in-hand with a revival of interest in dialectic and with an interest in discussing and clarifying doctrine.

2. *Methodology*

Thus it was that William set out to expound Romans for his monks: to deepen together both their doctrinal foundations and their experience of divine love. Like many of his earlier works, the Romans Commentary is very personal, containing several prayers, by means of which William expounds the passage at hand, seamlessly weaving the prayer into third-person commentary. For example, following his preface, which establishes the commentary's larger theme of grace, William begins his exposition of Romans with this prayer, which he had begun in the preface:

> Paul the servant of Christ Jesus. You are great, Lord, and exalted; you look down on the humble, and the proud you know from afar. You knew Saul

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ingredieris in sensum Pauli, donec usu bonae intentionis in lectione eius, et studio assiduae meditationis, spiritum eius imbiberis. Numquam intelliges Dauid, donec ipsa experientia ipsos psalmorum affectus indueris."

[18] For lists of Pauline commentaries during this time see Werner Affeldt, "Verzeichnis der Römerbriefkommentare der Lateinischen Kirche bis zu Nikolaus von Lyra," *Traditio* 13 (1957), pp. 369–406; Heinrich Denifle, *Die abendländsidchen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. 1,17) und Justificatio* (Mainz, 1905), pp. 30–64; P. C. Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégese latine au moyen age*, Bibliotheque Thomiste 26 (Paris: 1944), pp. 109–40; and Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1951; repr. Notre Dame, 1964), pp. 46–52.

> who derived the form of his name and his persecution from a proud king and persecutor; but you did not know him from afar. You humbled him like the wounded proud man; with the arm of your power and the spirit of your grace you changed Saul to Paul, a young Benjamin penetrating the heavens in ecstasy and hearing in God's paradise secret words which it is not lawful for a man to utter. . . . When he was selected by you to be a chosen vessel to preach your grace to the Gentiles, he preferred to be called Paul rather than Saul, from the word *paululus* or little, that is, a humble, quiet man on whom the Holy Spirit rests, so that by his very name he might confound the pride of those who presumed to ascribe your grace to their own merits.[19]

For William, grace is not just part of God's objective means of saving humanity; it is an experience. God's objective work is experiential.

William does not need to pray in order to expound Romans experientially; he can also expound by describing experience to his readers and exhorting them to it:

> For the Spirit himself gives testimony to our spirit that we are sons of God. No soul at all capable of reasoning is so perverse that God does not speak in his heart. Ask your heart if it is full of charity. Ask your soul if it is influenced by fear or by love. He who pours forth charity in your heart bears witness to your spirit as to what is done in it. The Spirit himself testifies about himself. How? Do you wish to hear how? Listen to him by whose gift you receive the Spirit, if you have him. "If anyone loves me he will keep my commandments." If love and the delight of justice move you to keep the commandments of God, that is the testimony of the Spirit of God dwelling in you. If you are such, you are a child and a son; all that the Father has is yours. The Spirit of adoption inspires in you the love of the Father. In the Spirit you cry out to the degree that you love, because he is the love and cry in which you cry, "Abba, Father." If you invoke the Father with a son's affection, the Holy Spirit, the author of grace, insinuates your spirit into himself, and by this effect bears witness that you are a son of God.[20]

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[19] Rom 1:1, CF 27, pp. 19–20; CCCM 86, p. 6:2–10, 15–20: *"Paulus seruus Christi Iesu.* Magnus es, domine, et excelsus, et humilia respicis, et alta a longe cognoscis. Tu gognouisti Saulum a superbo rege et persecutore forman trahentem tam persecutionis quam nominis, sed non a longe cognouisti eum. Tu enim humiliasti eum sicut uulneratum superbum et in brachio uirtutis tuae et spiritu gratiae tuae de Saulo fecisti Paulum, Beniamin adolescentulum in mentis excessu caelos penetrantem et in paradiso Dei audientem uerba arcana, quae non licet homini loqui; . . . Assumptus autem a te in uas electionis ad praedicandam gentibus gratiam tam, de Saulo maluit uocari Paulus, quasi paululus humilis ac quietus, super quem Spiritus sanctus requiescit, ut ipso nomine superbiam eorum confunderet, qui grartiam tuam suis applicare meritis praesumebant."

[20] Rom 8:16, CF 27, p. 163; CCCM 86, pp. 115.170–116.199: *"Ipse enim spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro, quod sumus filli Dei.* Nulla anima tam peruersa est, in cuius corde non loquatur Deus, quae tamen utcumque ratiocinari potest. Interoga ergo uiscera tua, si plena sunt caritate; interoga animam tuam, utrum timore agatur, an amore. Ipse qui diffundit

Clearly experience is a key part of William's expository method: to read scripture into his own experience, and that experience into scripture. This is far more the case than for virtually any other medieval expositor of Paul, including William's predecessors.

Another important part of William's exegetical method, for our purposes, is his use of rhetoric. William composed all his works, including his Romans commentary, in very elegant and powerful Latin, typical of monks in the twelfth century, though less typical for non-monastics of the time. This elegant, persuasive speech goes hand-in-hand with his experiential exegesis; his frequent use of Ciceronian rhetorical figures in expounding scripture itself derives from and inspires experience.

William's love of rhetoric was in keeping with the expository program laid out by St. Augustine in his *De doctrina Christiana.* There Augustine advocated the use of classical rhetoric for scriptural proclamation and exposition, ranking dialectic below rhetoric as a tool for analysis prior to exposition. This program was followed extensively by monks well into the twelfth century, even when the schoolmen of the cathedrals were turning increasingly to dialectic. Modern scholars such as Thomas Conley, Richard Southern, G. R. Evans, Étienne Gilson, and Jean Leclercq have all described this monastic love of rhetoric, contrasting it with the early scholastic preference for dialectic.[21]

A few examples will demonstrate how William excelled in rhetoric and assisted his readers in their ascent to God. All these examples could have come from Pseudo-Cicero's *Ad Herennium* for their compliance

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caritatem in corde tuo, testimonium perhibet spiritui tuo quid in eo agatur; ipse etiam Spiritus de seipso testificatur. Quomodo? Vis audire quomodo? Audi ipsum, quo donante si habes, accipis spiritum ipsum. *Si quis, inquit, diligit me, mandata mea seruabit.* Si dilectio et delectatio iustitiae te agit ad obseruationem mandatorum Dei, hoc est testimonium habitantis in te Spiritus Dei. Si sic es, liber es, filius es, tua sunt omnia quae Patris sunt. Inspirat tibi amorem Patris Spiritus adoptionis, in quo in tantum clamas, in quantum amas, quia ipse amor est et clamor, in quo clamas: *Abba Pater.* Si Patrem inuocas filii affectu, ipse auctor gratiae Spiritus sanctus, ipsum sibi insinuans spiritum tuum, filum te esse Dei contestatur ipso effectu."

[21] See my discussion in my doctoral dissertation, "The Romans Commentaries of William of St. Thierry and Peter Abelard: A Theological and Methodological Comparison," Western Michigan University, 2001, pp. 128–34; and especially also Thomas Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 74–82, 90–93; Richard Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 170–76, 185–93; G. R. Evans, *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 23, 52–53, 70; Étienne Gilson, *The mystical theology of Saint Bernard*, trans. A. H. C. Downes. (New York, 1940; repr., Kalamazoo, 1990), p. 63; and Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi, New York: 1961, pp. 133–34, 140–43, 173–76.

with the figures described in that work. William begins his commentary using the figure of *homoeoptoton* or *similiter cadens*, in which two or more words appear in the same case with like terminations: "Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos multis et variis et difficillimis quaestionibus inuolutam suscepimus . . ."[22] Also in the Prologue, William uses *traductio*, or transplacement, the frequent reintroduction of the same word, rendering the style more elegant:

> Et exinde si quid meremur, gratia est; quod autem meremur, gratia pro gratia est. Acceptae quippe gratiae reddere fructus, gratiae augmentatio est; sicut accepisse primum gratiam, gratia est.[23]

William uses other devices such as alliteration and rhythm in his presentation to make his point.

For example, one finds William using the *iust-* stem ten times in two sentences from his comment on 3:24–26:

> Quem, ut omnia gratiae responderent, ante saecula praedestinavit; in hoc vero tempore palam posuit propitiatorem in sanguine ipsius, cum in conspectu gentium revelavit iustitiam suam; qua et iustus appareret peccata non relinquendo impunita; et iniustum iuste iustificaret, ea remittens, spontanea propitiatoris sanguinis effusione expiata. Cui cum per fidem peccator adhaeret, in eius iustitia in gloriam iustificantis iustificatus evaderet, sanguine, ut dictum est, propitiatoris expiante, caritate sanante, iustitia iustificante.[24]

At 8:16, the passage quoted above, William very effectively plays on *amo* and *clamo, amor* and *clamor*: "Inspirat tibi amorem Patris Spiritus adoptionis, in quo in tantum clamas, in quantum amas, quia ipse amor est et clamor, in quo clamas, Abba Pater." At 8:35–39, he once more plays on *amo*: "Qui ergo habet sensum amoris, intelligat verba amantis."[25] In the same passage, he plays on *affectus* and *effectus*: "Amor noster mentis humanae affectus est; amor Dei gratiae effectus est."[26]

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[22] CCCM 86, p. 3.2–3.

[23] CCCM 86, p. 4.38–41; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* IV.xiv.20, ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 278–81. This is also an example of antistrophe, or *conversio*, in which successive phrases end with the same word, IV.xiii.19, pp. 276–79.

[24] CCCM 86, p. 46.502–511.

[25] CCCM 86, p. 129.715–716.

[26] CCCM 86, p. 130.740–741. We must note that PL, and the Tissier edition on which PL is based, reads *affectus* instead of *effectus* (PL 180:643C; Tissier, *Bibilotheca patrum cisterciensium* [Bonne-Fontaine, 1662], IV.216a). CF follows this reading (p. 181). CCCM 86 makes no mention of this divergent reading in the critical apparatus. The CCCM reading is obviously to be preferred, for theological reasons.

William's rhetoric may best be appreciated if we read samples of the figures described above in quick succession. For example, of epanaphora: "Stamus autem in gratia, cum pro ea constanter laboramus; stamus in ea, cum, quod credimus, speramus et amamus. . . . Sta et obsequere mihi . . . Sta mecum, dicit tibi Deus . . ."[27] "Sufficiens tamen est pretium tuum omnes redimere; sufficiens fons tuus omnia abluere."[28] "Aperi, Domine, Scripturas, quae de te sunt . . . Aperi ergo nobis . . ."[29] "Quid est sapientia, nisi sapor boni? Quid malitia, nisi sapor mali?"[30]

These examples demonstrate a strong rhetorical aesthetic aimed at hooking the reader, or perhaps the listener, and leading him upwards. The experience of listening in *lectio divina* leads to the experience of God. Eloquence is experience.

William does not avoid dialectic, either. This is important to note as Abelard's commentary makes great use of dialectic. Just as Abelard uses questions as a means of exegesis, so does William, though William's questions are neither as frequent nor as elaborate as Abelard's. Dialectic was part of the Augustinian exegetical program, though not its principal tool, and monks learned it in the cloister as a complement to grammar and as a means of reflecting on the content of faith. But William had likely never taught dialectic as Abelard had, and this difference shows in the two commentaries.

At five places (4:2, 7:16, 7:25, 10:13, 10:20) in the commentary, William constructs simple conditional statements. They are all very rudimentary, taking the simple form: If A, then B; A, therefore B; or not A, therefore not B. This is the most elementary form of logical statement, called *sillogismus ipoteticus simplex* by Peter Abelard,[31] and William uses it to make very basic comments, few of them profound logically or theologically; they are not prominent in William's exposition. One might well wonder whether they are in fact enthymemes, the "imperfect syllogisms" of the

[27] 5:2–3, CCCM 86, p. 63.79–80, 86, 89. This is also a good example of homoeoptoton, with six words ending in *-mus*.

[28] 7:14, CCCM 86, p. 99.348–349; ending each phrase with second conjugation infinitives of four syllables each is also effective.

[29] 8:3–4, CCCM 86, p. 107.657–658, 663.

[30] CCCM 86, p. 111.4–5.

[31] *Dialectica* IV.ii.2, ed. L. M. de Rijk (Assen, 1970), pp. 501.31–502.5. See also de Rijk's introduction, in which he outlines the kinds of logical statements described by Peter, especially pp. xxxiv–xxxix, on syllogisms.

rhetorician that argue and persuade, but which do not produce proper demonstrations.[32]

If his syllogisms are questionable, William does know how to ask a question about certain passages where there is something that could be misunderstood. There are six clear questions in William's commentary, none of which come from patristic sources.[33] This is surprising in the light of his statement in the Preface that he had omitted "the troublesome questions" from the passages he had drawn from the Fathers in composing his commentary.[34] They begin quite similarly to the questions of contemporary scholars, such as Anselm of Laon, William of Champeaux, and Peter Abelard, using the same terms: *quaeritur, quaeri*, etc.[35] They are not as long as Peter's, however, and neither does he press these questions to the extent that Peter does; he does not examine every aspect of the question, or take the question beyond the immediate text to pursue other issues. William's questions do not intrude into the exegesis, and some of his answers use no dialectic at all.

Also important for our purposes is William's use of patristic sources. Like previous generations of commentators, William borrowed from patristic exegetes, and proclaimed his own lack of originality at the very beginning of the commentary, stating that his intention was

> to weave a continuous commentary that is not original, but which combines certain opinions and statements of the holy fathers, especially blessed Augustine. . . . it is not founded on novelty or vain presumption but is recommended by the profound authority of outstanding teachers such as blessed Augustine, as I have said, and also Ambrose, Origen, and some other learned men, even some masters of our own day, who, we are certain, have not in any way transgressed the limits set by our Fathers.[36]

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[32] Luke Anderson, "Enthymeme and Dialectic: Cloister and Classroom," in *From Cloister to Classroom: Monastic and Scholastic Approaches to Truth*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, Cistercian Studies Series 90 (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 239–84, especially pp. 257–259; see also the extensive examples Anderson gives in the same article from Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermon 28 on the Song of Songs, pp. 259–68.

[33] 8:3–4, CCCM 86, pp. 207.687–689, CF 27, p. 152. 8:29–30, CCCM 86, p. 126.574–578; CF 27, p. 175. 11:28–29, CCCM 86, p. 157.787–790; CF 27, p. 218. 11:33–36, CCCM 86, p. 160.883–886, CF 27, p. 221. 13:9, CCCM 86, p. 174.356–359, CF 27, p. 241; 14:5, CCCM 86, pp. 179.562–180.566, CF 27, p. 248.

[34] CCCM 86, 3.7, "... suppressis, quae in ea sunt quaestionum molestiis ..." CF 27, 15.

[35] For examples of Anselm's and William's questions, see Odo Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles*, 6 vols. (Gembloux, 1959), vol. 5, *passim*.

[36] Preface, CF 27, p. 15; CCCM 86, p. 3, ll.2–15: "Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos multis et uariis et difficillimis quaestionibus inuolutam suscepimus, non ut exponamus, quod supra nos est, sed ut aliqua sanctorum patrum, et maxime beati Augustini, sensa in eam uel scripta ex libris eorum et opusculis hinc inde collecta in unum hoc opusculum compingentes, supressis

William is quite modest, as in fact he himself is quite original at many points. William does indeed quote from Augustine and Origen, as well as from other authors, but perhaps only one-fourth of the work consists of quotations from patristic and classical authors, with one-half being his own words (the reminder is scriptural quotations). Augustine is by far his favorite, followed by Origen, and he uses them to makes his points on topics such as original sin (Romans 5) and the Trinity (Romans 11), where he quotes Augustine extensively, and on baptism (Romans 6), where he uses Origen. But in other passages, such as Romans 7 and 8, where he is describing interior experience, William largely gives his own thoughts. In most passages, like his predecessors in centuries past, William does not indicate that he is quoting someone.[37]

For the most part, William quotes directly from the works themselves. We know this because we can also tell when he is using the compilations of such persons as Florus of Lyons and Rabanus Maurus. Many patristic passages cannot be found in these compilations. He does not seem to know the Glossa Ordinaria, however; no trace of it can be found in his commentary, though he does take a quotation from a glossed Bible found in the same codex as one of the manuscripts of the commentary. Also, as he finds it necessary, he either quotes these passages verbatim or judiciously edits and paraphrases them.

Through his use of these fathers, William places himself in the centuries-old tradition of Pauline exegesis, while moving forward from the tradition through his own exposition. He identifies with both Augustine and Origen as his teachers, using them with discernment and departing from them as necessary.

3. *Theology*

As William points out at the very beginning of the commentary, the epistle is primarily about grace, but he discusses other doctrines as well; William's commentary, like most medieval Romans commentaries, was

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quae in ea sunt quaestionum molestiis, unam continuam non nostram, sed ipsorum texamus explanationem. Quae tanto debebit gratior esse lectoribus, quanto eam non nouitatis uel uanitatis praesumptio adinuenit, sed magnorum doctorum magna commendat auctoritas, praecipue, sicut dictum est, beati Augustini, deinde uero Ambrosii, Origenis et nonnullorum aliorum doctorum; aliquorum etiam magistrorum nostri temporis, de quibus certum habemus non praeterisse eos in aliquo terminos quos posuerunt patres nostri."

[37] See my article, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources in His Exposition of Romans," *Cîteaux* 54 (2003), 1–2, pp. 27–54.

virtually an encyclopedia of doctrine; discussions of almost every important doctrine of the Christian faith can be found in it. We will outline a few of these here that are relevant to the discussion of the developing forms of Pauline exegesis in the twelfth century. With regard to William, one must always remember that any discussion of doctrine inevitably points to and enables experience. The ascent to God, the loving union of God and the human being, is William's great goal, and the teaching arising out of Scripture, itself rooted in the direct experience of God's revelation, enables this ascent and union.

In his emphasis on love and experience, William was certainly a child of his time. Many scholars have noted that love was one of the great themes of twelfth-century religious teachers, not only among European Christians, but among Jews, Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists.[38] In fact, "The great preoccupation of the thinkers of the twelfth century was the problem of love."[39]

William offers a path of ascent in his Romans commentary, somewhat different from the famous path he first described in his *Brevis commentatio* and which he would fully elaborate in his *Golden Epistle*, from animal man to rational man to spiritual man. This was a path suited for the monk, whereas the four-stage path William describes in the Romans Commentary describes the entire human condition: from man before the law, to man under the law, to man under grace, to man in full and perfect peace. William takes this from Augustine, who himself used it in one of his own brief works on Romans as well as in his *Enchiridion.*[40] William would use this scheme to organize his commentary by books, with the third stage corresponding to Book Three (Romans 5 and 6) and the fourth stage corresponding to Books Four and Five (Romans 7–9:21). The scheme of four stages does not quite correspond perfectly with William's division of his commentary into seven books, but it does help William link doctrines to experience.

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[38] See Ewert Cousins' Preface to *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works*, trans. G. R. Evans. The Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, NJ: 1987), pp. 5–11. Cousins emphasizes the global spiritual transformation of this time period. See also David N. Bell's introduction to William's *The Nature and Dignity of Love*, trans. Thomas X. Davis. Cistercian Fathers Series, 30 (Kalamazoo: 1981), pp. 5–8.

[39] M. Corneille Halflants, introduction to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Song of Songs I*, trans. Kilian Walsh, Cisterican Fathers Series 4 (Kalamazoo: 1971), p. xxix.

[40] *Enchiridion* 31.118; Romans Commentary, 2:17, CF 27, pp. 56–57; CCCM 86, p. 35.

Grace is part of this path.[41] William discusses all aspects of grace, including its more "objective" aspects, such as its roll in the remission of sins, predestination, justification, and glorification—what God does for the sinner. He draws much of this theology of grace directly from Augustine. Like other contemporaries such as Abelard, William writes of certain kinds of grace also described by Augustine: *praeveniens*,[42] *adjuvans*,[43] *operans*,[44] and *sanans*.[45] He also discusses the role of grace in the ascent toward God, again drawing from Augustine. For example, he links grace with charity (*caritas*) or love (*amor* or *dilectio*) on several occasions.[46] William explicates these links in describing man's ascent toward peace at the moment of justification and in the ongoing life of prayer and sacraments,[47] assigning this equation a much greater role than Augustine does. He speaks of the Holy Spirit as "the author of grace"[48] and of "the spirit of grace,"[49]

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[41] For the most complete discussion of grace in William, see Aage Rydstrøm-Poulsen, *The Gracious God: Grace in Augustine and the Twelfth Century.* Copenhagen: 2002, pp. 251–304. See also my dissertation, pp. 183–89, from which this discussion is taken.

[42] Prologue, CCCM 86, p. 4.54–56, CF 27, p. 17; 1:20–21, CCCM 86, p. 23.618–619, CF 27, p. 39; 7:24–25, CCCM 86, p. 104.560–561, CF 27, p. 148; 9:22–24, CCCM 86, p. 139.94–95, CF 27, p. 194 (this is from Augustine, *ep.* 190.3.9–12, CSEL 57, pp. 144.6–147.11); 9:30–33, CCCM 86, p. 141.185–190, CF 27, p. 197; 10:20, CCCM 86, p. 149.458–460, CF 27, p. 207; 11:22–24, CCCM 86, p. 155.704–709, CF 27, p. 215; 11:28–29, CCCM 86, p. 158.803–807, CF 27, p. 218–19.

[43] 1:32, CCCM 86, p. 26.749–752, CF 27, p. 43; 5:14, CCCM 86, p. 72.410–414, CF 27, p. 104; 5:19–21, CCCM 86, p. 76.569–572, CF 27, p. 109 (taken verbatim from Augustine, *ep.* 157.3.15–17, CSEL 44, p. 464.15–17); 6:12, CCCM 86, p. 84.879–880, CF 27, p. 119; 6:14, CCCM 86, p. 85.924–927, CF 27, p. 121; 7:18, CCCM 86, pp. 100.417–101.419, CF 27, p. 143; and 7:18, CCCM 86, pp. 100.417–101.419, CF 27, p. 143.

[44] 1:4, CCCM 86, p. 7.61–65, CF 27, p. 21; 1:8, CCCM 86, p. 11.184–186, CF 27, p. 11; and 8:3–4, CCCM 86, p. 110.766–767, CF 27, p. 154.

[45] 3:21–22, CCCM 86, p. 45.470–74, CF 27, p. 69; 3:24–25, CCCM 86, p. 46.518–22, CF 27, p.70, and 3:31, CCCM 86, p. 50.640–46, CF 27, p. 75. For healing grace in Augustine, see *nat. et gr.* LIX.69, CSEL 60, p. 285; *gr. et pecc. or.* II.29, CSEL 42, p. j188; and *spir. et litt.* XXX.52, CSEL 60, p. 208.

[46] William neither defines nor strongly distinguishes between *caritas, amor*, and *dilectio* in his Romans commentary, at least not to the extent that he does so in *De natura et dignitate amoris* 3, 12, or 13, or *Epistola aurea* 49, 235, or 257. In fact, in some passages of the Romans commentary they seem almost interchangeable, e.g., 8:16, CCCM 86, pp. 115.182–116.199, CF 27, p. 163.

[47] 1:7, CCCM 86, p. 10.136–139, CF 27, p. 23; 1:18–19, CCCM 86, p. 22.580–589, CF 27, p. 38; 3:21–22, CCCM 86, p. 45.476–478, CF 27, p. 69; 7:14, CCCM 86, p. 97.274–276, CF 27, pp. 138–39; 8:3–4, CCCM 86, p. 108.714–718, CF 27, p. 153; 8:35–37, CCCM 86, p. 130.740–741, CF 27, p. 181; 8:38–39, CCCM 86, p. 131.774–776, CF 27, p. 182.

[48] 8:16, CCCM 86, p. 116.197, CF 27, p. 163. Additionally, William speaks of how the law sends sinners "to grace and the life-giving Spirit, where all sins are destroyed and the charity to act well is breathed into man" ("Mittit autem ad gratiam et uiuificantem Spiritum, ubi et peccata omnia delentur, et bene agendi caritas inspiratur," 3:21–22, CCCM 86, p. 45.476–78, CF 27, p. 69), but this is hardly an equation of grace and the Holy Spirit.

[49] 4:14–15, CCCM 86, p. 56.873, CF 27, p. 83.

and describes how the Holy Spirit, "the finger of God," writes grace in our minds.[50] Thus, for William, the Holy Spirit is an active agent of grace.

What is distinctive about William's teaching on grace is the explicit role he assigns to it in man's ascent towards peace, a greater role than Augustine had conceived.[51] To be sure, William's spirituality is largely Augustinian, especially in its emphasis on image and likeness.[52] Augustine made little explicit connection between grace and the recovery of the divine image, however.[53] Additionally, William places greater emphasis on the direct, ecstatic experience of God than Augustine does, and he addresses more themes than Augustine does in discussing it, and consequently says more about the relationship between experience and grace. William sees grace actively moving and guiding people back towards the image and likeness of God, to union with him, to an ever-deepening experience of God's love and charity.

The bulk of William's spiritual teaching about these stages is found in Books Three through Five of the commentary, covering Romans 5–8.[54] William prefaces Book Three by talking about the first three stages, describing them as increasing states of vision, or awareness of one's true state before God. One moves from seeing oneself as lawless and senseless to seeing a vision, by grace, of what one may become through being conformed and adapted to what one sees. This is a pledge of approaching health, though the person is still weak and will endure strife and contradiction.

William begins his discussion of the third stage, under grace, in earnest with his exposition of 5:7–11, where he speaks of Christ's life and especially

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[50] 4:17, CCCM 86, p. 58.922–24, CF 27, p. 84. This is adapted from Origen, Rom., PG 14.975D-976A.

[51] Thomas Renna makes a similar argument when he says that the major difference between the notions of grace found in William and those found in Augustine and Origen is that William emphasizes "the function of grace in each step of the soul's climb up the ladder of perfection." "The Jewish Law According to William of St. Thierry," *Studia Monastica* 31.1 (1989), 59.

[52] As argued by David N. Bell, *The Image and Likeness: The Augustinian Spirituality of William of St. Thierry*, Cistercian Studies Series 78 (Kalamazoo, 1984). Rydstrøm-Poulsen has noted some differences, however, especially with regard to the role of grace, specifically in William's *Epistola aurea*, where William affirms that man becomes what God is by grace, a position rejected by Augustine (*Gracious God*, pp. 266–67).

[53] Bell's description of Augustine's mystical theology makes only occasional reference to the role of grace in mystical and ecstatic experience (*Image*, pp. 21–88), and my own survey of the works of Augustine cited by Bell confirms that he rarely mentions grace in these contexts.

[54] William divides the commentary into seven books: Book One covers 1:1–2:9; Book Two, 2:11–4:25; Book Three, 5:1–6:23; Book Four, 7:1–8:4; Book Five, 8:5–9:21; Book Six, 9:22–11:36; Book Seven, 12:1–end.

his passion as a commendation and provocation of charity. Christ died for us out of love for us, to justify us and forgive our sins, to purify our love for him, to show us how much God loved us, and to provoke our love in response.[55] It is clear that William is describing the experience of conversion, which happens when a person realizes both his own lost state and the divine love that redeems and reconciles him to God.

In his expositions of Romans 6 and 7, William contrasts the necessity of human effort to resist sin following baptism with the necessity of grace. Baptism establishes a conformity of the Christian's life to the events of Christ's life, specifically his passion, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension.[56] This conformity is at once mystical, achieved by Christ's working within the person who has died with Christ,[57] and moral, requiring mortification of one's members, renunciation of the world, self-examination, remembrance of Christ's passion, and of one's commitment to die to sin. William vividly describes the inner conflict against sin, giving special attention to consent and proper motives for action. He encourages his reader to leave the flesh, to bear fruit for God, not to despair, but to delight in God, his law, and his righteousness, and also to rely on grace.[58] Effort and grace are each essential in William's mind, but they are not separate; he sees how they cooperate, and even points out that "penitence for sin is properly the work of grace."[59]

The experience of grace that Paul mentions at 7:24 may grant a certain peace, but for William, this is not yet the fourth stage. According to William's exposition of Romans 8:1–13, the conflict against sin continues, but the reader is more aware of the Holy Spirit's help and encouragement, even to the point of experiencing a pouring out of divine charity and with it a unity of body and spirit with God.[60] The fourth stage can be said to begin with a fuller experience of the Holy Spirit that leads to the realization of one's sonship, which Paul speaks of, and William expounds, at 8:14. From here to the end of Romans 8, William speaks of the future vision of

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[55] CCCM 86, pp. 64.141–66.216, CF 27, pp. 96–98.

[56] 6:3–4, CCCM 86, pp. 77.623–81.789, CF 27, pp. 111–16. William takes much of this, as well as the rest of his comments on chapter 6, from Origen, as well as from Augustine.

[57] 6:5–7, CCCM 86, pp. 82.790–822, CF 27, pp. 116–17.

[58] 7:1–23, CCCM 86, pp. 90.24–103.517, CF 27, pp. 130–46.

[59] 6:3–4, CF 27, p. 115; CCCM 86, pp. 81.754–55: "Et cum paenitentia peccati proprium opus sit gratiae . . ."

[60] 7:24–8:13, CCCM 86, pp. 103.518–114.138, CF 27, pp. 146–61. See especially 7:24, CCCM 86, pp. 104.559–105.588, CF 27, pp. 148–49; 8:3–4, CCCM pp. 107.654–110.769, CF 27, pp. 151–55.

God, the possession of the first fruits of the Spirit, the experience of contemplative prayer and divine love, and the renewal of the divine image, all of which are gifts of grace.[61]

William describes some of these experiences in Trinitarian terms, drawn from Augustine, that is, the love one receives from God is the Holy Spirit, who is the love of the Father and the Son; to experience the love of God is thus to participate in the life and love of the Trinity. The best example of this experience occurs in William's comments on Romans 5:5, "the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit," where he includes the following Trinitarian prayer:

> . . . This is your prayer, O Lord, which you prayed for us to the Father, "I will that just as you and I are one so may they be one in us." You wish this and vehemently wish that you may love us in yourself through the Holy Spirit, your love, and you wish to love yourself through us and in us. That precious substance by which we love you is not in us from ourselves, but from your Holy Spirit whom you give us. Give him to us, therefore, and dwelling in us, O God, love yourself through us by moving and arousing us to your love, by enlightening us and stirring us up. . . . When you do this, O pleasant and sweet one, those of your servants who have become your sons find it pleasant and sweet to meditate on or to speak of you, and in their speech and meditation their heart is made to burn for you, and they speak of you much more fully, seeing you with their sense of enlightened love, but most profusely when you deign to speak to the heart of the one loving you. You speak to your lover, and it is like adding oil to the flame, so that he who loves loves still more, and he who burns burns more intensely. You speak to him interiorly in his conscience by the enlightenment of your Holy Spirit, and he understands "the breath of your whisper," as it is said in Job.[62]

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[61] 8:14–39, CCCM 86, pp. 114.139–131.783, CF 27, pp. 161–82.

[62] 5:5–6, CF 27, pp. 95–96; CCCM 86, p. 64.119–28, 130–37: "Ipsa est oratio tua, Domine, quam habuisti pro nobis ad Patrem: *Volo ut, sicut ego et tu unum sumus, ita et ipsi in nobis unum sint.* Vis enim hoc, et uehementer uis ut per Spiritum tuum, amorem tuum, ames nos in te, et ames te de nobis et in nobis. Non enim est nobis a nobis tam pretiosa haec substantia qua te diligimus, sed a Spiritu sancto tuo, quem das nobis. Da ergo eum nobis, et in nobis habitans, o Deus, ama te de nobis, mouendo nos et accendendo ad amorem tuum, illuminando et excitando. . . . Cum hoc agis, o suavis et dulcis, filii tui de servis effecti, dulce et suaue habent meditari uel loqui de te, et in loquendo uel meditando efficitur cor eorum ardens in te; multo autem uberius cum sensu illuminati amoris te uidentes alloquuntur te; abundantissime uero cum tu loqui dignaris ad cor amantis te. Dicis enim ei, quasi oleum camino addens, ut qui amat, plus amet; qui ardet, plus ardeat; dicis autem ei intus in conscientia, ex illuminatione sancti Spiritus tui, intelligenti sicut in Iob dicit . . ."

The experience of contemplative prayer in the fourth stage leads to an understanding of enlightened love similar to what William described at 5:5–6:

> After the soul understands its small measure and is not disturbed with itself but is recollected and elevated and knows that it transcends all bodily things and has moved from its understanding of itself to an understanding of its Maker, then the understanding of God begins to operate in it as differently from its own understanding as the nature of uncircumscribed light differs from the nature of the soul. What the soul understands it grasps; but in this case, in an unusual way, it does not grasp but is grasped. Something sensible happens to it which only enlightened love is permitted to feel, a certain sweetness, not one which love has merited, but which, once tasted, causes love, something which is not known and sensed, the most solid substance of things hoped for, a most certain evidence of things that appear not, the faithful testimony of the Lord to the Christian faith bestowing wisdom on the little ones.[63]

Here William attempts to describe the indescribable; the soul has risen to the direct experience, or understanding, of God, an understanding different from anything it has encountered before, and is seized by the gracious sweetness of love, which grants to the soul wisdom. There is no mutuality here; the work is all God's. The soul does not open itself or pour itself out, but is swept away to a love that is beyond normal comprehension.

In summary, William's Romans commentary builds on centuries of monastic tradition and eloquence to expound the Apostle's epistle in a manner more deeply experiential than anyone had expounded it before. William sees Paul as his teacher and exemplar, looking into his words and experience to deepen his and his monks' experience. He uses the traditional teachings of the Church to establish the ascent from the state of sin to the state of peace with God. Grace accomplishes this entire task, from saving the lost to uniting the soul with God in love.

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[63] 8:26, CF 27, pp. 172–73, CCCM 86, p. 123.476–89: "Postquam uero iam non ad seipsam anima turbata, sed ad seipsam collecta et subleuata modulum suum intelligit, et quia omnia corporalia transcendat cognoscit, atque ab intellectu suo ad auctoris intellectum tendit, tanto differentius operari in ea incipit intellectus Dei ab intellectu suo, quanto a natura animae differt natura luminis incircumscripti. Quod enim intelligit anima, capit; illo autem intellectu modo quodam inusitato non capit, sed capitur, fitque ei quiddam sensibile, quod solus amor illuminatus sentire permittitur, suauitas quaedam, non quam amor meruit, sed quae gustata, amorem facit, quiddam quod non scitur et sentitur, quaedam *sperandarum rerum substantia* solidissima, *argumentum* certissimum *non apparentium*, fidei christianae *testimonium Domini fidele, sapientiam praestans parvulis.*"

4. *Peter Abelard*

Writing his Romans Commentary probably at the same time as William was writing his, Peter Abelard likewise emphasized grace as the central theological theme of the epistle. Abelard goes in some different, but not opposing, directions with his exposition. He is not the mystic that William is, and consequently does not speak of the ascent towards union with God, though he does appeal to experience in certain passages, such as the question on redemption. Rather, he seeks to clarify traditional Christian teaching through the use of dialectic, stripping away centuries of dogmatic accretions that he believed obscured the original meaning of the text.

Abelard probably wrote the commentary in the mid-1130s for an audience of young secular clerics, while teaching at the school at Mont-Ste.-Geneviève in Paris.[64] This was roughly at the same time that he composed his works for Heloise and the Paraclete, as well as his *Ethica* and *Theologia "scholarium."* There is little to suggest from his previous works—his logical works and early theologies—a strong interest in St. Paul, as one finds in William, but certainly he was interested in expounding doctrinal questions, and Romans afforded him the opportunity to expound the very beginnings of doctrine by commenting on the Sacred Page.

Certainly this is how Abelard regards Paul—as Jean Doutre argues, a master of theology.[65] Abelard does not use that term, but it is apparent that he sees in Paul the great teacher of doctrine, not so much the mystic, but rather a teacher of morals and ethics alongside his teachings on redemption and the Trinity, who teaches obedience to the Gospels and who enlarges and defends salvation. Abelard spends much time at the beginning of the commentary singing Paul's praises, recounting the praises the Fathers of the Church heaped on him, seeing in him the fulfillment of the type of Benjamin; as Benjamin was last of Jacob's sons but most beloved by him, so Paul, himself a Benjamite, was last called of the apostles, but first in merits and superior to the other apostles in mind and reason, to the extent that he corrected Peter, and his epistles gained a

[64] See my discussion in my dissertation, "Romans Commentaries," pp. 26–28, with references to Buytaert and other scholars.

[65] Jean Doutre, "Romans as Read in School and Cloister in the Twelfth Century: The Commentaries of Peter Abelard and William of St. Thierry," in *Medieval Readings of Romans*, ed. William S. Campbell, Peter S. Hawkins, and Brenda Deen Schildgen, Romans Through History and Cultures Series (New York, 2007), 51.

privileged place among the writings of the saints.[66] But despite this praise, Abelard does not quite identify himself experientially with Paul the way William does.

5. *Methodology*

What influenced Abelard in his approach to Paul was not so much Augustine and the expository program of *De doctrina Christiana* as Boethius, who made rhetoric a species of dialectic, thus subordinating it. Boethius' dialectic, according to Conley, is a "centripetal" argumentation, emphasizing a kernel unit explicated by the argument, whereas rhetoric is "centrifugal," emphasizing eloquence, with the argument found in the development of the speech.[67] This contrasting approach gained popularity among secular scholars at the same time that the Augustinian approach continued to be used in the cloisters. Southern and Evans confirm Conley's analysis, noting the decline in rhetorical training outside the cloister and the view of logic as dynamic and orderly, capable of resolving chaos.[68]

This is certainly the case with Abelard and his Romans commentary. The work shows little of the eloquence Abelard was capable of, or that William repeatedly displays; in fact, it reads roughly at points. Abelard pauses frequently to explain words and expressions, using terms such as *id est, scilicet*, and *videlicet*, which break up any flow of exposition such as what one finds in William's commentary.[69] Rather than praying as William does, Abelard questions, not out of a lack of devotion, but rather to arrive at truth, which one might argue is his way of experiencing God. Having written the book on dialectic, he applies it to the text of Romans, both to clarify the meaning of the text through the use of distinctions, definitions, analogies, and syllogisms, and to demonstrate the truth or

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[66] See Abelard's Prologue and comments on Romans 1:1, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Steven R. Cartwright, The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation 12 (Washington D.C., 2011) (hereafter FOTCMC 12), 86–87, 91–100; *Commentaria in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, ed. Eligius Buytaert, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 11 (Turnhout: 1969) (Hereafter CCCM 11), 42–43, 47–55; *Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos*, ed. Rolf Peppermüller, Fontes Christiani 26, 3 vols. (Freiburg, 2000) (Hereafter FC 26), 1:66–68, 90–113.

[67] Conley, *Rhetoric*, 81; Cartwright, "Romans Commentaries," 130.

[68] Southern, *Making*, 170–80, 185–203; Evans, *Old Arts*, 23, 52–53, 70; Cartwright, "Romans Commentaries," 131–32.

[69] Cartwright, "Romans Commentaries," 140–44.

falseness of propositions. It is in the latter case that he uses the *Quaestio*, the short treatises on various topics found throughout the work.[70]

Several of these *quaestiones* are important for showing both Abelard's exegetical methodology and his theology. We must note, however, that the commentary is not entirely made up of questions; they are occasional, and more often than not Abelard comments on the text in ways similar to most other exegetes before him. Still, these questions distinguish the new exegesis of the urban schools from the traditional exegesis of the cloisters.

The most famous question, and certainly the most frequently and thoroughly analyzed,[71] is the question on redemption found in Abelard's comments on 3:26. The major question subsequent generations have asked about this question is whether Abelard taught a subjective, "exemplarist" theology of atonement, emphasizing the devotion felt by the believer on considering Christ's demonstration of love, in distinction to the traditional objective theologies that emphasized the work of Christ on the cross. Space does not allow a complete analysis of this matter; rather, we can only look briefly at what his intention was in posing and resolving his own question: "What is that redemption of ours through the death of Christ? or, how does the Apostle say that we are justified in his blood, we who seem worthy of a greater punishment, because we, unjust servants, committed that deed on account of which the innocent Lord was murdered?"[72]

The question provides the primary example in Peter's Romans commentary of dialectic used to demonstrate the falsehood of a proposition.[73] Peter's intention is to demonstrate that two then-current theories of redemption were fatally flawed in their logic and should not be considered

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[70] Cartwright, "Romans Commentaries," 155–56; G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), 127–28.

[71] See Cartwright, "Romans Commentaries," 194–96, for a summary of the earlier scholarly analyses; there are also two more recent excellent discussions: H. Lawrence Bond, "Another Look at Abelard's Commentary on Romans 3:26," in *Medieval Readings*, 11–32, and Mark Reasoner, *Romans in Full Circle: A History of Interpretation* (Louisville, 2005), 27–29.

[72] 3:26, FOTCMC 12, 164; CCCM 11, p. 113.124–28: "... quae sit uidelicet ista nostra redemptio per mortem Christi? aut quomodo nos in eius sanguine iustificari Apostolus dicat, qui maiori supplicio digni uidemur, quia id commisimus iniqui serui propter quod innocens dominus occisus sit?" See also FC 26, 2.280, 5–9.

[73] The following discussion is taken from my dissertation, "Romans Commentaries," 156–57.

as accurate descriptions of the atonement. These theories are the devil's rights, or "dramatic" theory,[74] and the satisfaction, or ransom, theory.

Peter rejects the first by questioning the premise: that the devil possesses humanity by right as a result of Adam's sin. He attacks this position by arguing from the authority of scripture—that is, by proof-texting—and by asserting an alternate position, that God has an even stronger right to man, and simply hands him to the devil for torment. Additionally, he offers an analogy of one servant leading another astray from their common lord; the one leading astray has no advantage or authority over the other; in fact, the one led astray has a right of vengeance over his seducer. Ultimate right lies with Christ, who may forgive as he sees fit, in any way; he was not under necessity to suffer and die, but is free to choose whatever method of forgiveness he wills.[75]

Peter then rejects the ransom theory through moral argument in the form of continuous questions: which was the greater wrong, Adam's eating of the apple, or the murder of Christ? Could God be pleased by Christ's murder so much as to achieve reconciliation? He then asks to whom the ransom was paid. Certainly not to the devil, whom Peter had already established as a mere torturer; it must go to God. But then, it would be cruel for someone to demand an innocent person's blood, or to be pleased with that person's death.[76]

Richard Weingart argues that necessity is the underlying principle of Peter's rejection of these two theories; God is under no extrinsic necessity to atone in any particular way. For Peter, Weingart asserts, there was no prior necessity that God reveal himself in Christ's incarnation or death; God's only necessity was his intrinsic need to fulfill his essence by acting out of love to save humanity.[77] The particular arguments Peter advances point to what he regards as either logical or ethical inadequacies: forgetting that God has ultimate right over human beings; ignoring God's freedom from necessity; and overlooking the moral dilemmas of the old theories. In these arguments, morality has as much force as logic. Peter's dialectic is not entirely dispassionate; its function is to demonstrate the

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[74] So named by Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An historical study of the three main types of the idea of the atonement*, trans. A. G. Hebert (New York: MacMillan, 1956), p. 4; cited by Richard E. Weingart, *The Logic of Divine Love: A Critical Analysis of the Soteriology of Peter Abailard* (Oxford, 1970), p. 82.

[75] FOTCMC 12, pp. 164–66; CCCM 11, pp. 114.135–116.209; FC 26, pp. 2.280.16–286.11; see also Weingart, *Logic*, pp. 90–91.

[76] FOTCMC 12, pp. 166–67; CCCM 11, pp. 116.210–117.238; FC 26, pp. 2.286.12–288.13.

[77] Weingart, *Logic*, pp. 92–93.

truth of the Christian faith, and this faith underlies his dialectical method. Dialectic is moral; it leads to truth.

In the latter part of the question,[78] having disposed of the theories of the devil's rights and ransom, and wanting to show just how Christ's death achieves redemption, Peter returns to the Apostle's statement in 3:26 that Christ's death was a demonstration of grace and righteousness:

> Nevertheless it seems to us in this that we are justified in the blood of Christ and reconciled to God, because it was through this matchless grace shown to us that his Son received our nature, and, by teaching us in that nature by word as much as by example persevered to the death, and bound us to himself even more through love, so that when we have been kindled by so great a benefit of the divine grace, true charity might fear to endure nothing for his sake. . . . Each one is also made more righteous after the Passion of Christ than before, that is, he loves God more, because the benefit kindles the perfected person in love more than the one who hoped.
>
> Therefore our redemption is that supreme love in us through the Passion of Christ which not only frees us from slavery to sin, but gains for us the true liberty of the sons of God, so that we may complete all things by his love rather than by fear. He showed us such great grace, than which a greater cannot be found, by his own word. "No one," he says, "has greater love than this, that he lays down his life for his friends." Concerning this love the same person says elsewhere, "I have come to send fire on the earth, and what do I desire except that it burn?" He witnesses, therefore, that he has come to increase this true liberty of charity among men.[79]

Peter places Christ's death in the context of his entire life, which was a demonstration of grace that kindled love in the hearts of humanity. Christ's sufferings kindle love, or charity, which Abelard equates with righteousness,

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[78] This discussion is taken from my dissertation, "Romans commentaries," pp. 199–200.

[79] FOTCMC 12, pp. 167–68; CCCM 11, pp. 117.242–248, 118.253–269: "Nobis autem uidetur quod in hoc iustificati sumus in sanguine Christi et Deo reconciliati, quod per hanc singularem gratiam nobis exhibitam quod Filius suus nostram susceperit naturam et in ipsa nos tam uerbo quam exemplo instituendo usque ad mortem perstitit, nos sibi amplius per amorem adstrixit, ut tanto diuinae gratiae accensi beneficio, nihil iam tolerare propter ipsum uera reformidet caritas. . . .Iustior quoque, id est amplius Deum diligens, quisque fit post passionem Christi quam ante, quia amplius in amorem accendit completum beneficium quam speratum. Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio quae nos non solum a seruitute peccati liberat, sed ueram nobis filiorum Dei libertatem acquirit, ut amore eius potius quam timore cuncta impleamus, qui nobis tantam exhibuit gratiam qua maior inueniri ipso attestante non potest. Maiorem hac, inquit, dilectionem nemo habet quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis. De hoc quidem amore idem alibi dicit: Ignem ueni mittere in terram, et quid uolo nisi ut ardeat? Ad hanc itaque ueram caritatis libertatem in hominibus propagandam se uenisse testatur." See also FC 26, pp. 2.288.18–25, 290.2–16. The disscussion is taken from "Romans Commentaries," pp. 199–200.

and therefore Christ's death can legitimately be said to justify a person and reconcile him to God—not on the basis of having satisfied legal necessities, but on the basis of love.

In other questions, Abelard applies dialectics directly to the Apostle's words, not to challenge the Apostle's words or engage in disputation, but purely to clarify Paul's meaning. For example,[80] at 3:4,[81] Paul's words, "God is true, and every man a liar," cause Abelard, or one of his students, to wonder whether Christ's humanity was capable of lying or sinning. Do Paul's words exclude the God-man? Was Christ capable of sin? To answer this question, Peter makes full use of dialectics as linguistic analysis and the construction of arguments. He addresses the following problems in making his response: How could Christ assume Adam's humanity, since the will and inclination to sin always existed in Adam? Did Christ have free choice, by which he was capable of sinning? Was Christ fully human and self-subsistent? In resolving these issues, Abelard first argues from the authority of Boethius[82] and Scripture[83] to establish Christ's sinlessness as well as his possession of the free choice by which he could sin. He also asserts Christ's full humanity and his possession of a soul and flesh by arguing that he had a nature of substance and not of accident. But arguing for Christ's self-subsistent humanity leads back to the question of ability to sin. Peter finds himself in a dilemma: to affirm Christ's inability to sin appears to deny his humanity; to affirm his humanity is to affirm his ability to sin. He resolves the difficulty by considering the strengths (*vires*) of the propositions, and the determinations, or conditions, by which they are made.[84] Are these determinations possible or necessary? Or is the statement made simply, without a proper determination? In the case of the man united to God, this determination is the point at which he was united to God: he is able to sin, but not after or while he is so united. Christ could not sin because that very name describes the union of God and man; consequently, "every man is a liar" is a true proposition.

Abelard's questions are the most obvious uses of dialectic, but by no means the only places in the commentary where he uses it. One can find scattered through his other comments numerous distinctions, such as

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[80] This discussion is taken from my dissertation, "Romans Commentaries," pp. 160–61.

[81] FOTCMC 12, pp. 147–48; CCCM 11, pp. 98.60–119.118 FC 26, pp. 1.226.15–230.21. See also Peppermüller's brief discussion, *Abaelards Auslegung des Römerbriefs* (Münster, 1972), 41.

[82] *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium* 8, PL 64:1353.

[83] Ecclesiasticus 31:10 and Isaiah 33.16.

[84] For Peter's own discussion of determinations, see *Dialectica* I.iii.2.1, ed. de Rijk, pp. 111.27–112.13, and V.ii.5, pp. 586.25–590.38.

among the Persons of the Trinity;[85] contraries, significations, most notably that of killing, syllogisms, and analogies, most notably, again, his analogy of the bronze and the image made in the bronze to describe the Trinity.[86] Again, the function of these and other dialectical tools is to clarify and explain Scripture, and, indeed, contrary to some appearances, defend traditional doctrine, for example, original sin, God's sovereignty, and the humanity and divinity of Christ. The authority of tradition, especially Scripture, is a given with Peter, and dialectic serves to establish it more firmly. His difference with William is not only the amount of dialectic he uses, and its sophistication, but the extent to which he takes it, as in his analogy of the Trinity and his criticisms of older theories of redemption.

We should also note Abelard's use of patristic sources. Compared to William, he is less dependent on them, quoting them less frequently, though occasionally at great length, as he does passages of Origen's Romans commentary on the topic of circumcision at 2:16 and again at 4:10. He explicitly refers to these sources, unlike William, using them as authorities to buttress his arguments, but in the process keeping his distance from them, rather than making their words his, as William does. He is thus somewhat less rooted in tradition than William, and more dependent on his own interpretation and on tools such as dialectic, a fact that was not lost on William.[87]

6. *Theology*

Peter's theology is, on the one hand, traditional, rooted in Augustinian thought, and in many ways not so different from William's; and, on the other hand, rational, critical and analytical, in ways that the theologies of Augustine and William are not. To a certain extent, Abelard's dialectical methodology, concerned with logic and ethics, is his theology; Abelard is determined to find God's nature and moral order through rational inquiry and questioning of the authoritative Scriptures. Reason is conferred by God upon humanity, and is capable of, on the one hand, proving God's unity and Trinity, and on the other, enabling a moral life. Abelard's theology is

[85] 1:20; FOTCMC 12, pp. 114–15; CCCM 11, p. 68.717–735; FC 26, pp. 1.146.13–148.6.

[86] For discussions of these distinctions and analogies, see "Romans Commentaries," pp. 163–68.

[87] For a fuller discussion, see "Romans Commentaries," pp. 114–27, as well as pp. 24–29 of the introduction of my translation of Abelard's commentary.

not the mystical theology of William, though he is not oblivious to mystical experience. His is a theology of grace and love, much as William's theology is, and presumes an experience of God, though not to the same depths that William describes. It is also an ethical theology, not only in its moral demands on humans, but as well in its assessment of God himself and how God acts towards humanity. This is one of the distinguishing features of Abelard's commentary and of the new theology.

Similarly to William, Abelard begins his commentary with grace, describing it as the main theme of Paul's epistle to the Romans. One should attribute everything to grace, he argues, relying on it for salvation rather than on human efforts. Generally speaking, Abelard is Augustinian in his view of grace, making it key for redemption, justification, and forgiveness, and mentioning the same kinds of grace Augustine does (*praeveniens, adjuvans, operans*, etc.), though he does not draw sharp distinctions between them. Just as Augustinian is his equation of grace with the Holy Spirit and with charity or love, though he stated, at 4:23–24 that the goodness of divine grace belongs especially to the Holy Spirit, and at 5:5 he equates the Holy Spirit not just with grace but with the operation of grace, thus assigning divine characteristics or operations to specific Persons of the Trinity, so Abelard was accused by William of modalism for similar statements.

Abelard was also accused by William of Pelagianism for another of his statements on grace, perhaps his most distinctive. At 9:21, he asks how people can be condemned if God never gave his grace to them. Can God be accused of injustice? To absolve God of these charges and place responsibility on human beings for not responding to the gift of grace that is indeed given to all, Abelard uses two contrasting analogies: that of the physician who offers medicine to a sick person, but does not help the sick person to take it; and that of a rich man who offers his riches to the needy in exchange for service, some of whom complete the work, others of whom do not. The first analogy assumes that humans are helpless to receive grace on their own, but Abelard rejects this with the second, which affirms that humans indeed have both the ability and the responsibility to respond to God's daily offer of grace in the Gospel. Thus, God is not arbitrary in his gifts of grace. God offers grace universally, to all people,[88] and provides enough grace for a person to will and strive for

[88] Abelard also speaks of the grace given to the elect (11:5–6, 16:24), though, as Rydstrøm-Poulsen argues (*Gracious God*, pp. 178–82), Abelard here also states that the reprobate receives grace, too. Rydstrøm-Poulsen also points out that Abelard's use of "the word grace to express the divine call or invitation was not traditional", and indeed, was original.

the Kingdom of God. William, based on the reports he received, believed that Abelard had denied helping grace.[89] Abelard does say that "the will alone is enough to obtain [the reward]" offered by God, once a person is aware of the offer, which is prevenient grace, and all the grace a person needs. But clearly such a statement opened Abelard to the accusation of Pelagianism.

In his comments on original sin at 5:19, Abelard can also find grace in the punishment of children who die before baptism. They are punished because of original sin, though because they have no free choice, are guilty of no sin (Abelard's unique position on original sin). Their punishment, therefore, is lenient, according to the goodness of God's grace, and serves to convert their parents. Abelard's concern here is to defend God's justice and grace and to demonstrate that God is not unjust or harsh in condemning and punishing small children, i.e., that God acts morally and ethically. To do so, Abelard must argue from the authority of Augustine and on the basis of his interpretation of the term *iustitia* and his balancing the concept with charity and grace.[90]

And, as we have seen above, Abelard argues for a moral God in his question on redemption at 3:26. Grace plays a role here as well, because, he says, God could pardon sins in whatever way he chose, simply with a word if he desired, without the passion and death of Christ. Questions of God's morality are closely tied to Abelard's discussions of grace. Grace is one of the divine attributes and virtues; it is a means by which God acts morally. Abelard does not strongly tie grace to any program of spiritual ascent as William does, though. Like William, he does have a strong ethic of love, and he discusses love of God and neighbor at length three times in his commentary, again with the help of dialectics.

At 7:6, Abelard discusses the commandments to love God and neighbor, and argues that the commandment to love one's neighbor includes all people, contrary to the wording of the Levitical commandment (Lv 19:18) to love one's friend. Noting Christ's expansion of this commandment in his own quotation of it, and subsequent patristic interpretation, to include all people, including enemies, he goes on to argue that love of

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[89] By helping grace, Abelard understood something different: the ability to persevere in tribulations with divine help. See his comment on 8:37, FOTCMC 12, p. 283; CCCM 11, p. 227.581–586; FC 26, p. 2.588.1–6.

[90] FOTCMC 12, pp. 215–27; CCCM 11, pp. 163.336–175.732; FC 26, pp. 2.406.16–438.13.

neighbor includes love of God.[91] He returns to this question at 7:13, and expands the discussion to include the ethics of loving God. True and genuine love, or charity, for God seeks not what will profit the lover; rather, the lover loves God for God's own sake, because God is good. Abelard criticizes mercenary motives for loving God, i.e., seeking one's own advantage and the happiness of God's Kingdom. One may indeed begin to love God imperfectly, for reward, but the faithful soul will move from this imperfect motive to the more perfect motive of selfless love for God.[92] Abelard completes his ethic of love in his comments on 13:9–10, where he argues for an ordered love: God is to be loved above all, followed by those worthy to be loved more, according to how dearly they are held by God. Love for others must have a proper intention: the happiness of the other, for his own sake; wishing someone one hates to be in paradise does not constitute true love of neighbor, as it is a selfish motive. Abelard defines the respective loves for God and neighbor as a proper will: to please God on the one hand, and to strive to conduct oneself for the neighbor's sake. The definitions are worth quoting in full:

> Love of God from the whole heart is in us that best will toward God, by which, the more we strive to please him, the more we know we must please him. But we do that from the whole heart or rather the whole soul, when we direct to him the entire intention of our love, that we may consider not so much what is useful for us as what is pleasing to him. Otherwise we might make ourselves rather than him the object of our love, that is, the final and supreme cause. The love of God toward us is that disposition of divine grace for our salvation. Truly he loves his neighbor as himself who, for God's sake, has so good a will toward him, that he may thus strive to conduct himself for [the neighbors] sake, lest the other be able justly to complain about him, just as the first does not wish anything to be done to himself by the latter concerning which he might justly be able to complain.[93]

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[91] FOTCMC 12, pp. 244–49; CCCM 11, pp. 191.140–196.301; FC 26, pp. 2.490.20–504.2.

[92] FOTCMC 12, pp. 253–58; CCCM 11, pp. 199.428–204.594; FC 26, pp. 2.514.1–526.19.

[93] FOTCMC 12, 349; CCCM 11, pp. 290.163–291.175, FC 26, p. 3.776.9–22: "Dilectio Dei ex toto corde in nobis est optima illa erga Deum uoluntas, qua ei tanto amplius placere studemus quanto amplius ei placendum esse recognoscimus. Ex toto autem corde seu ex tota anima id agimus, quando sic ad eum penitus nostrae dilectionis intentionem dirigimus, ut non tam quid nobis utile sit quam quid ei placitum sit attendimus. Alioquin nos potius quam ipsum dilectionis nostrae finem, id est finalem et suopremam instituemus causam. Dilectio uero Dei erga nos est ipsa diuinae gratiae de salute nostra dispositio. Proximum uero tamquam se diligit qui propter Deum tam bonam erga eum uoluntatem habet, ut sic se propter eum gerere studeat, ne ille de su iuste conqueri possit, sicut nec ipse sibi ab illo uult fieri de quo iuste conqueri queat."

Abelard closes by reiterating that love of God is included in love of neighbor, "since it cannot exist without the love of God."[94] Love of God is superior to love of neighbor, since God can be loved and exist apart from the neighbor. Thus love of neighbor fulfills the law, rather than the love of God.

There is far more to each of these commentaries than I have described; both works are rich in thought and expression throughout. They are more similar than different, especially in their devotion, though the differences, particularly in style, certainly are prominent and significant, and demonstrate the major changes taking place in exposition in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, from rhetorical exposition relying on tradition and experience to an incisive questioning of tradition and significantly greater reliance on dialectics as a way of arriving at truth. Rather than seeing truth as something received and experienced, as William does, Abelard regards it as something to be found, demonstrated, and separated from inherited falsehoods, however pious the falsehoods may be. For them, Paul is the revealer of that truth, the teacher of the mysteries of salvation, and the authoritative teacher and interpreter of the Gospel, who himself must be interpreted to a new generation, either of monks who ascend to union with God via Paul's teaching, or of clerics who must have a clear, rational understanding of the Apostle's words, which words must be stripped of the accretions of centuries of tradition to preserve their truth.

[94] FOTCMC 12, 350; CCCM 11, p. 292.205–206; FC 778.25–780.1, "... cum ipsa uidelicet sine dilectione Dei esse non potest."

DOCUIT EXCELLENTISSIMAE DIVINITATIS MYSTERIA: ST. PAUL IN THOMAS AQUINAS

Franklin T. Harkins

As a scholastic master in theology, Thomas Aquinas was first and foremost a commentator on Sacred Scripture. Indeed, in the thirteenth-century universities the three fundamental tasks of the theological master—whose official title was "master of the sacred page" (*magister in sacra pagina*)—were "to read" (*legere*), "to dispute" (*disputare*), and "to preach" (*praedicare*).[1] For the master, "to read" meant to engage in a detailed exposition of a particular biblical book, raising and determining questions that emerged from the text together with its exegetical traditions. In contrast to the bachelor (*baccalarius biblicus*), whose "cursory" lectures highlighted the organizational structure of the book and glossed particularly significant words, the master undertook a deeper, more theologically fecund reading of the scriptural text with an eye toward the other magisterial tasks of disputing and preaching.[2] Thus, for Thomas Aquinas, Sacred Scripture serves as the indispensable foundation on which theology must be built.[3]

The present essay aims to provide an introduction to St. Paul in the thought and work of Thomas Aquinas, particularly in his lectures on the Pauline epistles. In the Prologue to his *Lectura super epistolas S. Pauli*, Thomas portrays St. Paul as a human vessel or instrument of God who received divine revelation and handed it on in an orderly and accessible way to humankind. Indeed, according to Aquinas, "he has taught the mysteries of the most excellent divinity, which pertain to wisdom" (*docuit enim excellentissimae divinitatis mysteria, quae ad sapientiam pertinent*). Of these divine mysteries, it is particularly the grace of Christ that St. Paul

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[1] On these three tasks and Thomas's relationship to them, see Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Volume 1: The Person and His Work, revised edition, trans. Robert Royal (Washington, DC, 1996), pp. 54–74; and James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work* (Garden City, NY, 1974), pp. 110–129.

[2] See J. Van der Ploeg, "The Place of Holy Scripture in the Theology of St. Thomas," *Thomist* (1947): 398–422, esp. 404–06; and Joseph Wawrykow, "Aquinas on Isaiah," in *Aquinas on Scripture: An Introduction to his Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy, Daniel A. Keating, and John P. Yocum (London, 2005), pp. 43–71, here p. 44.

[3] See Nicholas M. Healy's Introduction to *Aquinas on Scripture*, pp. 1–20.

is concerned to convey, not only variously in his letters but also in his manner of life and death. As we will see, in the Prologue and throughout his lectures on the Pauline epistles, Thomas describes the Apostle and his work in terms that comport with the description of the wise man (*sapiens*) in *Summa contra Gentiles* I.1, as one who mediates divine truth to others and refutes opposing falsehood.[4]

Thomas Aquinas's view of St. Paul and his approach to the Pauline corpus depend considerably on the master's understanding of sacred doctrine or theology and the place of Scripture in this science. As a necessary prelude to our larger consideration, then, in Part I we will set forth the basic contours of Aquinas's teaching on sacred doctrine and Sacred Scripture. Next, Part II will provide an overview of Thomas's lectures on the Pauline epistles and his understanding of St. Paul as a wise teacher of Christ's grace. Then we move to a consideration, in Part III, of Thomas's exegetical approach to the Pauline epistles. By looking briefly at lectures on the opening chapter of Colossians and Hebrews, we will highlight features of Aquinas's scholastic method of interpretation, including: the detailed division of the text (*divisio textus*); the invocation and reconciliation of authorities; the drawing of distinctions and defining of terms precisely; the introduction and determination of disputed questions; attending to the exact words of the scriptural text as revealing authorial intent; and interpreting the text intertextually. In Part IV, we aim to bring the theological nature of Aquinas's commentaries into greater relief by relating the Pauline lectures to the "systematic" works. More specifically, we will compare his treatment of justification and grace in the Galatians lectures with his treatment of these same seminal themes in his early *Scriptum on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard and his mature *Summa theologia*. Our brief consideration intimates that Thomas's biblical lectures are more doctrinal and theological and his systematic works more scriptural and exegetical than much traditional Thomistic scholarship has recognized.[5]

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[4] *Summa contra Gentiles* [hereafter *ScG*] I.1.3: "Unde sicut sapientis est veritatem pracipue de primo principio meditari et aliis disserere, ita eius est falsitatem contrariam impugnare" (Text taken from the Marietti edition: *Liber de Veritate Catholicae Fidei contra errores Infidelium seu 'Summa contra Gentiles'*, vol. 2 [Taurin, 1961], p. 2. All subsequent quotations will be from the Marietti edition and will be cited according to volume and page as follows: Marietti, 2.2). For an English translation, see *Saint Thomas Aquinas Summa Contra Gentiles Book One: God*, trans. Anton C. Pegis, F.R.S.C. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1978; repr. 2003).

[5] The essays gathered in the 2005 volume *Aquinas on Scripture* aim to highlight the thoroughly theological nature of Aquinas's biblical commentaries precisely because the exegetical works have been largely neglected as sources of his theology (pp. ix–x). On

1. *Sacred Doctrine and Sacred Scripture*

Thomas Aquinas opens his *Summa theologiae* with a consideration of sacred doctrine (*sacra doctrina*), which he understands as synonymous with or part of theology (*theologia*).[6] In the first article, Thomas maintains that besides the philosophical disciplines that are pursued by means of reason it was necessary for human salvation that there be another teaching or body of knowledge revealed by God.[7] This is so because the human person is ordered to an end that surpasses reason, namely God, an end whom the human must know in order to direct his or her thoughts and actions accordingly. For Aquinas, it was necessary that even those truths about God which human reason could investigate—i.e., the preambles of faith—be divinely revealed since otherwise only a few would come to know them, only after a long time, and with many errors.[8] Thus, the entire body of truths about God necessary for salvation and revealed by God, namely sacred doctrine, is a science that proceeds from principles known by the light of a higher science, namely the very knowledge of God and the blessed (*scientia Dei et beatorum*).[9] Because sacred doctrine "has its certitude from the light of divine knowledge" (*ex lumine divinae scientiae*) rather than "from the natural light of human reason" (*ex naturali lumine rationis humanae*), it transcends all other speculative sciences. It is also superior in the dignity of its subject matter, namely the articles

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the other hand, an important recent book-length study of the use of Scripture in Aquinas's systematic theological works is Wilhelmus G. B. M. Valkenberg, *Words of the Living God: Place and Function of Holy Scripture in the Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Leuven, 2000), who suggests the need for a work such as his when he observes: "One thing is certain: the majority of the publications dedicated to Thomas Aquinas is of a philosophical nature. Philosophical studies predominate in the bibliographical resources, and even studies of a decidedly theological nature are included under philosophical headings" (p. 1).

[6] On the relationship between sacred doctrine and theology in the opening question of the *Summa theologia* and in Aquinas's thought more generally, see Joseph P. Wawrykow, *The Westminster Handbook to Thomas Aquinas* (Louisville, 2005), pp. 156–57.

[7] *Summa theologia* [hereafter *ST*] I.1.1c. See *Summa theologiae*, ed. Petrus Caramello, 3 vols. (Taurin, 1952–56). All subsequent quotations will be from this, the Marietti, edition and will be cited according to volume and page as follows: Marietti, 1.2. All translations from the *ST* will be my own. For a complete English translation, see *St. Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologica*, 5 vols., trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, 1948).

[8] *ST* I.1.1c. In *ScG* I.3.2, Thomas distinguishes between the preambles, which human reason is able to reach, and the articles of faith, which "exceed every faculty of human reason" (*omnem facultatem humanae rationis excedunt*; Marietti, 2.4). All translations from the *ScG* will be my own.

[9] *ST* I.1.2c.

of faith concerning God and creatures in relation to God, which God has graciously revealed to humankind.[10] Indeed, Thomas teaches that sacred doctrine is wisdom above all human wisdom precisely because it treats God as the highest cause of all things not only insofar as he is knowable through creatures, but also "insofar as He is known to Himself alone and communicated to others through revelation."[11]

It is noteworthy that in determining the question "whether this doctrine is wisdom" (q. 1 a. 6), Thomas invokes St. Paul's self-identification as a "wise architect" (*sapiens architector*) in 1 Cor 3:10. Aquinas uses this same verse in his discussion of the office of the wise man (*sapiens*) at the beginning of *Summa contra Gentiles* Book I. In both *summae*, Thomas explains that the task of the wise man is to order things in his discipline according to some higher cause. He who considers the highest cause or end in a particular discipline or class and lower things in relation to it is truly wise, as for example an architect who draws the blueprint determining the form of a house is said to be wiser than the stone masons and those who cut the wood. It is here that Thomas invokes St. Paul and his scriptural affirmation—*as a wise architect I have laid the foundation* (1 Cor 3:10)—as an authority.[12] In the *Summa contra Gentiles*, Aquinas follows this apostolic citation with these words: "The name of the absolutely wise man, however, is reserved for that one alone whose intellectual gaze is continually focused on the end of the universe, which is also the beginning of the universe."[13]

Here at the outset of the *Summa contra Gentiles*, Thomas understands himself, as theologian, as humbly embarking on the task of the absolutely wise man in setting forth what the Catholic faith professes and eliminating contrary errors.[14] Aquinas cannot engage in the theological task,

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[10] *ST* I.1.5c. Cf. *ST* I.1.3 ad 1.

[11] *ST* I.1.6c: "Sacra autem doctrina propriissime determinat de Deo secundum quod est altissima causa: quia non solum quantum ad illud quod est per creaturas cognoscibile (quod philosophi cognoverunt, ut dicitur Rom. 1, [19]: *quod notum est Dei, manifestum est illis*); sed etiam quantum ad id quod notum est sibi soli de seipso, et aliis per revelationem communicatum. Unde sacra doctrina maxime dicitur sapientia" (Marietti, 1.6).

[12] *ST* I.1.6c: "Cum enim sapientis sit ordinare et iudicare, iudicium autem per altiorem causam de inferioribus habeatur; ille sapiens dicitur in unoquoque genere, qui considerat causam altissimam illius generis. Ut in genere aedificii, artifex qui disponit formam domus, dicitur sapiens et architector, respectu inferiorum artificum, qui dolant ligna vel parent lapides: unde dicitur 1 Cor. 3, [10]: *ut sapiens architector fundamentum posui*" (Marietti, 1.5). Cf. *ScG* I.1.1.

[13] *ScG* I.1.1: "Nomen autem simpliciter sapientis illi soli reservatur cuius consideratio circa finem universi versatur, qui item est universitatis principium" (Marietti, 2.2).

[14] *ScG* I.2.2.

however, without or apart from Sacred Scripture and the wise men such as St. Paul through whom God has revealed saving knowledge of himself. Indeed, it is through Scripture that God reveals the articles of faith, the very principles of sacred doctrine from which the theologian argues to other truths.[15] For Thomas, it is precisely because "our faith rests on the revelation made to the Apostles and Prophets who wrote the canonical books" that theological argumentation is principally and properly based on scriptural authority.[16] Aquinas recognizes, however, that the scriptural account of divine revelation is unsystematic and often obscure in its modes of expression, preventing those without the freedom to study for long hours from drawing out the truth of faith contained therein. Thus, it was necessary that this truth be presented to the faithful concisely in the form of a creed.[17] This also creates the need for the theologian—who can and does devote himself to sustained study of *sacra pagina*—to elucidate the internal order that governs (but is latent in) the scriptural text, from the macro-level of the canon as a whole down to individual books, chapters, sentences, and even particular words.[18] We will see that throughout his lectures on the Pauline epistles, Aquinas portrays St. Paul as having wisely ordered the divine truths revealed to him.

In his second lecture or *resumptio* marking his inauguration in the spring of 1256 as a licensed master in theology at the University of Paris, Aquinas provides a division or ordering of the whole of Sacred Scripture as the

[15] *ST* I.1.8c. For a recent account of Aquinas's understanding of the close connection between Scripture and theology, see Christopher T. Baglow, "Sacred Scripture and Sacred Doctrine in Saint Thomas Aquinas," in *Aquinas on Doctrine: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Thomas G. Weinandy, Daniel A. Keating, and John P. Yocum (London, 2004), pp. 1–25.

[16] *ST* I.1.8 ad 2: "Dicendum quod argumentari ex auctoritate est maxime proprium huius doctrinae: eo quod principia huius doctrinae per revelationem habentur, et sic oportet quod credatur auctoritati eorum quibus revelatio facta est. . . . Innititur enim fides nostra revelationi Apostolis et Prophetis factae, qui canonicos libros scripserunt" (Marietti, 1.7–8). Thomas here makes clear the preeminence of Sacred Scripture by means of his hierarchy of authorities used in theology: Scripture is intrinsic or proper to sacred doctrine and absolutely certain by virtue of its having been revealed by God; the doctors or fathers of the church claim a secondary authority that is also intrinsic, but merely probable since they can err; finally, the philosophers can be used in sacred doctrine, though also as probable but as extrinsic to the science by virtue of their exclusively rational approach. For a more detailed treatment of Thomas's hierarchy, see Wawrykow, *Westminster Handbook*, pp. 13–16.

[17] *ST* II–II.1.9 ad 2.

[18] Thomas Prügl, "Thomas Aquinas as Interpreter of Scripture," in *The Theology of Thomas Aquinas*, ed. Rik Van Nieuwenhove and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, Ind., 2005), pp. 386–415, esp. 401–03; and M.-D. Chenu, *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, trans. A.-M. Landry and D. Hughes (Chicago, 1964), pp. 249–53.

larger context for his subsequent expository lectures.[19] Here he explains that Scripture leads to the life of glory (*vita gloriae*), the end to which it is ordered, in a twofold way, namely by admonishing and by aiding.[20] Whereas the Old Testament admonishes through the commandments that it proposes, the New Testament aids especially through the gifts of grace. Having divided and subdivided the types of commandments and demonstrated which Old Testament books set forth each, Thomas divides the New Testament into three basic parts: the Gospels, which treat the origin of grace (*de gratiae origine*); the Pauline epistles, which treat the power of grace (*de gratiae virtute*); and all the other books—namely, the Acts of the Apostles, the canonical epistles, and the Apocalypse—which treat the exercise of the power of grace (*de virtutis . . . executione*) in the church from its beginning to its end.[21] This most basic division of Scripture highlights Thomas's conviction that the letters of St. Paul stand at the center, both canonically and theologically, of the body of saving truths revealed by God. Furthermore, that the newly-minted master appears not to have divided and briefly discussed the Pauline corpus in his second inaugural lecture may suggest that shortly thereafter he began his teaching career at Paris by lecturing on St. Paul.[22]

2. *St. Paul and the Pauline Epistles: An Overview*

The question of when and where Thomas Aquinas commented on the letters of St. Paul has been much debated in the scholarly literature due largely to the complicated manuscript transmission of his lectures. The earliest catalogues reveal two distinct blocks of commentaries: (1) from

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[19] On the inaugural lectures, see Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 50–53; and Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 96–110.

[20] *Hic est liber mandatorum Dei* (*S. Thomae Aquinatis Opuscula Theologica Volumen I. De re dogmatica et morali*, ed. Raymund A. Verardo [Taurin, 1954], p. 436; cited hereafter as: *Opus. Theol.* I.436). For an English translation of the inaugural lectures, see Ralph McInerny, ed. and trans., *Thomas Aquinas: Selected Writings* (London, 1998), pp. 5–17.

[21] *Hic est liber mandatorum Dei* (*Opus. Theol.* I.439). For an outline of Thomas's division of Scripture as set forth in the *resumptio*, see Chrysostom Baer, trans., *Thomas Aquinas: Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (South Bend, Ind., 2006), pp. 1–3.

[22] An editorial note in the Marietti edition of *Hic est liber mandatorum Dei* observes that Thomas's discussion of the Pauline epistles is absent from the manuscripts on which the edition is based (*Opus. Theol.* I.439). Thomas Prügl asks, with good reason in my estimation, whether this omission might indicate Aquinas's plan to begin his magisterial lectures with St. Paul's letters, which lectures would open with a general classification of the corpus ("Thomas Aquinas," p. 414 n. 68).

1 Corinthians 11 through Hebrews, in the form of lecture notes (a *reportatio*) recorded by Reginald of Piperno; and (2) from Romans 1 to 1 Corinthians 10, written or edited by Aquinas himself (an *expositio*).[23] On this basis, P. Mandonnet hypothesized that Thomas lectured on the Pauline epistles twice while in Italy, the first time at Anagni and Orvieto between 1259 and 1265 and the second time at Naples between 1272 and 1273.[24] It was presumably on account of Thomas's dissatisfaction with his initial course of Pauline lectures that he offered a second, which his experience while saying Mass on 6 December 1273 forced him to abandon at the tenth chapter of 1 Corinthians.[25] Because it was an *expositio* edited by Thomas himself, this second partial series of lectures came to replace its corresponding text in Reginald's *reportatio* of the initial series. Finally, the lectures from the *expositio* on 1 Corinthians 7:10 to 10:33 were somehow lost and replaced very early in the manuscript transmission by a text from the *Postilla* of Peter of Tarentaise.[26]

While a number of scholars have accepted Mandonnet's general thesis, Jean-Pierre Torrell has called for a "serious reworking" of his timeline.[27] Noting that Thomas produced his literal exposition on Job (*Expositio in Iob*) during the period in Orvieto (1261–1265) and that he did not (as Mandonnet had imagined) comment simultaneously on an Old and New Testament book, Torrell tentatively assigns Aquinas's first course on the Pauline epistles to the sojourn in Rome (1265–1268).[28] This was, of course, the period of Thomas's establishing and directing a *studium* at Santa Sabina for the advanced theological formation of select friars from the

[23] See Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 247–49, 372–73; Prügl, "Thomas Aquinas," pp. 390–91; and Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "La diffusione manoscritta e stampata dei commenti biblici di San Tommaso d'Aquino," *Angelicum* 71 (1994): 579–90, esp. 586–87. On the various categories of writings as designated in the manuscripts—e.g., *reportatio*, *ordinatio*, *expositio*, *lectura*—see Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, p. 117.

[24] P. Mandonnet, "Chronologie des écrits scripturaire de s. Thomas d'Aquin," *Revue Thomiste* 33 (1928): 222–45.

[25] See Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 250, 289–95.

[26] See Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, p. 248; Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 254–55, 340; and I. T. Eschmann's catalogue of Thomas's works in Etienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. L. K. Shook (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), pp. 381–439, here 399.

[27] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 250–57, here 251. Scholars whose framework basically follows that of Mandonnet include Henri Bouillard, *Conversion et grâce chez saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 1944), pp. 225–41; P. Glorieux, "Essai sur les commentaires scripturaires de saint Thomas et leur chronologie," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17 (1950): 237–266; and Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 246–49 and 372–73.

[28] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 251–52.

Roman province. Leonard Boyle and M. Michèle Mulchahey have sought to demonstrate that Aquinas, having the freedom to develop a new and improved theological curriculum for his Dominican confreres at Santa Sabina, lectured for a second time on Book I of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* before beginning to produce his *Summa theologiae* during these years.[29] Torrell himself acknowledges that Thomas's use of this second *Sentences* lecture and the First Part of the *Summa theologiae* in the classroom would have precluded the master's lecturing on St. Paul at this time.[30] In light of these difficulties, Thomas Prügl has suggested that Aquinas may have delivered his initial course of lectures on the Pauline epistles during his first Paris regency, from 1256 to 1259.[31] This hypothesis is certainly not excluded by scholarship to date, which has failed to arrive at a consensus concerning which biblical book or books Thomas lectured on during his first years as a master at Paris.[32] Until the Leonine Commission completes further work on the critical edition, our knowledge of the time and place of Aquinas's Pauline lectures will remain limited and uncertain. Nevertheless, that Thomas taught St. Paul twice—once at or near the beginning of his career and again at its end—indicates the place of profound significance that the Apostle occupied in the theological thought and work of the Dominican master. Indeed, William of Tocco, the biographer who knew Thomas personally and heard his lectures on St. Paul at the Dominican

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[29] See Leonard E. Boyle, "The Setting of the *Summa theologiae* of Saint Thomas," in *The Gilson Lectures on Thomas Aquinas*, intro. James P. Reilly (Toronto, 2008), pp. 19–45, esp. 25–38; and M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study. . . . ": Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 278–306, who schematizes her conjectures concerning the content of Thomas's teaching at Santa Sabina on p. 303. Thomas's Roman lecture on Book I of the Lombard's text has been edited by Leonard E. Boyle and John F. Boyle as *Thomas Aquinas: Lectura romana in primum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* (Toronto, 2006). In his Introduction to this volume, John Boyle highlights those textual elements that suggest a classroom context for Thomas's commentary (pp. 16–18).

[30] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 251–52. On the possibility that Thomas may have lectured on Scripture during his Roman sojourn and, if so, that the Pauline epistles were his text, Torrell admits, "nothing is less certain" (p. 252).

[31] Prügl, "Thomas Aquinas," pp. 90–91.

[32] I. T. Eschmann summarizes the difficulties and scholarly disagreements regarding whether Thomas lectured on Isaiah and/or the Gospel of Matthew in this period in "A Catalogue of St. Thomas's Works," in Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy*, pp. 395–96 and 397–98. See also Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 121–23, who, after stating that Thomas lectured on Matthew for one or two of these years, affirms: "[I]t is not clear what other book he lectured on as well" (pp. 122–23).

priory in Naples, recounts that "he wrote on all the epistles of Paul, which he valued above all writings, the Gospels alone excepted."[33]

Thomas reveals his basic understanding of St. Paul and the Pauline epistles in his general Prologue to the lectures. Here Aquinas presents the Apostle and his corpus through the lens of Acts 9:15: "He is a vessel of election [*vas electionis*] for me so that he might carry my name before Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel."[34] What kind of vessel St. Paul is is manifest, in Thomas's view, by what great things—through Scripture—he will give to drink (*propinabit*): namely, "he has taught the mysteries of the most excellent divinity which pertain to wisdom [*docuit enim excellentissimae divinitatis mysteria, quae ad sapientiam pertinent*], . . . he also has commended charity most excellently, . . . [and] he has instructed humans concerning the various virtues."[35] Thomas's use here of the future tense of *propino* in conjunction with several perfect verbs (*docuit*, *commendavit*, *instruxit*) seems significant, perhaps suggesting that the Apostle not only taught at some past time but did so in a way that has consequences for the present and future: in effect, St. Paul continues and will continue to pour out his teaching to all who read his letters. Aquinas further specifies the nature of the Pauline teaching when he makes clear that the "precious liquid" of which the Apostle, as vessel, was full is "the name of Christ," which explains why Acts 9:15 affirms, "so that he might carry my name."[36] On Thomas's reading, several scriptural passages reveal that every part of

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[33] Quoted in Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, p. 247. On William of Tocco, see Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. xvi–xviii.

[34] The Prologue and subsequent lectures are found in *S. Thomae Aquinatis super epistolas S. Pauli lectura*, ed. P. Raphael Cai, 2 vols. (Taurin, 1953), here vol. 1 p. 1. All subsequent quotations will be taken from this (the Marietti) edition. The general *Prologus*, which appears in vol. 1, will be cited according to page and section number as follows: "*Prol.* 1.2." The lectures will be cited according to biblical book, chapter, and *lectio*, and according to volume, page, and section in the edition. For example, "*Ad Rom* 1.3 (1.10.43)" designates a reference to Thomas's third lecture on the first chapter to the Romans found in vol. 1 on p. 10 at section 43 of the Marietti edition. The Prologues to Thomas's lectures on particular books will be cited according to biblical book, volume, page, and section number as follows: "*Prol. Ad Col* 2.125.1." All translations will be my own.

[35] *Prol.* 1.2: "Quale autem fuerit istud vas patet ex hoc quod talia propinabit: docuit enim excellentissimae divinitatis mysteria, quae ad sapientiam pertinent, ut patet 1 Cor 2, 6: *Sapientiam loquimur inter perfectos*; commendavit etiam excellentissime charitatem, 1 Cor 13; instruxit homines de diversis virtutibus, ut patet Col 3, 12: *Induite vos sicut electi Dei, sancti et dilecti, viscera misericordiae* etc."

[36] *Prol.* 1.3: "Hoc autem vas, de quo nunc agitur, plenum fuit pretioso liquore, scilicet nomine Christi, de quo dicitur Cant. 1, 2: *Oleum effusum nomen tuum*. Unde dicitur ut portet nomen meum."

St. Paul was filled with Christ's name, including his intellect or knowing, his affect or loving, and his manner of life down to the last detail.[37]

As an indispensable vessel, St. Paul carried the "precious liquid" of Christ's name not only in his body by imitating the Lord's manner of life and passion, but also in his mouth or speech, as is evident throughout his letters.[38] Here Thomas introduces another metaphor, comparing the Apostle to the dove in the biblical story of the flood who returned to the ark carrying in its beak an olive branch, thereby indicating to Noah that the waters had subsided from the earth (Gn 8:11). Noting that both the olive branch and the name of Christ symbolize mercy, Thomas explains that St. Paul was the dove that carried the name of Christ in his mouth to the ark of the church by teaching Christ's grace and mercy in many different ways.[39] Besides carrying the name of Christ to his own contemporaries through his manner of life and death and through his preaching (i.e., in his body and in his mouth, respectively), St. Paul carried the Lord in a third way, according to Aquinas: namely, he carried Christ to those in his own day who may or may not have seen or heard him personally as well as to those who would live in subsequent times "by handing on the meaning of Scripture, according to what is said in Is 8:1: *Take up a large book and write in it in a human style*."[40] The invocation of this Isaian text serves to illuminate Thomas's intention in describing St. Paul as the *vas electionis* of Acts 9:15: Christ himself chose the Apostle to mediate divine wisdom to humankind in modes of expression that would be accessible to human hearers and readers. In this way, St. Paul was divinely elected to order wisdom—particularly the saving truths concerning the grace of Christ—well.

Toward the end of his Prologue, Thomas explains how the Apostle ordered the divine doctrine on grace throughout his epistolary corpus. Seeking to demonstrate how the final phrase of Acts 9:15 is an apt description of St. Paul's ministry (i.e., that he carried the name of Christ "before Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel"), Thomas observes: "For he wrote fourteen epistles, of which nine instruct the church of the Gentiles; four instruct the prelates and leaders of the church, that is the kings; [and] one

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[37] *Prol.* 1–2.3.

[38] *Prol.* 2.5–6.

[39] *Prol.* 2.6.

[40] *Prol.* 2.7: "Tertio portavit non solum ad praesentes sed etiam ad absentes et futuros, sensum Scripturae tradendo, secundum illud Is. 8, 1: *Sume tibi librum grandem et scribe in eo stilo hominis*."

instructs the people of Israel, namely that addressed to the Hebrews."[41] Aquinas proceeds to divide the Pauline corpus, which he understands as a whole unified by its teaching the grace of Christ.[42] The doctrine concerning grace can be considered in a threefold way, according to Thomas, namely: (1) as it is in the head itself, which is Christ; (2) as it is in the principal members of the mystical body, which are the prelates; and (3) as it is in the mystical body itself, which is the church. The Letter to the Hebrews treats grace as it is in Christ, the head. St. Paul teaches concerning grace as it is in the principal member of the mystical body in his four epistles to the prelates and to secular leaders. In 1 Timothy, the Apostle instructs religious leaders concerning the establishment, instruction, and management of ecclesial unity. He teaches resolve against persecutors in 2 Timothy. Titus concerns argumentation and defense against heretics. Finally, St. Paul counsels secular lords in the Letter to Philemon.

The Apostle considers grace according to Thomas's third rubric—as it is in the mystical body itself—in the nine letters sent to the Gentiles. Under this rubric, the grace of Christ can be considered in a threefold way, according to Aquinas. First, it can be considered as it is in itself, and St. Paul treats it in this way in the Epistle to the Romans. Second, it can be considered as it is in the sacraments, and it is treated in this way in the two letters to the Corinthians (with the first dealing with the sacraments themselves and the second the dignity of the ministers) and the Letter to the Galatians (in which the Apostle teaches that the ancient sacraments are superfluous in light of their new Christian counterparts). Third, the grace of Christ can be considered, as it is the cause of ecclesial unity. Thomas further subdivides this third mode of consideration into three. First, the Letter to the Ephesians treats the establishment of ecclesial unity. Second, St. Paul teaches concerning the confirmation and progress of this unity in Philippians. And third, the Apostle mounts a threefold defense of the unity of the church in Colossians and the letters to the Thessalonians: against errors in Colossians, against present persecutions in 1 Thessalonians, and against future persecutions (especially those during the time of the Antichrist) in 2 Thessalonians. Aquinas concludes this

[41] *Prol.* 3.11: "Scripsit enim quatuordecim epistolas quarum novem instruunt Ecclesiam Gentium; quatuor praelatos et principes Ecclesiae, id est reges; una populum Israel, scilicet quae est ad Hebraeos."

[42] *Prol.* 3.11: "Est enim haec doctrina tota de gratia Christi, quae quidem potest tripliciter considerari." The following is a synopsis of Thomas's division of the Pauline epistles as set forth in section 11.

detailed division of St. Paul's letters by stating succinctly and definitively: "And thus the plan of distinguishing and ordering of all the epistles stands wide open."[43]

Thomas's division of the Pauline corpus intimates his understanding that Paul is a "wise architect" who orders well divinely revealed truths concerning Christ as the source of grace, sacraments as the means of grace, and ecclesial unity as the effect of grace. Furthermore, the division of books indicates Thomas's view that in his letters St. Paul fulfills the twofold office of the wise man, teaching truths belonging to the first principle and refuting opposing falsehood. And Aquinas seems to understand his primary task as a theologian preparing to comment on St. Paul, to make clear the general order that the Apostle established in his teaching.

From a modern perspective, Thomas's division may seem a cumbersome imposition on the Pauline epistles rather than an elucidation of the Apostle's own authorial intent and methodological arrangement. Indeed, on Aquinas's ordering, Torrell writes:

> Today's reader, used to an entirely different approach to the Bible, whether scientific or pastoral, cannot help but be surprised at this systematic exposition. Thomas does not seem to realize that Paul's letters are nothing more than occasional writings and that nothing was further from the Apostle's thinking than to wish to transmit so strongly constructed a teaching about Christ's grace.[44]

While Torrell rightly notes that the modern reader may be surprised by Thomas's approach, his critique is problematic in that it judges Aquinas not on his own terms but rather anachronistically from the perspective of modern historical criticism. Torrell seems to expect Thomas to have thought of St. Paul's letters as occasional and to have prioritized the Apostle's intention as author above all else in elucidating them. Yet for Thomas, as we have seen in our earlier consideration of sacred doctrine and Sacred Scripture, St. Paul is not the primary author of these letters; rather, he is a human mediator who receives truths revealed by God, orders them in ways that are accessible to human apprehension, and hands them on in human modes of expression. In his Prologue, Thomas again discloses this perspective:

> And just as the angels convey divine illuminations to us, who stand at a distance from God, so too did the Apostles convey evangelical doctrine from

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[43] *Prol.* 3.11: "Et sic patet ratio distinctionis et ordinis omnium epistolarum."

[44] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, p. 256.

> Christ to us. And just as in the Old Testament after the law of Moses one reads the prophets, who handed down the teaching of the law to the people—according to Mal 4:4: *Remember the teaching of my servant Moses*—so too in the New Testament after the Gospel one reads the teaching of the Apostles who, having heard these things from the Lord, handed them on to the faithful according to 1 Cor 11:23: *I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you*.[45]

In Thomas's view, then, the letters penned by St. Paul are part and parcel of the larger reality of divine revelation, whereby God has made himself and his will known to humankind through various means and mediators throughout history. Thus, the exegete seeking to understand the Apostle's teaching must recognize its place and function within the broader framework of salvation history and the scriptural canon. Liturgical use provides an additional context within which the interpreter should read the Pauline epistles, according to Thomas. He notes that just as among Old Testament writings the Psalms of David are read most often in the church, so too the letters of St. Paul are proclaimed frequently. This is so because both David and St. Paul—by means of their lives and their writings—teach God's mercy, which provides encouragement to sinners. The Psalms and the Pauline epistles also play a prominent role in the liturgy because, according to Thomas, "in both writings nearly the entire doctrine of theology is contained."[46] It is principally from this perspective—namely, of sacred doctrine or theology as a divinely-revealed body of truths mediated by human vessels—that the modern reader seeking to understand and appreciate Thomas Aquinas as an interpreter of St. Paul should approach the Dominican master's lectures.[47]

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[45] *Prol.* 2.4: "Et ideo sicut Angeli divinas illuminations ad nos deferent, tamquam a Deo distantes, ita Apostoli evangelicam doctrinam a Christo ad nos detulerunt. Et sicut in Veteri Testamento post legem Moysi leguntur prophetae, qui legis doctrinam populo tradebant—secundum illud Mal. 4, 4: *Momentote Moysi servi mei*—ita etiam in Novo Testamento, post Evangelium, legitur Apostolorum doctrina, qui, ea quae a Domino audierunt, tradiderunt fidelibus, secundum illud 1 Cor 11, 23; *Accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis*."

[46] *Prol.* 2.6: "... quia in utraque Scriptura fere tota theologiae continetur doctrina." For an extended treatment of Aquinas on the Psalter, see Thomas F. Ryan, *Thomas Aquinas as Reader of the Psalms* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2000). In discussing the *divisio textus*, Ryan notes that Thomas "conceives of the Psalms as a sort of map that charts out the human journey to salvation that begins with penance, continues with progress, and concludes with praise" (pp. 20–28, here 21).

[47] This is not to say, of course, that Thomas's interests and questions regarding the Pauline corpus are wholly different from those of modern historical-critical scholars. Rather, it is the broad doctrinal or theological framework within which Thomas asks and answers these questions that distinguishes his approach. For example, toward the end of his Prologue, Aquinas raises a question concerning the temporal and canonical order of Romans

3. *Exegetical Approach: Examples from the Lectures on Colossians and Hebrews*

Thomas's lectures on the Pauline epistles constitute a massive work, filling some 1150 bicolumnar pages in the Marietti edition. Aquinas delivered between two and nine lectures on every chapter of each of the fourteen letters that he attributed to St. Paul. While a number of studies published in the last decade and a half variously treat Thomas's reading of one or several of St. Paul's epistles, our aim here will be to briefly survey the Dominican master's exegetical approach to the Pauline corpus.[48] We seek to do this by taking several snapshots, as it were, of Aquinas at work on the opening chapter of Colossians and Hebrews, respectively. Examples from Lecture 4 on Colossians 1, the Prologue to the lectures on Hebrews, and Lecture 1 on Hebrews 1 highlight the salient features of Thomas's scholastic approach to the letters of St. Paul, including his thorough dividing of the text, invoking and reconciling authorities, defining terms precisely and drawing distinctions, introducing and determining short disputed questions, attending to the exact words of the scriptural text, and interpreting the text intertextually.

In the Prologue to his lectures on Colossians, Thomas offers 1 Macc. 3:3, *He protected the camp with his sword*, as the principal methodological lens through which he will read the Pauline letter. The camp signifies the

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vis-à-vis other Pauline letters. Here he notes that the textual evidence of Rom 16:1 suggests that St. Paul penned the letters to the Corinthians prior to Romans. However, the Apostle dispatched the Epistle to the Romans earlier not only on account of the dignity of the Romans, who were ruling over the other gentiles, but especially so that he might maintain "the order of doctrine" (*ordo doctrinae*) by considering grace in itself before grace in the sacraments (*Prol.* 3.12).

[48] Examples of recent studies include Thomas F. Ryan, "The Love of Learning and the Desire for God in Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary on Romans*," in *Medieval Readings of Romans*, ed. William S. Campbell, Peter S. Hawkins, and Brenda Deen Schildgen (New York, 2007), pp. 101–14; Christopher T. Baglow, *"Modus et Forma": A New Approach to the Exegesis of Saint Thomas Aquinas with an Application to the* Lectura super Epistolam ad Ephesios (Rome, 2002); Waclaw Świerzawski, "Christ and the Church: *Una persona mystica* in the Pauline Commentaries of St. Thomas Aquinas," in *S. Tommaso teologo: ricerche in occasione dei due centenary accademici*, ed. Antonio Piolanti (Rome, 1995), pp. 239–50; and the following essays collected in *Aquinas on Scripture*: Daniel A. Keating, "Aquinas on 1 and 2 Corinthians: The Sacraments and Their Ministers," pp. 127–48; Mark Edwards, "Aquinas on Ephesians and Colossians," pp. 149–65; Francesca Aran Murphy, "Thomas' Commentaries on Philemon, 1 and 2 Thessalonians and Philippians," pp. 167–96; John Saward, "The Grace of Christ in his Principal Members: St. Thomas Aquinas on the Pastoral Epistles," pp. 197–221; and Thomas G. Weinandy, "The Supremacy of Christ: Aquinas' Commentary on Hebrews," pp. 223–44.

church, which St. Paul protected from heretics with his "spiritual sword" (*gladio spirituali*), that is "the word of God" (*verbum Dei*) in the form of his letter.[49] With this explanation, Thomas recalls the division of the Pauline corpus that he had provided in his general Prologue and the place of the Letter to the Colossians within it. St. Paul's countering heretics here aims, within his overarching purpose of teaching the grace of Christ, to defend ecclesial unity, which is a key effect of grace in the mystical body itself. Grace in the mystical body itself is, in turn, the third and final way in which St. Paul considers the power of the grace of Christ in his corpus as a whole, which corpus stands—as Aquinas noted in his second inaugural lecture—as the second major division of the New Testament and its provision of help to humankind through grace. By aiding through grace in the New Testament and admonishing through commandment in the Old, the whole of Scripture leads to eternal life.[50] Situating Colossians within Aquinas's broader structure of the canon highlights his assumption that St. Paul's letter is—far from simply an occasional missive to Christians in first-century Colossae from their human leader—an integral part of a perfectly ordered plan of divine revelation for the salvation of humankind.

Perhaps the most notable feature of Aquinas's approach to Scripture, which is the central characteristic of scholastic exegesis more generally, is the detailed division of the text (*divisio textus*) to be interpreted.[51] Beginning most broadly with the division of the book as a whole, Thomas progressively divides the text into smaller and smaller units down to individual phrases and even words. The *divisio textus* produces "a logical net of coordinates" throughout the entire book, which is intended to elucidate the internal order of the text and the authorial intention underlying this order.[52] Aquinas opens his second lecture on the first chapter of Colossians by broadly drawing this net of coordinates for the first two chapters of the letter. St. Paul first commends the truth of the Gospel (in chapter one); then, according to Thomas, he protects it against contrary teaching

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[49] *Prol. Ad Col* 2.125.1–2. For a complete English translation, see *St. Thomas Aquinas: Commentary on Colossians*, trans. Fabian Larcher, ed. Daniel A. Keating (Naples, Fla., 2006).

[50] *Hic est liber mandatorum Dei* (*Opus. Theol.* I.436).

[51] On the *divisio textus* and its place in scholastic exegesis, see Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval XII^e–XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1999), pp. 108–20; Chenu, *Toward Understanding*, pp. 249–59; Jacques Verger, "L'exégèse de l'Université," in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1984), pp. 199–232; and Prügl, "Thomas Aquinas," pp. 401–02.

[52] Prügl, "Thomas Aquinas," pp. 401–02.

(in chapter two). Concerning the first, the Apostle does two things: first, he commends the truth of evangelical faith (1:3–14); second, he commends the agent or author of faith (1:15–18).[53] Thomas proceeds to further divide 1:3–14, which he will treat in his second and third lectures. The text on which Thomas bases his fourth lecture is 1:15–17, which reads:

> *[15]He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation, [16]for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, all things were created through him and in him. [17]He is before all things, and in him all things hold together.*

In the opening lines of Lecture 4, Thomas reveals St. Paul's purpose through the division of this text. Having recalled the benefits of grace (particularly in 1:13–14, presumably), St. Paul "here commends the author of this grace, namely Christ."[54] He does so, first, in relation to God (v. 15a); second, generally in relation to every creature (vv. 15b–17); and third, in particular in relation to the church (vv. 18–23).[55] Thomas's *divisio textus*, together with his earlier affirmation that the Letter to the Colossians aims to protect the church from heretics, discloses his fundamental exegetical perspective on 1:15–17, namely that the Apostle here seeks to counter false teachings concerning the Son's relationship to God and to creation.

A second characteristically scholastic element of Aquinas's exegetical approach is the invocation and reconciliation of authorities, particularly Scripture and early Christian writers. For example, in discussing St. Paul's description of God as "invisible" (v. 15), Thomas explains: "He [i.e., God] exceeds the capacity of vision of any created intellect whatsoever, so that no created intellect can by natural knowledge attain to His essence."[56] Aquinas invokes two scriptural passages in support of this explanation, namely: *Behold, God is great, surpassing our knowledge* (Job 36:26); and *He dwells in unapproachable light* (1 Tm 6:16). Furthermore, he brings the Dionysian principle of the coextensiveness of being and intelligibility to

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[53] *Ad Col* 1.2 (2.128.8).

[54] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.29): "Postquam superius commemoravit gratiae beneficia specialia et universalia, hic commendat auctorem huius gratiae, scilicet Christum."

[55] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.29). St. Paul's commendation of Christ in relation to the church (vv. 18–23) is the subject of Thomas's fifth lecture.

[56] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.29): "Circa primum notandum est quod Deus dicitur invisibilis, quia excedit capacitatem visionis cuiuscumque intellectus creati, ita quod nullus intellectus creatus naturali cognitione potest pertingere ad eius essentiam."

bear in demonstrating why God's essence cannot be naturally known by the created intellect:

> The reason for this is assigned by Dionysius because all knowledge is limited to things that exist, that is to natures that participate in being. God, however, is Being Itself [*ipsum esse*], not one who participates in being; therefore, He is not known.[57]

Thus, both the Old and New Testaments as well as a preeminent early Christian writer converge in helping Aquinas to gloss St. Paul's descriptor of the divine, *invisibilis*. Thomas's use of Job 36:26 and 1 Tm 6:16 to shed light on Col 1:15 illustrates his practice of reading scriptural texts intertextually, about which we will say more in Part IV below.

Thomas exemplifies his practice of reconciling seemingly contradictory authorities in a short disputed question (another feature of his exegesis) that he introduces into his comments on verse 16. Aquinas's question is: Why does St. Paul provide an order of beings here—namely, *thrones, dominions, principalities, powers*—that is different from the one he sets forth in Eph 1:21—namely, *principalities, powers, angels, dominions*? St. Paul seems to contradict himself. Thomas answers the question by distinguishing between the Apostle's purpose in the two passages: "Resolution: For here he enumerates in descending order because he shows the procession of creatures from God, whereas there [in Ephesians] he enumerates in ascending order because he shows that the Son of God, as human, is above all creatures."[58] In an effort to confirm this way of reconciling the Pauline passages, Aquinas has recourse to the hierarchies of Gregory the Great and Dionysius. Whereas Dionysius' order follows that of Ephesians, Gregory's is that of Colossians.[59] Thus, Thomas invokes Gregory and Dionysius in his effort to reconcile Col 1:16 and Eph 1:21, and, in turn, uses these two Pauline passages to reconcile Gregory and Dionysius.

Thomas offers a fuller and fascinating example of a disputed question at the end of his Prologue to the lectures on Hebrews. He begins by noting that prior to the Council of Nicea some doubted whether St. Paul had written the Epistle to the Hebrews. They mounted two arguments against

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[57] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.29): "Ratio huius assignatur a Dionysio, quia omnis cognitio terminator ad existens, id est ad aliquam naturam participantem esse. Deus autem est ipsum esse non participatum ergo est incognitus."

[58] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.134.41): "Solutio: Hic enim enumerat descendendo, quia ostendit progressum creaturae a Deo, ibi ascendendo, quia ostendit quod Filius Dei, secundum quod homo, super omnes creaturas est."

[59] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.134.41).

Pauline authorship, namely: (1) Hebrews is written in a different manner (*modus*) than the other epistles, for it does not include a salutation or the Apostle's name; and (2) It is written in a different style (*stylus*), as it is more elegant and proceeds in a more orderly way according to words and their meanings than do other Pauline letters.[60] For these reasons, some attributed Hebrews to Luke the Evangelist, Barnabas, or Pope Clement. On the contrary, Aquinas notes, "more ancient doctors, principally Dionysius and some others" take Hebrews as authentically Pauline.[61] In reply to the first argument of those who object to St. Paul's authorship, Thomas notes that there is a threefold reason why the Apostle did not give his name or his usual greeting in Hebrews. First, because he was the Apostle to the gentiles rather than to the Jews, he refrained from mentioning his apostleship at the outset of this letter so as not to foist himself and his office on the Jewish people. Second, because his name was offensive to the Jews on account of his having taught the superfluity of legal observances (Acts 15:1–35), St. Paul omitted his name out of fear that the Jews might reject his "most salvific teaching" (*saluberrima doctrina*) in this missive. Finally, he failed to disclose his name because he himself was a Jew and feared that he might be received among his own with dishonor (cf. Mt 13:57).[62] In reply to the second objection against Pauline authorship, Thomas maintains that Hebrews has a more elegant style than St. Paul's other letters because the Apostle wrote it (to the Jews) in his native language, Hebrew. He could obviously speak and write more ornately in his first language than in the Greek in which he composed his other letters. In Thomas's view, Luke translated St. Paul's elegant Letter to the Hebrews into Greek.[63] It is important to note that Thomas's determination of this question is guided not by a concern with human authorship per se, but rather by his prior division of the Pauline corpus, at the head of which stands Hebrews and its teaching concerning grace as it is in Christ and his understanding that St. Paul is the vessel of divine election who brought Christ's name not only to the gentiles but also to "the people

[60] *Prol. Ad Heb.* 2.336.5.

[61] *Prol. Ad Heb* 2.336.5: "Sed antiqui doctores, praecipue Dionysius et aliqui alii, accipiunt verba huius epistolae pro testimoniis Pauli. Et Hieronymus illam inter epistolas Pauli recipit." Like other medieval thinkers, Thomas believed Dionysius to have been the first-century Areopagite who converted to Christianity after hearing St. Paul's sermon on the unknown god (Acts 17:22–34).

[62] *Prol. Ad Heb* 2.336.5.

[63] *Prol. Ad Heb* 2.336.5.

of Israel" (Acts 9:15).[64] In short, Aquinas seems to think that if St. Paul had not penned the Epistle to the Hebrews, both his doctrine of grace and his work as God's instrument of revelation would have remained incomplete.

Another feature of Aquinas's approach to the Pauline corpus, which is closely related to his emphasis on literal interpretation, is a concern for the exact words of the scriptural text and their meanings. Why St. Paul said what he said exactly as he said it often has exegetical and theological significance for Thomas. The reader of the first lecture on the opening chapter of Hebrews finds a characteristic example. Hebrews begins with this affirmation:

> [1]*In times past, God* [*was*] *speaking in many and various ways to the fathers in the prophets;* [2]*in these last days, He has spoken to us in His Son, whom He has established heir of all things, through whom He also made the world.*

Thomas raises the question of why St. Paul wrote that God spoke "in the prophets" (*in prophetis*) rather than the more usual "through the prophets" (*per prophetas*). In line with his understanding of the Apostle as a wise man who teaches divine truths and counters heresies, Aquinas answers that St. Paul used the preposition *in* "in order to exclude certain errors."[65] First, the Apostle excludes the error of Porphyry, according to which the prophets merely feigned divine inspiration, by making clear that the prophets did not speak on their own but rather that God spoke "in" them. Second, by this preposition St. Paul precludes the view of some that prophecy is a function of a natural disposition or passion. The Apostle wrote that God spoke "in the prophets" to show, rather, that prophecy is a function of an internal locution from God. Third, the Apostle counters the error of those who say that prophecy is obtained in the manner of a habit, as knowledge is gained, for example. In order to show that prophecy is neither attainable by all nor by prophets whenever they wish but rather is only present in those in whom God wills to speak, St. Paul says "in the prophets". Finally, this phrase stymies the view of Priscilla and Montanus that the prophets did not understand what they were saying. Drawing on St. Paul's words in 1 Cor 14:32—*the spirits of the prophets were made subject to the prophets*—

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[64] See Thomas's general Prologue (*Prol.* 3.11) as well as his reiteration of the division of the Pauline corpus immediately prior to his disputed question on the authorship of Hebrews in *Prol. Ad Heb* 2.335–36.4.

[65] *Ad Heb* 1.1 (2.339.17): "Sed rursum quaeritur quare dicit in prophetis, cum potius debuisset dicere *per prophetas*. Ad hoc dicendum est, quod hoc fecit, ut excluderet quorumdam errorem."

Thomas explains that by his phrase "in the prophets" the Apostle intended "in the understanding and power of the prophets".[66] For Aquinas, then, St. Paul's brief phrase "in prophetis" teaches much truth and counters several significant errors concerning the reality of prophecy.

Related to Aquinas's exegetical concern for the exact words of Scripture is his practice of defining terms precisely and drawing distinctions in order to make the meaning of the text as clear as possible. Thomas offers a significant example in his comments on Col 1:15, where he is concerned to show in what way (*quomodo*) the Son is called "the image of God". The concept of "image" (*imago*) entails three requirements: first, that there is a likeness (*similitudo*) between the image and the thing of which it is an image; second, that the image be derived from or modeled on the thing of which it is a likeness; and third, that it be derived according to something pertaining to the species or to a sign of the species.[67] Regarding the first two requirements, Aquinas draws a crucial distinction between, on the one hand, two things that simply bear a likeness to one another and, on the other hand, a likeness that is derived from another thing. Two eggs inevitably bear a resemblance to one another, but one egg does not derive from another; thus, one egg is not called the "image" of another.[68] Aquinas draws a similar distinction concerning his third definitional requirement, namely that between likeness according to species or a sign of species and likeness not according to species or a sign of species. Although a dog and a human may have hair of a similar color, hair color is an accident and so neither the dog nor the human could be said to be an "image" of the other. However, if some creature has the shape or form (*figura*) of a human, it can be called an "image" of a human because shape is a sign of the human species.[69] Thomas uses this threefold definition of *imago* and the dual distinctions related to it to explain very precisely St. Paul's description in Col 1:15: the Son is "the image of God" in that he is a likeness or imitation (*similitudo*) of the Father that is derived from the Father according to species.[70]

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[66] *Ad Heb* 1.1 (2.339.17).
[67] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.31).
[68] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.31).
[69] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.31).
[70] *Ad Col* 1.4 (2.132.31).

4. *The Pauline Lectures in Relation to the "Systematic" Works*

Observing that Thomistic scholarship has traditionally overlooked Aquinas's scriptural commentaries in favor of his systematic works—the *Scriptum on the Sentences*, the *Summa contra Gentiles*, and the *Summa theologiae*—Jean-Pierre Torrell has noted: "If we wish, therefore, to get a slightly less one-sided idea of the whole theologian and his method, it is imperative to read and use in a much deeper fashion these biblical commentaries in parallel with the great systematic works."[71] As part of the recent effort to broaden the scholarly understanding of Thomas's theological method by considering his exegetical works, here we will briefly consider the lectures on Galatians, a particularly understudied commentary, in parallel with the *Scriptum* and the *Summa theologiae*.[72] Thomas produced no fewer than forty-one lectures on Galatians during the two periods of his commenting on the Pauline corpus.[73] Although we cannot date the lectures on Galatians with greater precision, it is noteworthy in light of our present comparative task that Thomas first lectured on St. Paul subsequent to his composition of the *Scriptum* and gave his second course of Pauline lectures while composing the Third Part of the *ST*.[74]

Thomas's treatment of justification and grace in the Galatians lectures reveals a concern to establish the literal meaning of St. Paul's very words with a view toward theological and doctrinal lucidity. Focusing on Gal 4:9, we will see that Aquinas's literal exposition is informed by his systematic concerns in the *Scriptum*, on the one hand, and informs his mature theological thought as found in the *ST*, on the other. Like his other Pauline lectures as well as his "systematic" production, Thomas's lectures on Galatians constitute a thoroughly scholastic work in which he raises questions, notes objections, draws significant distinctions, and reconciles competing authorities (whether sacred or secular) by employing the tools of both reason and revelation.

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[71] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, p. 55.

[72] The 2005 volume *Aquinas on Scripture*, which brings together essays comparing Thomas's use of Scripture, in particular commentaries with that in the *ST*, contains no essay on the Galatians lectures, and to my knowledge there remains no scholarly treatment of this important exegetical work.

[73] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, trans. F. R. Larcher, O.P. (Albany, 1966), pp. viii-ix.

[74] On the dating of the *Scriptum* and *ST*, see Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, pp. 36–47 and 145–48.

Thomas opens his lectures on Galatians by placing in the mouth of St. Paul the words of Leviticus 26:10: *New things having arrived, you shall abandon the old*. These Old Testament words are fitting (*competunt*), Thomas maintains, in that they provide a précis of the Apostle's purpose in writing the epistle, namely, to rebuke the Galatians for reverting to the observance of the Law subsequent to their reception of the Gospel and the its sacraments.[75] Aquinas proceeds to explain that in Galatians St. Paul aims to elucidate that a fourfold oldness—that of error, figure, guilt, and punishment—has been made new by the doctrine of Christ, grace or the reality of Christ's presence, justice, and glory, respectively.[76] The initial lecture on the opening chapter of Galatians makes clear Aquinas's concern for doctrinal matters, as he uses the Apostle's salutation (vv. 1–5) as an occasion to reflect—however briefly—on such wide-ranging theological topics as the Trinity, creation, Incarnation, salvation, and the sacraments.[77] Throughout the lectures, however, the Dominican master is particularly concerned with the Apostle's teaching on justification by grace rather than through the observance of the Law.

Before considering justification and grace in the lectures on Galatians, we must note a crucial characteristic of Thomas's approach here. As intimated earlier, Aquinas understands the letter of Sacred Scripture as something like a rich root from which orthodox doctrine naturally grows. As such, he seeks to show that not a single word that the Apostle penned is insignificant or superfluous. Rather, much like finely divided primary and lateral roots that together constitute a full fibrous root system, each word plays its own indispensable role in producing and supporting the theological plant and in nourishing the doctrinal flower.[78] Thomas is no biblical fundamentalist, however, refusing to teach nothing beyond what the scriptural text plainly and explicitly affirms. Indeed, our root-plant

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[75] *Prol. Ad Gal* 1.563.1.

[76] *Prol. Ad Gal* 1.563.1.

[77] *Ad Gal* 1.1 (1.565–67.2–15).

[78] In his interpretive essay on Thomas's *Literal Exposition on Job*, Martin D. Yaffe aims to capture this same exegetical reality with an architectural analogy: "Thomas's 'literal' approach resembles that of an architect or builder. His finished exposition may be compared to a Gothic cathedral, whose massive earthbound structure points heavenward. What is most awesome here is not its massiveness, however, but its artfulness. The whole sublime façade may be seen to consist of units carefully fitted and bonded together in accordance with the artisan's design" (*Thomas Aquinas, The Literal Exposition on Job: A Scriptural Commentary concerning Providence*, trans. Anthony Damico, interpretive essay and notes Martin D. Yaffe [Atlanta, 1989], p. 12). For a brief discussion and development of Yaffe's analogy, see Baglow, "Sacred Scripture and Sacred Doctrine," esp. p. 17.

analogy aims to capture the dynamic and fecund relationship between textual signs and theological things in Thomas's exegetical practice.

Thomas illustrates his bountiful hermeneutic in his opening lecture on Galatians when he draws Trinitarian doctrine out of the Apostle's salutation. The Vulgate text of Gal 1:1–5 reads:

> [1] *Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per Iesum Christum et Deum Patrem qui suscitavit eum a mortuis*
> [2] *et qui mecum sunt omnes fratres ecclesiis Galatiae*
> [3] *gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Iesu Christo*
> [4] *qui dedit semet ipsum pro peccatis nostris ut eriperet nos de praesenti saeculo nequam secundum voluntatem Dei et Patris nostri*
> [5] *cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum amen.*

Seeking to explain why St. Paul wrote the exact words he did, Thomas locates differing authorial intentions in the three related but quite distinct phrases *Deum Patrem* (v. 1), *a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Iesu Christo* (v. 3), and *Dei et Patris nostri* (v. 4). The first phrase, "God the Father" (v. 1), references the First Trinitarian Person alone, whereas the second points to the Trinity as a whole, Thomas notes. The Apostle's third phrase, "Of God and our Father" (v. 4) teaches both that the First Trinitarian Person is Father to the Son or Word naturally and eternally, on the one hand, and that He is "our Father" by adoption and temporally, on the other.[79] Although modern historical criticism may accuse Aquinas of eisegesis here, this example illustrates well his exegetical principle that "nothing is to be taught [or proclaimed; *evangelizandum est*] except what is contained, either implicitly or explicitly, in the Gospels and epistles and Sacred Scripture."[80] For Thomas, the New Testament writings teach Christ and faith in Christ explicitly; whatever is also in Scripture implicitly that may contribute to the reader's understanding of and belief in Christ, then, can also be taught and proclaimed.[81] How God the Father may be called and understood as *Pater* vis-à-vis both the Son and humankind certainly falls under Aquinas's rubric *implicite* (if not *explicite*). Indeed, central to faith in the person and work of Christ are the dual notions of his natural divine Sonship and the salvific work whereby he became the firstborn of a large family of divinely-adopted daughters and sons.

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[79] *Ad Gal* 1.1 (1.567.14).

[80] *Ad Gal* 1.2 (1.569.27): "Dicendum quod nihil aliud evangelizandum est, quam illud quod continetur in evangeliis, et in epistolis, et in sacra scriptura implicite vel explicite."

[81] *Ad Gal* 1.2 (1.569.27). Cf. *Ad Gal* 1.3 (1.571–72.38).

St. Paul's primary objective in his epistle, in Thomas's view, is to convince the Galatians to discontinue their practice of the rites of the Law in light of the advent of Christ and his grace. At the heart of this larger pedagogical purpose lay the Apostle's teaching on justification, which he summarizes in Gal 2:16: *Knowing, however, that a person is not justified by the works of the Law but through the faith of Jesus Christ, we also believe in Christ Jesus so that we might be justified by the faith of Christ and not by the works of the Law; because by the works of the Law no flesh will be justified*.[82] In Lecture 4 on Chapter 2, after briefly explaining the meaning of this verse, Thomas raises an objection based on a seemingly contradictory Pauline passage: "On the contrary, it is said in Rom 2:13: *For it is not the hearers of the Law who are just before God, but the doers of the Law will be justified*. It seems, therefore, that a person is justified by the works of the Law."[83] We should make explicit here Thomas's thoroughly intertextual approach: Scripture interprets Scripture. That is, one biblical passage is read in light of others, which variously complexify and/or clarify it.[84] Sometimes, as in our present example, the intertext problematizes the original text and final clarification awaits the application of reason. Here Thomas replies to the objection by distinguishing between two senses of the verb *iustificari*, namely doing what is just (i.e. the execution of justice) and being made just.[85] He proceeds to explain that Rom 2:13 uses the verb in the first sense: through obedience to the moral and ceremonial precepts of the Old Law, a person could and (after Christ) can do what is right or just. By contrast, the Apostle uses *iustificari* in the second sense in Gal 2:16. Thomas makes clear that the human person is not made just through works of the Law by virtue of the fact that the sacraments of the Old Law did not confer grace.[86] Indeed, according to the Dominican master, "No one is made just except by God through grace."[87]

Thomas's exegetical work here is connected in important ways both thematically and methodologically with his Treatise on Law in the *Prima*

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[82] Unless otherwise noted, all translations of scriptural texts are my own, made from the Vulgate version found in the Marietti edition of Aquinas's lectures.

[83] *Ad Gal* 2.4 (1.585.94): "Sed contra, Rom. enim 2, 13 dicitur: *Non enim auditors legis iusti sunt apud Deum, sed factores legis iustificabuntur*, etc. Videtur ergo quod ex operibus legis iustificetur homo."

[84] On Thomas's intertextual approach, see, e.g., Wawrykow, "Aquinas on Isaiah," esp. pp. 49 and 57.

[85] *Ad Gal* 2.4 (1.585.94).

[86] *Ad Gal* 2.4 (1.586.94).

[87] *Ad Gal* 2.4 (1.585.94): "Non autem iustus fit aliquis nisi a Deo, per gratiam."

Secundae of the *ST*. The first observation to make in this vein is that in the First Part of the Second Part of the *ST*, which concerns the movement to God by human acts in general, Thomas considers law and grace in tandem under the rubric of extrinsic principles of human action (with qq. 90–108 on law, and 109–114 on grace). In q. 103 a. 2, Thomas asks "Whether, in the time of the Law, the ceremonies of the Old Law had the power to justify." The scriptural authority used in the *sed contra* is a combination of Gal 3:21 and 2:21, which Thomas seems to have confused in his attempt to reproduce the latter verse from memory. He writes: "The Apostle says in Gal 2: *If a law had been given which could justify, Christ would have died for nothing*, i.e., without cause. But this is unfitting. Therefore the ceremonies of the Old Law did not justify."[88] In the *corpus*, Thomas distinguishes between two types of uncleanness according to the Old Law itself, namely, corporeal and spiritual. The ceremonies of the Old Law, he explains, did serve as remedies for the uncleanness of the body, which was contracted in consequence of the prescription of the Law. They had no power, however, as remedies for spiritual uncleanness, i.e., the uncleanness of sin.

This demonstration relies primarily on three scriptural verses. First, drawing on Jn 1:29 (*the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world*), Thomas explains that expiation from sin is only possible through Christ. "Because the mystery of the Incarnation and Passion of Christ had not yet really been accomplished," he maintains, "those ceremonies of the Old Law could not really contain in themselves the power flowing from Christ having become incarnate and having suffered, such as the sacraments of the New Law contain."[89] Thomas's second scriptural authority is Heb 10:4: *For it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sins*. His third is Gal 4:9: *Now, however, that you have known God, or rather have been known by God, how do you turn back again to the weak and needy elements which you desire to serve once more?* It is on account of their lack of justifying efficacy (Heb 10:4), Thomas teaches, that the Apostle calls them "weak and needy elements" (*infirma et egena elementa*) in Gal 4:9. They are weak, the Dominican exegete explains, because they are unable

[88] *ST* I–II.103.2sc: "Sed contra est quod Apostolus dicit, Galat. 2, [21]: *Si data esset lex quae posset iustificare, Christus gratis mortuus esset*, idest sine causa. Sed hoc est inconveniens. Ergo caeremoniae veteris legis non iustificabant" (Marietti, 1.494–95).

[89] *ST* I–II.103.2c: "Quia mysterium incarnationis et passionis Christi nondum erat realiter peractum, illae veteris legis caeremoniae non poterant in se continere realiter virtutem profluentem a Christo incarnato et passo, sicut continent sacramenta novae legis" (Marietti, 1.495).

to remit sin; and their weakness results from their being needy, i.e., from the fact that they do not contain grace.[90]

Between 1252 and 1256, fifteen to twenty years prior to his completion of the *Prima Secundae*, Thomas—as a student at Paris training to become a master—delivered a series of public lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It is noteworthy for our purposes that in commenting on Bk. 4 (wherein the Lombard treats the sacraments principally), the young Dominican friar invokes Heb 10:4 and Gal 4:9 in ways comparable to and even determinative of his subsequent treatments in the Galatians lectures and the *ST*. Aquinas's fifth article of question 1 on the Lombard's first distinction in Bk. 4 asks whether the sacraments of the Old Law conferred grace. In the first *sed contra* of *quaestiuncula* 1, Thomas quotes Heb 10:4 before writing, "But grace takes away sins. Therefore, the ancient sacraments were not conferring grace."[91] He proceeds to explain in the *corpus* that there are two opinions on this question. Some theologians, such as Hugh of St. Victor, maintain that the sacraments of the Old Law were prefigurative signs of the sacraments of the New Law and of Christ's passion from which these latter rites glean their efficacy. As such, the sacraments of the Old Law have the power to justify indirectly and secondarily (*indirecte et ex consequenti*).[92] The problem with this opinion, Thomas notes, is that it "does not seem to agree with the words of the saints." That St. Paul is foremost in Aquinas's mind is clear from his further explanation that they (i.e., the saints) say that the Law was an occasion for sin inasmuch as it pointed out sin but did not confer any assisting grace.[93] Thomas seems to be thinking here of such Pauline passages as Rom 3:20–24 and Rom 5:21. Furthermore, it is these words of St. Paul recalled to memory that enable the burgeoning scholastic theologian to describe as *melius*, better, the second opinion on this question, namely, that "in no way were

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[90] *ST* I–II.103.2c.

[91] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q.1 a.5 qc.1 s.c.1: "Sed gratia tollit peccatum. Ergo antiqua sacramenta gratiam non conferebant" (*Scriptum super libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi Episcopi Parisiensis*, 4 vols., vols. 1–2 ed. P. Mandonnet, vols. 3–4 ed. Maria Fabianus Moos [Paris, 1929–47], here vol. 4, p. 39, sect. 173. All subsequent references are to vol. 4 and will be cited according to page and section as follows: Moos, 39.173).

[92] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q.1 a.5 qc.1 c (Moos 41.182).

[93] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q.1 a.5 qc.1 c: "Sed haec opinio non videtur convenire dictis sanctorum: dicunt enim, quod lex erat occasio mortis, inquantum ostendebat peccatum, et gratiam adjutricem non conferebat" (Moos, 41.183).

the sacraments themselves of the Old Law, that is the work having been worked in them, conferring grace, except circumcision."[94]

In article 5 of question 2 on the first distinction of Bk. IV, Thomas asks, in light of his previous conclusions, whether circumcision ought to have ceased with the advent of Christ and his grace-conferring sacraments. Thomas begins *quaestiuncula* 3 of article 5 by noting that the example of Christ and many others whom Scripture relates were circumcised during the time of grace suggests the permissibility of observing this sacrament after Christ.[95] Each of the *sed contra*s, on the other hand, provides a quotation from Galatians to the effect that the observance of circumcision and other rites of the Old Law stands in opposition to the grace of Christ, and therefore ought to be discontinued. The first is Gal 5:2: *If you are circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit to you*.[96] The second is Gal 4:9. Invoking the *Glossa ordinaria* on this verse, which compares observation of the Old Law after Christ to ancient idolatry, Thomas explains that the rites of the Law are now unable to be observed without sin.[97]

Aquinas's comparison of legal observance to idolatry appears also in his exposition of Gal 4:9 in the fourth lecture on Galatians 4. Thomas begins here by pointing out that the Apostle's query (*How do you turn back again to the weak and needy elements?*) is commonly read in two ways. First, it is understood to mean that the Galatians were being turned from faith to idolatry.[98] Thomas takes the following verse (v. 10: *You observe days and months and times and years*) as bolstering this reading, according to which the Galatians have forsaken faith in Christ for the veneration of the sun, moon, and stars, weak elements that are unable to subsist apart from their divine creator and providential sustainer.[99] Although this reading can be supported by the text itself, Thomas notes, it does not properly reflect authorial intention (*non tamen est secundum intentionem Apostoli*).[100] The second and better reading, in Aquinas's view, is that the Galatians are turning from faith in Christ back to legal observances. This interpretation more nearly accords with St. Paul's general purpose (*magis*

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[94] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q.1 a.5 qc. 1 c: "Et ideo alii dicunt, et melius, quod nullo modo sacramenta ipsa veteris legis, idest opus operatum in eis, gratiam conferebant, excepta circumcisione . . ." (Moos, 41.185).

[95] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q. 2 a.5 qc. 3 arg. 1 and 2 (Moos 62–63.295).

[96] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q. 2 a.5 qc. 3 s.c.1 (Moos, 63.296).

[97] *Scriptum* Bk. IV d.1 q. 2 a.5 qc. 3 s.c.2 (Moos, 63.297).

[98] *Ad Gal* 4.4 (1.615.222).

[99] *Ad Gal* 4.4 (1.615.222).

[100] *Ad Gal* 4.4 (1.615.223).

ad propositum) in Galatians, as evidenced by the fact that both before and after this passage the Apostle censures his audience for returning to the observance of the Law.[101]

This brief consideration of the lectures on Galatians has aimed to suggest the ways that Aquinas's scriptural exposition is analogous to a deep root system that enables and enriches the theological plant that comes to fruition in the scholastic's mature systematic work. In the Galatians lectures Thomas seems fundamentally concerned with establishing the literal meaning of the text with an eye toward theological and doctrinal development. Aquinas's interpretation of Gal 4:9 in particular provides an exegetical window onto his theological concerns and method as revealed in the early *Scriptum super Sententias* and the mature *Summa theologiae*. In these systematic works as well as in his lectures, Gal 4:9 conveys the divine truth that humans are justified by the grace of Christ that comes through the sacraments of the New Law, not by the rites of the Old Law which neither contain nor confer this grace. Though Thomas appropriates and elucidates this scriptural passage in different ways and for somewhat different purposes in the three works, our parallel analysis has shown the thoroughly theological nature of the biblical lectures and the equally biblical nature of the theological works.

In this essay we have sought to provide an introduction to St. Paul in the thought and work of Thomas Aquinas, focusing particularly on the scholastic master's lectures on the Pauline epistles. Aquinas understands St. Paul principally as a human instrument of the divine who received certain truths revealed by God and handed them on to humankind in an ordered and accessible way. As such, the Apostle and his epistles stand at the heart of sacred doctrine, that body of divinely revealed truths that are necessary for human salvation. Identifying sacred doctrine with wisdom, Thomas portrays St. Paul as a wise man—or, to use the Apostle's own self-description, a "wise architect"—who orders well the saving truths he has received. As Aquinas makes clear in the general Prologue to his Pauline lectures, these divine truths pertain specifically to the grace of Christ, which grace St. Paul considers throughout his fourteen epistles in a threefold way, namely: (1) as it is in the head itself, that is Christ; (2) as it is in the principal members of the mystical body; and (3) as it is in the mystical body itself.

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[101] *Ad Gal* 4.4 (1.615.223).

Thomas's lectures on the Pauline corpus, delivered first near the beginning of his career and again toward the end of his life, reveal the central features of his exegetical approach. As a scholastic theologian seeking to elucidate the purpose and meaning of the Apostle's letters, Aquinas proceeds by thoroughly dividing the text, invoking and reconciling authorities, precisely defining terms and drawing distinctions, introducing and determining brief disputed questions, attending to the exact words of the text, and reading the text intertextually. Our analysis of these interpretive elements in the Pauline lectures highlights Thomas's concern to explicate the salvific theological truths that the Apostle conveys in and through his epistles. It is particularly when one reads the lectures in tandem with the "systematic" works, we have sought to show, that he or she not only gains deeper insight into Aquinas's theological approach to the Pauline corpus but also comes to know St. Paul as the wise architect who "has taught the mysteries of the most excellent divinity" (*docuit excellentissimae divinitatis mysteria*).

NICHOLAS OF LYRA (AND PAUL OF BURGOS) ON THE PAULINE EPISTLES

Ian Christopher Levy

Nicholas of Lyra was one of the most skilled and productive of the late medieval commentators on the Pauline Epistles, drawing together as he did significant strands of the tradition. Born in Normandy c. 1270, he entered the Franciscan Order in 1300. His most famous work was a commentary on the entire Bible known as the *Postilla Litteralis* begun in 1322 and completed by 1331. Popular as his work certainly was over the next two hundred years, Lyra did face some tough criticism. Many printed editions of his work circulated with corrective remarks in the form of the *Additiones ad Postillas Nicolai Lyrani* by Paul of Burgos (d. 1435), a converted rabbi who criticized Lyra's use of Hebraic sources as well as Lyra's reading of Thomas Aquinas. Yet fellow Franciscan Matthias Döring of Thuringia (d. 1469) came to Lyra's aid when he countered Paul's criticisms with his own *Defensarium Nicolai Lyrani seu Replicationes contra Paulum Burgenssem*.[1]

Paul of Burgos was right in detecting Lyra's debt to Aquinas. Although Lyra's *Postilla* was not intended to be a work of systematic theology, he did call upon Thomas's *Summa Theologiae* to assist his biblical exegesis. Lyra followed Thomas on the question of the Law as outlined in the *Summa* but, as Paul of Burgos pointed out, he would alter Aquinas when summarizing him in the *Postilla*, thereby simplifying his predecessor's more complicated theological explanations. None of this is to say that Lyra was a mere disciple of Thomas. In fact, he went his own way on a number of points. Like the fifth-century Antiochene exegete Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose theories Thomas rejected, Lyra also limited the number of Psalms that speak of Christ and treated many of them as pertinent to David or Solomon. Nevertheless, Lyra still believed that the prophets had foreseen the coming Messiah. On this point, Lyra maintained that

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[1] For an overview of Lyra's life and career see the introduction to *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* eds. Philip D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: 2000), 1–18. See too: *Nicolas de Lyre: Franciscain du XIV^e^ Siècle, Exégète et Théologien*, ed. Gilbert Dahan (Paris: 2011).

he was actually following the great Jewish exegete Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, otherwise known as Rashi (d. 1105). Lyra contended that the Jews were in fact denying their own Scriptures when they refused to accept Jesus Christ, for he thought that they were missing the very literal sense of the Old Testament, which proclaims the Messiahship of Christ.[2] That Lyra could maintain both the historical and the prophetic value of these texts depended upon his conception of a "double literal sense" (*duplex sensus litteralis*) found in those Old Testament texts that are cited by the New. This also enabled Lyra to meet the charges of Jewish scholars who said that Christians distort the meaning of biblical texts.[3] We will examine Lyra's handling of the various senses of Scripture in greater detail further on in this essay.

1. *The Book of Life*

Before proceeding to Lyra's Pauline commentaries it will be helpful to get a sense of Lyra's general conception of Holy Scripture and the basic principles of exegesis that he employed to understand it. In his various prologues to the Bible, Lyra provided his readers with important insights into his entire exegetical approach. He adopted Sirach 24:32 as his guide: "Haec omnia liber vitae." Scripture, for Lyra, was the very Book of Life—*Liber Vitae*—the key to true life for all who believe. To this end he cited Gregory the Great's comment that, "temporal life as compared to eternal life is more fittingly called death than life." Thus Lyra points out that the science of the philosophers is ordered to mundane ends, concerned as it is with this present life alone. Lyra then extols Holy Scripture as a unique book that is ordered toward happiness in the life to come and thereby surpasses the human sciences of the philosophers. In comparison to the books of Holy Scripture, therefore, those of the philosophers are more fittingly designated books of death. "The book containing Holy Scripture—although divided into many partial books and yet contained under one book—which is designated under the general name of the Bible, is properly called the Book of Life." Holy Scripture can itself be identified with the science of theology, according to Lyra, since it is the sole text of this

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[2] Philip D. W. Krey, "'The Old Law Prohibits the Hand and not the Spirit': The Law and the Jews in Nicholas of Lyra's Roman Commentary of 1329," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 251–66.

[3] Ceslaus Spicq, *Esquisee D'Une Histoire de L'Exégèse Latine au Moyen Age* (Paris: Vrin, 1944), 335–41.

science and excels all others. It has God for its subject matter, the most noble subject of all. Indeed, it may be equated with 'theo-logy' because it is in some sense a discourse about God (*sermo de Deo*). Moreover, it proceeds in the most certain manner, beyond all human sciences which are confined by the limits of human reason. The problem with human philosophy, says Lyra, is that even as there is no error with regard to cognition of first principles which are known *per se*, error is still possible in the deduction of conclusions from those principles. That is why philosophers who rely solely upon human methods of investigation have lapsed into error.[4] Let us never forget that the medieval theologian was by definition a Master of the Sacred Page (*magister sacrae paginae*) and thus Holy Scripture formed the basis for his discipline. Only the theologians—not the arts faculty nor the canon lawyers—expounded upon a divinely authored text.

As Lyra continues, he appeals to Deuteronomy 4:6, "Haec est sapientia vestra, et intellectus coram populis." Lyra points out that wisdom (*sapientia*) properly refers to that science which treats the highest causes. As Holy Scripture has God as its subject, who is himself the first cause of all things, so it must be designated as Wisdom. This is the wisdom of the saints, the very Wisdom that is Holy Scripture. Although it is true that philosophers have some knowledge of God, it is confined to the properties that can be known by reason through the observation of created things. On the other hand, the prophets and apostles, who have handed down Holy Scripture through the revelation of the Holy Spirit, have a knowledge of transcendent divine properties which exceeds the investigations of human reason. The Trinity is a prime example of a truth that could not be reached by the efforts of unaided human reason. If the Trinity is the goal of all human longing, then the study of Holy Scripture can be no mere academic exercise. The person contemplating Holy Scripture, says Lyra, is borne along into the love of the very object of his cognition—God himself—and comes to love him above all else.[5] Sentiments such as this remind us that Lyra stands in that venerable Franciscan tradition reaching back to St Bonaventure: biblical exegesis moves by love ever more deeply into love itself. More than wisdom (*sapientia*), however, Scripture is also understanding (*intellectus*), since understanding is the unerring grasp of principles. And it is on account of such principles that one can render

[4] PL 113:25c–26d. See 113:25d: "Sed liber continens sacram Scripturam . . . qui nomine generali Biblia dicitur, liber vitae proprie nominatur . . ."

[5] PL 113:26d–27a. See 113:26d: "Sacra vero Scriptura habet Deum pro subjecto, ut dictum est, qui est prima causa simpliciter omnium et ideo proprie dicitur Sapientia."

judgment as to the truth or falsity of things. So it is, then, that whatever is found to be in accord with Scripture is deemed true and whatever contradicts it must be false.[6]

Looking to Wisdom 1:7, "Hoc quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis," Lyra finds that Holy Scripture contains all things, precisely because it is a science that brings all things under its consideration. And it is here that we see the christological aspect of Scripture as Lyra notes that the phrase "scientiam habet vocis" pertains to that which is proper and to the word (*vocis*), meaning to what it signifies. Now what is proper to Holy Scripture is that which is expressed by the Divine Word himself. For it is through the Word that all things were made (Jn 1:1), which means that all things must fall under the consideration of this science, that is to say, under the consideration of Scripture. Lyra notes that this does not apply to knowledge of all particular things that may be found by way of human reason, but rather all the created things by which we are led up into the knowledge and love of God through a true faith that has been informed by charity.[7]

Lyra proceeds to compare the book (*liber*) of Scripture to a mirror (*speculum*). Here he is drawing on the classic text of Wisdom 7:26, "... a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror ...". For just as sensible forms are apparent in a mirror, so in this book the intelligible truths shine forth. Lyra has recourse to Robert Grosseteste's comment that "the Word of the Father is [for the angels] the Book of Life and the mirror of eternity in which they intelligibly read—and in clarity gaze upon—the immense power of the Father through which they worship; the innumerable wisdom of the Son by which they are illuminated; and the sweetest goodness of the Spirit which they embrace."[8] Lyra contends that the divine foreknowledge in which all the truths shine forth is the book from which the apostles and prophets read, they who handed down this science. Yet it must be noted that the prophets did not see the divine essence which is itself identical with God's foreknowledge. The prophets saw these things only obscurely (cf. 1 Cor 13:12). Thus it must be said that, while the prophets read from the book of divine foreknowledge—where all things are written—they still did not see all these things clearly. They saw only certain things in the manner in which God permitted. Here Lyra also points out that the exegete and the prophet operate on very different levels. The exegete has

[6] PL 113:27b.
[7] PL 113:27d.
[8] PL 113:28a. See Grosseteste, Dictum 3, MS Bodley 798 (SC 2656), fol. 4va.

no such knowledge, since he is not illuminated by the prophetic light and thus cannot read from this book of divine foreknowledge. The exegete reads instead from the book of Holy Scripture that is handed down to us by the prophets.[9] On this point Gianmaria Zamagni astutely observes that Lyra's appeal to Scripture as the mirror of intelligible truth was a means to protect its authority against the attacks of the schools, and its root in the Divine author assured its place above all human writings.[10]

2. *The Senses of Scripture*

Holy Scripture is not only a very special book because of what it reveals and where it leads, but also for the very way in which it speaks. In Scripture one letter (*littera*) may contain many senses precisely because God is the principal author (*principalis auctor*). Echoing Thomas Aquinas, Lyra points out that God has the power not only to make words signify things, which even human beings can do, but also to have the things signified by the words signify still other things (Aquinas, ST 1. q. 1, a. 10). Hence the first level of signification in Scripture pertains to what is communicated through the words, and this is accepted as the literal or historical sense. The second level of signification takes place on the level of the things themselves that Lyra refers to as the mystical or spiritual sense, which is itself three-fold. Lyra states that the literal sense is the exterior of Scripture; it is clear because it is immediately signified through the words. The interior is the mystical or spiritual sense, which is hidden and only revealed through the things that are designated by the words.[11] Although Lyra accepted the possibility of four senses, he admits that there are times when no mystical sense is required, as with the command to love God with one's whole heart (Dt 6:5). Yet there are other times when there is no literal sense, as with the parable of the talking trees (Jgs 9:8–15) or Christ's advice that we cut off our hand if it scandalizes us (Mt 5:29–30). If the literal sense is that which properly signifies, then there can be no such sense in these cases. In fact, that sense of Scripture would be false

[9] PL 113:28b: "Nos autem, qui talem cognitionem non habemus, quia lumine prophetico illustrati non sumus, non possumus legere in dicto libro, sed in libro Scripturae sacrae nobis tradito a prophetis." See the Gloss on Isaiah 38:1 in *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria*, eds. K. Froehlich and M. Gibson (Turnhout: 1992), 3:59.

[10] Gianmaria Zamagni, "Ermeneutica e metafisica: I due Prologhi della *Postilla litteralis* di Nicola di Lyra O.F.M.," *Dianoia* 12 (2007): 57–85. See pp. 84–85.

[11] PL 113:28c–29a.

if one had to read these texts literally since trees cannot talk and Christ would not command anyone to cut off his own hand. As such, these passages must be understood in the mystical sense alone: the trees referring to the inhabitants of Shechem and the hand referring to the severance of a destructive relationship. Lyra admits that the doctors say the parabolic sense belongs to the literal, but here, he says, one must realize that they are speaking broadly. For in those cases where there is no literal sense signified by the words, the parabolic sense is the primary sense, and in that way can be called the literal, inasmuch as the literal sense is the first when no other sense is present. In fact, Lyra admits that he too has called the parabolic sense the literal within his own commentaries.[12]

Lastly, there are those instances when Scripture has both a literal and a mystical sense as in the account of Abraham and his two sons, Isaac and Ishmael (Gn 21:1–14). While this is true according to the literal sense, it is also true in the mystical, as evinced by the Apostle Paul's allegorical reading in which they signify the two testaments (Gal 4:24). Even here, though, they are not limited to the allegorical but can signify on the moral and anagogical level as well. There are even instances when one thing displays many different properties leading to multiple mystical readings. Thus a lion may at once be Christ the lion of Judah (Rv 5:5) as well as the devil (1 Plt 5:8); the first represents his constancy and the second his voracity.[13] Lyra acknowledges all four senses of Scripture, therefore, but he is very concerned with preserving the literal sense and complains of the tendency to cover it over with a multiplication of mystical senses. He points out that all the spiritual senses presuppose the literal sense as their foundation. Thus, when a mystical interpretation is shown to be at odds with the literal, it must be rejected. Indeed, when studying Holy Scripture one must begin with the literal sense for it is only from it that one can make a valid theological argument.[14]

As mentioned above, Lyra developed an ingenious way of balancing the literal and the spiritual senses. He contended that there may in fact be both a mystical and an historical sense under the same letter: this is the "double literal sense" (*duplex sensus litteralis*). In these instances the truth of the history recorded in the text must be maintained even as it refers to a spiritual understanding. The example he gives in his prologue

[12] PL 113:33d–34c. Cf. John Cassian, *Collationes* 14.8; PL 49:964a.
[13] PL 113:34d.
[14] PL 113:29c–30b.

is taken from 1 Chronicles 22:10 where the Lord is portrayed as a father to Solomon. Read literally (*ad litteram*) Solomon was indeed God's son by adoption, and thus by grace. Yet the Apostle Paul had cited this text in Hebrews 1:5 when speaking of Christ, and he also did so *ad litteram* so that he might prove that Christ was higher than the angels. Paul's point of doctrine, however, cannot be based upon the mystical sense. That would violate Augustine's rule that the literal sense alone is the foundation of all doctrine. Here, then, the same text is speaking literally about Solomon, God's son by grace, even as it is speaking about Christ, God's Son by nature. The same text is fulfilled by both Solomon and Christ although less perfectly by the former and more perfectly by the latter. Still, Lyra admits that, while each exposition is the literal sense simply speaking, the second interpretation, referring to Christ, is itself mystical or spiritual in a relative way. For Solomon was a figure or a type of Christ.[15] This exegetical method permits Lyra not simply to preserve the historical letter, but, more importantly, the history itself. Solomon's own life as a believer under the grace of God is preserved as meaningful in itself and not merely insofar as it points to Christ.

3. *Lyra and his Sources*

Lyra also stood out among his contemporaries on account of his willingness to engage the original languages of the Bible. That he passed on this knowledge through his postil is one more reason future generations admired and utilized his commentaries. He was knowledgeable in Hebrew and would often consult rabbinic sources, most notably Rashi, thereby in keeping with Jerome's dictum that when seeking the truth of the literal sense in the Old Testament one must refer to the Hebrew texts. Lyra warns, however, that one should be careful in such instances because he believes that Jewish scholars have purposely distorted those passages that attest to the divinity of Christ in an effort to bolster their own error. Nevertheless, Lyra still turns to Rashi when seeking to discern the literal sense of the Old Testament and praises his skill among the Hebrew doctors.[16] Even though Lyra is confident in his own exegetical skills, albeit in consultation with the Catholic doctors, as well as Rashi, he still humbly

[15] PL 113:31d–32a. See 113:31d: "Circa quid considerandum quod eadem littera aliquamdo habet duplicem sensum litteralem . . ."

[16] PL 113:29d–30d.

deprecates his facility in both Hebrew and Latin. Exhibiting the typical caution of the schoolman, however, Lyra remarks that he has no intention of "asserting" anything in his postil unless it is has been clearly determined by Scripture and the authority of the Church.[17]

As noted above, Paul of Burgos found reason to criticize Lyra. In his *Additiones* he at first praised Lyra for his attention to the literal sense and notes the popularity of his commentary. Then he criticized Lyra on three principal points. First, Paul claimed that Lyra often discounts the expositions of the holy doctors in favor of his own, and sometimes even in favor of Jewish exegetes. Moreover, he rarely mentions Thomas Aquinas, and when he does, it is usually to impugn him. Paul finds this ironic, as he contends that Lyra is actually quite indebted to Aquinas and frequently co-opted his teachings without due credit. Second, he attacked Lyra's Hebrew skills and claims that he never fully learned the language because he came to it as an adult. Finally, he criticizes Lyra for relying so heavily on Rashi for his interpretation of the literal sense of the Old Testament. It is Paul's claim that, while Rashi was a revered Talmudic scholar, he was never held in such high esteem among fellow Jewish scholars as a biblical exegete.[18]

Lyra's fellow Franciscan Matthias Döring replied that Paul of Burgos had no right to make such charges. As for the first, he notes that Paul himself often diverges from the expositions of the saints and does so for no reason. Lyra, however, criticizes a saint's interpretation only when he can prove that the saint himself diverged from the greater reason and authority. What is more, Paul seems to hold Thomas Aquinas in greater esteem than the likes of Augustine, Gregory and Jerome as if all Aquinas's sayings were first truths. Here, though, Matthias also makes an important point regarding the authority of the holy doctors for the present Church. For he notes that many statements of even so great a saint as Augustine are now reckoned as simple opinions, and some no longer generally accepted by modern scholars. And with this being the case, Lyra can hardly be blamed for not accepting all Aquinas's remarks. Furthermore, the fact that Lyra learned Hebrew as an adult is a cause for rejoicing, not criticism, since it shows his love for Scripture. If Lyra is to be criticized on this score, then one would have to hold it against Jerome as well. Finally, Matthias notes

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[17] PL 113:31a: "... ideo protestor quod nihil intendo dicere assertive, seu determinative, nisi quantum ad ea quae manifeste determinata sunt per sacram Scripturam vel Ecclesiae auctoritatem ..."

[18] PL 113:46.

that Lyra only followed Rashi in those cases where he was supported by faith and reason. In fact, the Jewish scholars whom Paul prefers could not match Rashi's exegetical skill, nor were they as consistent with faith and reason.[19]

4. *Lyra on the Pauline Epistles*

With this preamble in mind we can now turn to Lyra specifically as a commentator on the Apostle Paul. Lyra composed a prologue to the Pauline Epistles where he assessed the specific qualities and purposes of the Apostle.[20] Here he states that the wisdom of Saint Paul principally consists of his knowledge that the Lord Jesus Christ died for the redemption of the human race. This is apparent in the Apostle's remark to the Corinthians that he decided to know nothing else among them except for Jesus Christ and him crucified (1 Cor 2:2). That, says Lyra, is the same wisdom spoken of in Proverbs 22 and then displayed in the three languages upon the cross. Lyra also applies to the Epistles what was by now the standard Aristotelian schema of the four causes: efficient, material, final and formal. As the writer (*scriptor*), the Apostle Paul is the efficient cause. The crucified Christ, the very wisdom of the Apostle's teaching, is the material cause in the sense of being the subject matter. The final cause is the usefulness of his teaching for the whole Church: the life of grace here in the present and glory in the future. As for the formal cause, that is the double form of his teaching, namely the form of the treatise (*forma tractatus*) and the form of the treatment (*forma tractandi*). The latter is the Apostle's own method of procedure (*modus agendi*). And when assessing particular Epistles Lyra will typically offer a *divisio textus* at the outset whereby the Apostle Paul is found to divide his letter into three parts: salutation or preface; a detailed exposition (*enarratio*) or verbal explanation (*prosecutio*); and a consummation or conclusion.

At the outset of his Romans commentary Lyra presents a careful analysis of Paul's own prologue for the Epistle to the Romans. There are three things, says Lyra, that must be briefly touched upon. First of all, Paul

[19] PL 113:61c–62c.

[20] All references to Lyra's Pauline Commentaries are based on his *Postilla super Totam Bibliam*, 4 vols. (Strassburg: 1492; reprint: Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1971). These volumes are unpaginated. This edition includes Paul of Burgos's *Additiones ad Postillas Nicolai Lyrani* and Matthias Döring's *Defensarium Nicolai Lyrani seu Replicationes contra Paulum Burgenssem*.

describes the recipients of the letter: for they are called 'Romans.' He then posits the final cause, or the reason, for having written the letter: to recall them to the gospel. And third, he mentions the place from which the letter is sent: he is writing from Corinth. Paul then makes a further two-part division as the Romans are described by their region or country, and then by their false religion which they learned from the false apostles who deceived them. From there Paul touches upon this deception in three parts. There are the deceivers, the false apostles; the form of deception, presenting their message under the name of Jesus Christ; and the matter in which they were deceived, by observing the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law. From there Paul will first recall the Romans from their error and then lead them to knowledge of the truth, namely the true gospel and faith. Here, then, we have the first two main sections of the prologue: the description of the recipients and the purpose of the letter. As for the third, the place from which Paul sent the letter, Lyra turns explicitly to Haimo of Auxerre and to Origen. He notes that Haimo claims the letter was sent from Athens, whereas Origen says Corinth. Lyra is confident, however, that this conflict between authorities can be resolved. Paul could have written parts of the epistle in Athens, and then completed it in Corinth, whence he sent it to the Romans.

5. *Sin and Justification*

As we briefly survey some of Lyra's comments on the Epistle to the Romans it might be helpful to begin with Romans 1:17. The Protestant Reformer Martin Luther generally admired Lyra's exegetical skills and knew his *Postilla* well. Yet when Luther commented on Romans in 1515–16 he specifically took issue with Lyra's reading of this passage.[21] In his *Postilla*, Lyra contends that when Paul says that the righteousness of God is revealed *ex fide in fidem* this marks a transition from an unformed faith (*ex fide*) to a formed faith (*in fidem*). For the unformed faith lacks charity (*sine caritate*) and thereupon is formed by charity. It is the formed faith which perfectly vivifies and justifies, hence the true meaning of Habakuk 2:4—"the just man lives by faith." This reading is thereby in keeping with the traditional late medieval notion of 'faith formed by love' (*fides caritate formata*) whereby—in Aristotelian terms—faith is moved from a

[21] *Lectures on Romans* in *Luther's Works* 25, trans. W. Tillmanns and A. Preus (St Louis: 1972), 152. For the Latin critical edition see WA 56; pp. 172–73.

state of potency to actuality through the addition of charity. Along these lines, in his commentary on Colossians, Lyra notes that faith in Christ forms the spiritual foundation of the salvific edifice, since faith without works is dead. Love refers to the works of charity, while hope refers to the heavenly reward promised by the gospel. Thus, to be rooted and built up in Christ (Col 2:7) is to be rooted in charity and built upon through the other virtues.

Just as faith must be actualized through love, so justification does not merely consist in being counted as righteous, but actually becoming such. Thus when Lyra comments on Romans 5:1, he notes that justification (*iustificatio*) can be considered as a motion towards justice (*ad iustitiam*), just as being made white (*albatio*) is a motion towards whiteness (*ad albedinem*). Now justification can be looked at in two ways. On the one hand, it is the simple state of glorification that does not involve a movement away from impiety. This was the sort of justification that Adam enjoyed in the state of innocence. Yet the other sort involves a change, that is, a movement away from guilt (*culpa*) towards righteousness, and it is in this way that man is now justified, having been born in a fallen state. This is the process whereby one moves from the starting point of guilt to the end point of righteousness. A change, as Lyra notes, is denominated based upon the end point where it culminates. Thus, in the process of being made white (*albatio*) is so named based upon the whiteness (*albedo*) that the object finally receives at the end of the process. In this way too justification is not denominated by the guilt or impiety from which it begins, but from the grace of righteousness where it concludes. That is why, says Lyra, the whole process is more aptly named 'justification' than 'remission of sins' although it includes both.

Commenting on Romans 5:12, Lyra follows the traditional reading that all men sinned in Adam (*in quo omnes peccaverunt*). All human beings, as Adam's future members, have sinned. The fact that the Law of Moses had not yet been given to man (Rom 5:13) does not serve as an excuse. For Lyra points out that the natural law had been placed within the human mind from the beginning; thus, the transgression was a sin although, on account of the multiplication of sins, the natural law had been obscured such that transgression of the law was not then counted as sin. As for humankind after the fall, Lyra concludes that there is an infection of nature brought about by Adam's sin: this is the original sin passed down to posterity. Yet Christ justifies man with regard to both original and actual sin. Through the gift of Christ, therefore, many are rendered just.

Commenting on the Apostle Paul's typological schema of Adam and Christ, Lyra notes that Adam served as a type of Christ inasmuch as he was the first man in the state of nature (*esse naturae*), just as Christ was first in the state of grace (*esse gratiae*). Adam was formed from the earth by divine power while Christ by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary. And as Eve was formed from the side of Adam, so the Church sprung from the side of Christ. Believers are now regenerated in the state of grace, just as from Adam and Eve the human race had been generated in the state of nature.

Although Lyra tends to keep his comments rather brief, at this point he offers a detailed analysis of original sin. If a privation is known by means of the habit which it lacks, then one must first define the habit of original justice whose privation is original sin. Original justice, says Lyra, is a certain rectitude of human nature whereby the body is subject to the soul, and inferior powers subject to reason, as the soul itself is subject to its creator. Such rectitude, however, was not present from the beginning of human nature, since the human body was naturally corruptible. Instead, it was given by God to the first man who God made in a state of rectitude (Ecclesiastes 7:30). And because justice is a certain rectitude, then such rectitude of human nature is called original justice inasmuch as it was given to human nature at its origin. It would have been handed down to posterity if Adam had preserved it, yet because he sinned it was justly withdrawn and now man is held accountable for the lack of this original rectitude, or justice, the lack of which is known as original sin. It is a debt that all men owe. Christ through grace takes away this debt, such that the lack of rectitude, and thus guilt (*culpa*), no longer remains in us. Nevertheless, the penalty (*poena*) does remain as we must still bear with the passions and infirmities of our body, although it is also the case that we now have the help of Christ's grace to assist us in the accumulation of merits. In the final resurrection, though, we will realize the full reparation of our nature when we are raised to eternal life through Christ. This will not be the sort of immortality that we had in the state of innocence by which man was able not to die, but rather the immortality of glory by which man cannot die since he lives with Christ for eternity.

As noted above, Paul of Burgos often criticized Lyra's commentary in the form of an *additio* at the end of some chapters. Here, for example, he took issue with Lyra's definition of original sin. Paul of Burgos argued that although original sin does entail the privation of original justice, it is not a pure privation, but is itself a certain corrupt habit. Bodily sickness takes away the harmony of bodily health and thus can be considered a

privation, but it is still something positive in itself. So original sin is also something positive (i.e., not merely a negation) which is able to disrupt the soul and thus deprive man of original righteousness. Hence the doctors call it the *fomes peccati*, or concupiscence of sin, which has the ring of an actual, or positive, thing.

As Lyra explored theories of sin and concupiscence he was also careful to observe subtle textual variants. We find this in his comments on the Apostle's remark (Rom 7:7) that he would not have known what it is to covet unless the law had said: "Do not covet." What Saint Paul means, says Lyra, is that he would not have known that covetousness (*concupiscentia*) was actually a sin. Yet some texts of Romans have supplied this extended meaning even though it does not belong to the biblical text. Hence, according to Lyra, the corrected versions (*libris correctis*) rightly omit it. The meaning of the original text—that concupiscence is a sin—is surely implied (*subintelligendum*), however, and that is why some of the doctors had placed the word 'sin' (*peccatum*) in their interlinear gloss. The error arose only later, says Lyra, when an ignorant scribe inserted this into the text of Romans itself.

That concupiscence can itself be called sin, according to Lyra, owes to the fact that it is the cause of sin, much as the sun is called heat because it is heat's cause. Concupiscence then increased the incentive to sin, and the Apostle Paul was seduced in the sense that he was drawn to consent to mortal sin. Lyra notes that Paul wants to demonstrate here that the law is good, for the intention of the law is to lead men to the good. Under the old law God kept men in order by means of the ceremonial precepts and thus subjected them to these precepts for the sake of the good. Indeed, such a law must have been good since it pertained to the worship of God. God also set men to live in peace with their neighbor through the judicial precepts of law, and set man in order to himself through the moral precepts. Now, says Lyra, someone may object that while the law is good in itself taken absolutely, it is evil for fallen man whose flesh rebels against his spirit. After all, it is through the law that one is excited to sin. Thus it can be compared to wine which is absolutely good in itself and yet is evil for someone with a fever. Could something which is good in itself, namely the law, have brought about death? Of course not! In fact, though, it cannot be compared to wine, since wine directly increases the heat of a fever and thus is evil for the sick man. The law in itself does not generate the fever of concupiscence; that is the result of the evil within man and the wickedness of the demons. Thus the law cannot be called evil any more than a good act can be blamed if it scandalizes someone on

account of that person's own evil. Neither does the one performing the good act, nor the act itself, become any worse unless one intentionally set out to scandalize the other person in the first place. In that case, then, the act would have been evil based on the initial intention. The point is that the law does not in itself excite concupiscence, even though it is true that concupiscence follows; still, the law is not the cause. The true cause remains the evil of man and the wickedness of demons; thus the interior and exterior occasions for sin.

The Apostle Paul will then make his case from natural law. Lyra notes that written law, whether divine or human, is in a certain sense a determination of natural law. Thus, if something is consonant with natural law it is good, as a conclusion that follows from first principles. Lyra finds that within man there is a sort of double person (*duplex persona*), namely the rational and sensual, also known as the spirit and the flesh, the interior and exterior, and it is through reason that man is distinguished from the brutes. Thus when a man follows reason he is said to act and will as a man properly speaking, although when he follows sensual impulses he is acting as a brute, inasmuch as he is not acting in accord with reason. Hence the law is good insofar as it prohibits man from following sensual or carnal concupiscence. In this, then, it is in keeping with natural law. The law can also be called spiritual insofar as it directs man to follow the instinct of the spirit or reason. Man, on the other hand, can be called carnal when he follows his sensual impulses. Here then, says Lyra, Paul is speaking in the person of the fallen human race (Rom 7:14) as man so often follows after sensual impulses. When Paul refers to being "sold under sin" he is referring to the sin of the first parents in which the human race incurred the rebellion of the flesh against the spirit. Man finds himself unable to follow the dictates of right reason even as he knows that the law is good—good precisely because it prohibits what is hateful to right reason. Thus when Paul speaks of "the sin that dwells within me" (Rom 7:17) he is referring to concupiscence, which (as Lyra has already explained) is called sin inasmuch as it is the incitement, or cause, of sin. His flesh is now corrupted through the sin of Adam, since such an evil inclination was surely not in human flesh during the state of innocence. When Paul refers to himself as the "wretched man" (Rom 7:24) he is speaking in the person of the whole human race as he prays for liberation. He gives thanks through Christ (Rom 7:25), confident that he will one day be liberated from the power of concupiscence even as he has already been freed from guilt through baptism.

6. *Law and Gospel*

Saint Paul's goal in Galatians, says Lyra, is to eliminate the error of legal observance. As Lyra lays out the basic schema, the Apostle first proves the perfection of the evangelical law before proving the imperfection of the Mosaic law. Lyra's scholastic training comes into play as he examines Paul's proposition that "if an angel from heaven etc." (Gal 1:8). Here Lyra notes that a conditional proposition can be valid even when either part is false or impossible. For example, 'If a human being flies, a human being has wings' is valid even though it is false that a human being can fly or have wings. This is how it is with Paul's proposition; the true apostles were confirmed in grace and now even more so than the holy angels. Hence a proposition must be false and impossible that would have the apostles contradict the truth of the Gospel. Nevertheless, in its conditional form it is true since they would be anathematized were they actually to preach a false Gospel.

When Lyra comments on Paul's remark that "the Law is not from faith" (Gal 3:12), he takes this opportunity to address the larger issue of the role of faith within salvation history. Lyra argues that in the Old Law the precepts were not given with regard to what one must believe, inasmuch as that pertains to the New Law where the content of the Christian belief is explained. Appealing to Romans 3:27, Lyra states that, "The Old Law is called a law of deeds whereas the New Law is called a law of faith." Yet Lyra immediately points out that this does not mean that the people of the Old Testament were bereft of the faith without which it is impossible to please God (Heb 11:6). Because Lyra believed that there is an inherent continuity to salvation history, there must be one faith all along. The Patriarchs were certainly holy and they pleased God, according to Lyra, but they did not possess an 'explicit faith' like the people of the New Testament, where the truth was openly revealed through Christ. Thus, in addition to punishing sinners and moving people to yearn for Christ's coming, the Old Law, functioning as a figure of the New Law, was able to introduce people to faith in Christ. This is because the figure leads, albeit imperfectly, to an understanding of what it symbolizes. In order to make sense of the unity of faith across the ages, therefore, Lyra draws upon the classic medieval distinction between 'implicit faith' and 'explicit faith.' The Old Testament Patriarchs possessed only an implicit faith inasmuch as they lacked explicit knowledge of the content of their faith, which had not yet been fully revealed. Whether veiled or revealed, however, the content of faith remains the same from age to age.

Paul of Burgos took issue with Lyra's reading of the law's relation to faith. He argued that many precepts in the Old Law do in fact pertain to what must be believed, as with Deuteronomy 6:5, "Hear O Israel the Lord your God is one," where the unity of God must be expressly believed while the Trinity is to be believed implicitly. Moreover, says Paul, the fact that people of the Old Law believed with an implicit faith, rather than explicit, does not make Lyra's case; faith is faith either way. That the righteous person lives by faith must be taken unqualifiedly, therefore, whether it is explicit or implicit, according to different people at different times.

We have already had occasion to examine Lyra's conception of the senses of Scripture. In the Galatians commentary he notes that Scripture has a fourfold sense and employs John Cassian's classic Jerusalem example: historical city, Church, human soul, and celestial home. The historical sense, says Lyra, signifies through words, while the mystical is understood through those things that are signified, and this latter mystical sense is itself three-fold. In the Epistle to the Galatians, the Church is read allegorically as the heavenly Jerusalem, which is said to be above because it proclaims and promises heavenly goods. She is our mother giving birth to Christians through the sacrament of baptism. The role of the sacraments is integrally connected to the change in epochs, from Old to New Law. Commenting on Saint Paul's reading of Genesis 21:10, Lyra points out that the casting out of the handmaid literally happened (*ad litteram*) to Hagar and Ishmael thereby symbolizing (*figuratum*) that when Christ arrived the legal observances, along with those who observed them, were to be cast out of the company of the faithful. In this vein Lyra finds that the "beggarly elements," which the Galatians must forsake (Gal 4:9), are the legal observances that could not bring justification since they lacked the grace that only the sacraments of the New Law provide.

7. *Soteriology*

One of the central texts pertaining to the doctrine of predestination is Romans 8:29 where the Apostle Paul says that "those whom he [God] foreknew he also predestined." Lyra points out that foreknowledge (*praescientia*) should not be taken here as though opposed to predestination (*praedestinatio*) in the sense that the damned are said to be foreknown, but instead as a preamble to predestination. God knows the elect and, as such, does not elect those whom he does not know. Yet foreknowledge does not precede predestination except in the order of reason, for all the good things that the predestined receive in the temporal realm actually

follow upon their previous eternal predestination. When, the Apostle continues "those whom he [God] predestined he also called" (Rom 8:30), this is accomplished through faith by drawing the free will of the elect. And those who are then justified are justified by grace (*per gratiam*).

When commenting on Ephesians 1:4, Lyra then takes up the question of predestination as it relates to the call to sanctity. He notes that while election has taken place from all eternity, the effect of election takes place in time, namely the sanctification of the rational creature. That is why the Apostle Paul adds "that we might be holy" through grace in our mind and "immaculate" through purity of conduct. Predestination, says Lyra, is the preparation of grace in the present and glory in the future. And it must be said that even as we are called to holiness, predestination is not based upon our own merits. Divine election is the beginning of a process whereby we are made acceptable in God's sight through the working of divine grace. Thus Lyra takes Ephesians 1:6, "in which he gratified us (*gratificavit nos*)," to mean that God made us pleasing (*gratos*) to himself. When Paul says that "by grace you have been saved through faith and not by works (Eph 2:7)," Lyra takes this to mean that you have been saved through the faith of Christ as opposed to the law of Moses. "This is not from us" because the beginning of belief and all meritorious works depends upon God. Indeed, says Lyra, among those who witness miracles and hear the same word, the one who believes has been moved by God. For, as Christ says, "No one comes to me unless the Father who sent me draws him" (Jn 6:65). What we see here is that the process of sanctification is the result of a process that begins with divine grace; God is making human beings pleasing, or acceptable, in his sight by grace apart from any preceding merits—*gratia gratum faciens*. Yet that is not to say that all human cooperation is excluded. As we just noted above, Lyra by no means took the words "by grace you have been saved through faith and not by works (Eph 2:7)," to be a Lutheran declaration of salvation by faith alone (*sola fide*). Rather, faith is contrasted here specifically with the rites of the Mosaic law, not good works generally.

All human salvation ultimately depends upon Christ's great act of redemption on the cross. In his Colossians commentary, Lyra stated that remission of sins comes through the sacraments of baptism and penance whose efficacy is secured through the passion of Christ. When Lyra examined the great redemptive drama narrated in Philippians 2:6–11, he notes that Paul first presents Christ's humbling before speaking of his exaltation. The humility of Christ is itself an example for believers; humility must be held in the heart, not only exteriorly as with the hypocrites. Lyra then proceeds to make some Trinitarian and Christological distinctions.

That Christ was "in the form of God" means that he was one in essence with God the Father from eternity because the form of divinity can never be multiplied. Although Christ "emptied" himself, humbled himself to the maximum degree, it must be remembered that his divinity did not suffer any loss. Hence Paul adds here that he accepted the "form of a servant," which is to say that he assumed human nature into the unity of the person in which he appeared humbled. That he was "made in the likeness of man" means that he assumed a passible nature although not with respect to guilt. And that he was "found in the habit (*habitum*)" refers to the fact that he lived a common life among men. Then Paul goes on to speak of Christ's exaltation which he merited, says Lyra, through the aforementioned humiliation. God exalted him in the resurrection and ascension. The glory and exaltation of his body was merited through his passion. This is not to be confused, says Lyra, with the glory which he already had from the instant of his conception. And when God the Father "gave him a name above every other name," this refers to the full manifestation of Christ's identity following the resurrection and ascension with the sending of the Holy Spirit.

8. *The Eucharist*

Commenting on the institution of the Eucharist in 1 Corinthians 11:23–26, Lyra has to face a bit of an exegetical hurdle. He must deal with the fact that in Paul's version of the event, Christ first breaks the bread and then utters the words of consecration: *Hoc est corpus meum*—hence the reverse of what happens in the Mass. Lyra contends quite plainly that Christ did not break the bread before offering the words of consecration, but afterwards. The word 'broke' (*fregit*) is thus employed in anticipation since Christ consecrated just as the Church does now. For priests do not offer the words of consecration in their own name, but rather *in persona Christi*. The fact that Saint Paul's account differs from what is found in Matthew 26:26, where Christ is recorded as first blessing and then breaking the bread, is likewise not a problem. For here, says Lyra, Paul's chief aim is to emphasize the words of consecration, rather than offer a precise record of the event. And, of course, one should not think that the body itself was broken; the fracture only affects the remaining species of the bread even as the Lord's body remains intact. Lyra affirms that, by divine power through the conversion, the true body of Christ is now underneath the accidents of the bread. The composite of matter and substantial form

is thereby converted even as the accidents of the bread continue to subsist as they are upheld by divine power. The conversion itself is sudden, taking place as it does with the completion of the words of consecration. Indeed, the words themselves bring into being the very things that they signify. Now, says Lyra, the fact that Christ then goes on to convert the wine into his blood does not imply that these two consecrations mutually anticipate one another, as some claim—in other words, that the bread's conversion is not complete until the wine's conversion. For immediately after the priest consecrates the bread, he then holds the host up to be adored, which means that it must be the true body of Christ at that point even before the consecration of the wine. Yet even though the wine has not yet been consecrated, that is not to say that the body of Christ is without its blood. Actually, while Christ's body is present by the power of consecration (*ex vi consecrationis*) the blood is also present, but instead by way of real concomitance (*ex concomitantia reali*). It is also by concomitance that the divine nature and human soul of Christ are present. This last aspect of concomitance raises some interesting historical concerns. During the triduum, when Christ lay dead in the tomb, his blood had been poured out and his soul had separated from his body. At that time, had some of the apostles consecrated the bread, then Christ's blood and soul would not have been present. Nevertheless, his divinity would still have been present at that time since it could never be separated from his humanity following the hypostatic union of the Incarnation.

9. *Paul of Burgos on the Literal Sense of Scripture*

Paul of Burgos found reason to criticize Lyra on some points, but he did recognize his value as a commentator and sought to further his predecessor's work. Paul's discussion of the literal sense is especially interesting, and gives us further insight into one of the most crucial topics of late medieval exegesis. In his *Additiones ad Postillas Nicolai Lyrani*, Paul notes an objection raised against claims for the superiority of the literal sense. If the literal sense (*sensus litteralis*) is taken to be the first signification of the letter by which the words signify things, there would seem to be many falsehoods in Scripture, especially in those cases where God is assigned corporeal qualities.[22] Now there is no doubt that when

[22] PL 113:38c. See also: Ian Christopher Levy, "The Literal Sense of Scripture and the Search for Truth in the Late Middle Ages," *Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 104 (2009): 783–827.

Scripture employs parables there will be apparent falsehoods of this sort. But, says Paul, the aforementioned definition of the literal sense is clearly too narrow. Rather, it should be understood to refer to the sense intended by the author of Holy Scripture, who is God. Paul's reasoning is as follows: "The literal sense of any writing is that which the author intends, since the words which are in his mind are signs of his feelings, as we read in [Aristotle's] first book of *On Interpretation* (16a). Yet it is certain that the author of Holy Scripture is God, and so it is clear that the literal sense of the text under discussion is that [sense] which is intended by God. And it is through the words (*voces*) contained in the letter that [his intention] is signified. It follows from this that the literal sense of Holy Scripture should not be called the sense that in some way contradicts the authority or determination of the Church, however much such a sense might be in conformity with the signification of the letter. For such a sense is not intended by the author, but rather is heretical." Here Paul appeals to Jerome's famous definition of heresy recorded in the *Decretum* chapter *Haeresis* (C. 24, q. 3, c. 27): it is an understanding of Scripture that runs contrary to what the Holy Spirit requires.[23] Nor should one accept as the literal sense anything that is contrary to reason, for neither can that be intended by the Divine Author, who is himself the First Truth from which all truth is derived.[24]

Paul then takes up the question as to whether there can be only one literal sense in any given passage of Scripture. He looks to Augustine's discussion in the *De utilitate credendi* of the four senses: the historical, etiological, analogical, and allegorical. Paul draws on the first three of these in order to provide a fuller explanation of the literal sense. First of all, he says, there is the letter simply explained: this is the historical sense. The second is the cause of that which is contained within the letter: the etiological sense. And the third is the truth of the letter that is shown not

[23] PL 113:39d–40a: "Unde addendum est praedictis: quod sensus sacrae Scripturae, ad hoc quod litteralis dicitur, requiritur quod sit intenus ab auctore sacrae Scripturae, qui est Deus. Cujus ratio est: nam sensus litteralis cujuscunque scripturae est ille quem auctor intendit, cum voces sint earum, quae sunt in anima, passionum notae: ut in prima Periermenias; sed constat quod auctor sacrae Scripturae est Deus, et sic patet quod sensus litteralis de quo agitur, est ille a Deo intenditur, et per voces in littera contentas signatur. Ex quibus sequitur quod sensus litteralis sacrae Scripturae non debet dici ille sensus qui in aliquo repugnat Ecclesiae auctoritati seu determinationi, quantumcunque talis sensus sit conformis significationi litterae: talis enim sensus non solum non intenditur ab auctore, sed potius est haereticus; unde Hieronymus. . ." See *Haeresis*, C. 24, q. 3, c. 27; Friedberg 1:997–98.

[24] PL 113:40b.

to be contrary to some other part of Scripture: the analogical sense. These categories can then be applied to Genesis 2:22, where the historical sense is simply what is contained within the letter—that God created woman from the rib of Adam. The etiological sense offers the cause why woman was taken from the side of man rather than some other part. And finally, the analogical sense demonstrates that this account does not contradict Genesis 1:27 where the text appears to state that God created male and female at the same time rather than successively as in Genesis 2:22. Yet, says Paul, this does not mean that there are three sorts of expositions contained under the category of the literal sense, such that any one of them is properly the literal sense. Rather, it is the first exposition alone that is the literal sense, whereas the second renders the cause of the literal sense, and the third solves the apparent contradictions. Hence, while it is true that the second and third expositions pertain to the literal sense, inasmuch as they perfect and elucidate it, they are nevertheless not literal senses properly speaking.[25]

The etymological and analogical senses may not be the literal sense properly speaking, but that is not to say that there cannot be more than one literal sense of a given text. In fact, Paul contends that when it comes to the simple exposition of Scripture, which arises from the primary signification of the word, it is clear that many literal senses (*plures sensus litterales*) are handed down, not only by the expositors and writers generally, but also by the holy doctors. It is clear, says Paul, that "not every text of Scripture has only one literal sense." Yet it can be objected that, although different senses may be attributed to the same sacred letter, that does not mean that the letter actually possesses many senses. After all (the objection runs), the literal sense is limited to the sense that the author intends. Paul meets this objection by turning to Aquinas's remark that God is the author of Scripture and can simultaneously comprehend all things by his act of simple understanding (ST 1, q. 1, a. 10). Along these lines, Paul also notes Augustine's belief that if the literal sense of Scripture provides many

[25] PL 113:41c–d. See 113:41d: "Sed bene attendenti, ex hac consideratione Augustini non habetur quod sub sensu litterali contineantur tria genera expositionum, sic quod quaelibet ullarum sit sensus litteralis proprie: sed prima expositio est tantum sensus litteralis . . . Unde secunda et tertia expositio, licet pertineant ad sensum litteralem, eo quod per eas magis perfictur seu elucidatur: non tamen sutn sensus litterales proprie dicendi." See Augustine, *De utilitate credendi* 3.5–9; PL 42:68–71. Paul's text reads *etymologicus* for Augustine's *aetiologia*, and *anagogicus* for Augustine's *analogia*. Here above I follow Augustine's original since it makes more sense for Paul's arguments. The PL text may be corrupt, but I have not verified this.

senses which seem to conform to the letter, and are not contrary to the determination of the Church and right reason, they can be accepted so long as they do not contradict one another. If, however, two literal senses are at odds with each other then only one can be the literal sense.[26]

The literal sense of Scripture is of such great capacity and virtue that all things pertaining to the faith and good morals are contained within it. The testimonies of the truth are established for eternity; these are the testimonies of Holy Scripture grasped according to the literal sense, from which sense alone testimony can be accepted. Having said that, it must be noted that not all things which might be grasped according to the literal sense are immediately at hand such that they could all be understood from the primary signification of the letter. The addition of some other truth may be required; and from that added truth another truth might then be deduced. For example, in Luke 20:37–38 Christ appealed to the letter of Exodus 3:6 when responding to the Sadducees who denied the resurrection. From the literal sense of the words: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," Christ concluded that God is the God of the living, not the dead. Here the literal sense tells us something about God, namely that he is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Now reason dictates that God is said to be God with respect to something that really exists, from which it follows that Abraham and Isaac must really exist. Yet such a conclusion could not be deduced from the literal sense of Exodus 3:6 unless another true proposition were added to it. Conclusions such as these, therefore, can be gleaned from the sacred letter sometimes by one deduction and at other times through a series of deductions. This process is similar to the sciences or liberal arts where some conclusions are deduced right away from first principles that are naturally known, whereas others must proceed through various intermediary steps. Hence, the literal sense that arises from the primary signification of the letter should be called the first literal sense (*primus sensus litteralis*), whereas subsequent senses ought to be designated secondary senses (*sensus secondarii*). The certitude of these secondary senses depends upon the certitude of the first sense, which is itself more certain than the secondary senses. For the first principles that

[26] PL 113:42b–c. See Augustine, *Confessiones* 12.42; CCSL 27:240–41; and *De doctrina christiana* 3.27.38; CCSL 32:99–100. Paul is also referring here to Peter Lombard's survey of patristic interpretations of the opening verses of Genesis in his *Sentences* 2.13, ed. Brady 1:389–95.

are naturally known are going to be more certain than the rest that are deduced from them.[27]

Inasmuch as there are many literal senses, various criteria have to be established for discerning which one is preferable. We should look for the literal sense that rests more upon reason, that is more consonant with the letter, and that is favored by the holy doctors. Now if there are two literal senses and neither is contrary to ecclesiastical authority or right reason, but one is handed down by Catholics and the other by infidels, then the former should be preferred. For those people who are within the bosom of the Church—to which Christ promised the Holy Spirit—are going to have the true understanding of Scripture. Paul notes, however, that it rarely happens that where there is a plurality of senses one of them will exceed the rest in all these of categories. More often than not, one will excel in this way and another in that.[28]

Paul points out that, while it is true that an effective argument can only be made from the literal sense of Scripture, that is not to say that such an argument can be made from any literal sense of Scripture whatsoever. For there are many texts in Holy Scripture that have been expounded upon by the holy doctors in different ways. One could not, therefore, mount an effective argument from such senses given this level of variation. Although the literal sense of Scripture is not always the same for all readers, one could still find a valid argument within some literal sense that would hold up against people who accept the same literal sense. But one could not use the same argument against those who have a different exposition, or literal sense, of that same passage. There are some texts of Scripture whose literal sense is held to be true among Catholics, even though it will not serve as an effective argument among infidels and heretics. That does not make the sense held by Catholics any less true or literal, however. For example, the Psalmist says, "By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made" (Ps 32:6). For Catholics, the true and literal sense of this text refers to the Son of God, which is in keeping with John 1:3, "All things were made through the Word." Yet this will not be an effective argument against infidels who have not accepted the Gospel, since they do not concede that there is any real distinction within God that would allow one divine person to proceed from another in the manner of a mental word. As it is, then, the Catholic ought to explicate this passage from the Psalms

[27] PL 113:42d–43b.
[28] PL 113:43c–44a.

in a Catholic way and not worry about the fact that it will be rejected by the infidels who deny the Trinity. For it is not necessary to muster an argument from every single literal sense against all comers.[29]

The entire certitude of the spiritual senses of Scripture depends upon the certitude of the literal sense. There may, however, be occasions when the spiritual senses prove to be even greater than the literal. For instance, the Apostle Paul's allegorical reading of Abraham's two sons (Gen 21:8–14) to mean the two covenants (Gal 4:24–26) is superior to the historical sense of that letter. Nevertheless, it is the literal sense that extends itself to every part of Holy Scripture, since every passage of Scripture has some literal sense, whereas the same cannot be said for the spiritual senses.[30] Taking away the literal sense, Paul warns, is like removing the foundation of a building; the entire edifice will collapse. The spiritual senses will go to ruin once the literal is withdrawn, since the spiritual sense concerning matters of salvation is founded upon the literal sense.[31]

Not only does Paul claim that the literal sense is communicated to every proposition in Scripture, it often happens (as we have seen) that one passage has a "multiple literal exposition." Of course, many difficulties may arise in matters of faith and morals as one plumbs the depths of the literal sense. Yet this is hardly reason to forego the necessary effort. After all, many commentaries are written on the books of the human sciences where there is only one literal sense. All sorts of questions arise when attempting to discern the intention of the human authors who write on such topics as physics and ethics. Such is the case in the faculties of civil and canon law where the only sense of the texts and the glosses is the literal. Now, if so many commentaries and expositions are devoted to discerning the literal sense in matters that can be known by natural reason, then one will surely discover many literal senses, or expositions, when treating the things of Scripture which can only be known under supernatural light.[32]

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[29] PL 113:44b–d. See 113:44d: "Ex quo sequitur quod catholicus exponens istam auctoritatem Psalmistae debet eam catholice exponere, non curans an ex ea posset sumi efficax argumentum contra infideles Trinitatem negantes . . ."

[30] PL 113:45b–d.

[31] PL 113:48a: ". . . sic totus sensus spiritualis sacrae Scripturae rueret sensu litterali totaliter sublato, cum sensus spiritualis de his quae ad salutem pertinet, fundari habeat in sensu litterali, ut dictum est."

[32] PL 113:57b–d. See 113:57c: ". . . quanto magis in Scriptura divina, ubi agitur de his quae supernaturali lumine tantummodo cognoscuntur, inveniri possunt multiplices sensus litterales, seu expositiones, quaestiones, et hujusmodi."

Paul insists that the literal sense of Scripture—specifically taken as that which the author intends—cannot be deficient nor include any falsehood. For that would be to impugn the entire authority of Holy Scripture. The literal sense refers to the signification through which words signify things. Hence, whenever this proves deficient one must turn to the mystical signification by which the things signified by the words then signify something else beyond themselves. In such cases, therefore, the literal sense principally intended by the author is not that which is primarily understood by the signification of words, but rather that which is further signified by those things signified by the words. And this is often the case in Holy Scripture. First of all, it happens in parables when Scripture, speaking of one thing *ad litteram*, passes to another thing of which it is a figure. There are other occasions when the history that is related in Scripture is found to be deficient because, if solely understood according to the signification of the words, it fails to instruct in faith and morals. It is on these occasions that one must look for a sense that can be accommodated according to the mystical signification. Sacred history, after all, is ordered to our instruction. Yet when the signification of the words is deficient, one can be sure that the order of history is also deficient. In these instances one will have to turn to the spiritual sense, which will then be received as the literal sense (*pro litterali*).[33]

One may have to turn to the spiritual senses in place of the literal, but it is still the case that all things necessary for salvation are handed down under the literal sense. Indeed, the mystery of the Trinity is founded upon the literal sense, for only in that way could one mount an effective argument for it. All things pertaining to articles of the faith, therefore, are found in the literal sense. Nowhere does Christ ever cite an authoritative passage of Holy Scripture, whether to instruct his disciples or contradict his Jewish opponents, unless it can be understood under the literal sense. Paul notes here that when Lyra, in his Old Testament *Postilla*, comes across an authoritative passage that is cited in the New Testament by Christ and his disciples, he always expounds it according to the literal sense. Thus Lyra believes that Psalm 117:22, "The stone that the builders have rejected has become the chief cornerstone," should be understood according to the literal sense about Christ, since Christ had cited this text about himself (Mt 21:42). Christ has the authority, therefore, to determine the true literal sense of the Old Testament. This authority with respect to

[33] PL 113:49c–d.

the Old Testament actually extends to all the New Testament authors, as when the Apostle Paul cites texts such as Psalm 2:7 in Hebrews to prove the divinity of Christ. All the mysteries of Christ are expressed (*expressa*) in the Old Testament and are completed in Christ. It is certain, therefore, that all the authoritative scriptural passages cited by Lyra according to the literal sense signify such mysteries. Thus, when Christ spoke of searching the Scriptures, which bear witness to him (Jn 5:39), this refers to the literal sense, which is to say, the intended sense (*ad sensum litteralem, quod est intentum*).[34]

Now it might be objected that the literal sense is in no need of such scrutiny since it is taken from what is signified through words—that which presents itself immediately to the intellect. Yet the fact is that many people still manage to err in determining the literal sense of both the Old and the New Testaments. "The ways of the Lord are right and the just walk in them, but transgressors stumble in them" (Hos 14:9). Paul clearly recognizes that the spiritual disposition of the exegete is essential if one is to discern the true sense of the text. For he says that, although the literal sense is always right, it will be clearer to the just who have the light of faith. Those who walk in the ways of the Lord adhere to what was intended through the literal sense of faith, whereas transgressors lack that very light of faith (*lumen fidei*) and consequently stumble. Hence the blindness for which Christ rebukes the Jews is their false understanding of the literal sense. There are certain Old Testament passages that signify the mysteries of Christ by way of the literal sense, the very literal sense that the Jews distort when they deny that the true faith is expressed in these texts. Again, "to search the Scriptures" is to attend to the "true literal sense that is contained within them." The key here, for Paul, is the *verus sensus litteralis*, since a false conception of the literal sense opens up the door to heresy. If Arius had possessed the true literal sense, he would have seen that "The Father and I are one" (Jn 10:30) speaks to the unity of the divine nature, while the genuine understanding of "The Father is greater than I" (Jn 14:28) refers to the Father's superiority with respect to Christ's assumed human nature. Heresy inevitably results when texts are understood *ad literam* apart from the light of the Holy Spirit. Thus, one must abide by the "true literal understanding of the Gospel."[35]

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[34] PL 113:52d–54d.

[35] PL 113:55a–d. See 113:55d: "Nam si Arius verum litteralem sensum habuit . . . Sed quia praedicta aliter intellexit ad litteram quam catholici Spiritu sancto illuminati intellexerunt, lapsus est in laqueum. Et sic patet quod circa verum intellectum litteralem Evangelii . . ."

Here Paul has given voice to a central tenet of medieval exegesis: if the literal sense is the Divine Author's intended sense, then it will always remain closed to those who have estranged themselves from the Source of Truth. In their quest for an accurate determination of the literal sense of Scripture, both Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos have been attempting to secure the veracity of Scripture so that it might stand as the final authority in all matters of doctrine. Perhaps the heretic will never be able to grasp the genuine literal sense—that which the Divine Author intends—but the heretic must be defeated from Holy Scripture nonetheless. To the extent that Scripture's many apparent enigmas could be solved, the more its truth could be known and then applied as needed. Nicholas and Paul were neither the first nor the last to reach this conclusion, of course, although Nicholas was in fact hugely influential throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages as Paul's attention so many years later attests.

PART TWO

PAUL IN MEDIEVAL THEOLOGY AND CULTURE

PAUL IN ECCLESIOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY

ST. PAUL IN THE REGISTER OF POPE GREGORY VII AND THE COLLECTION IN SEVENTY-FOUR TITLES

Ken Grant

In the *Register* of Pope Gregory VII, Gregory sought to utilize Paul's unique role in the earliest days of the church as a support in his numerous conflicts, embracing Paul's imagery of preparing for battle against the adversaries of God as a way of offering encouragement to those on the front lines of the various confrontations of the late eleventh century. In the canon law collection, the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* (c. late eleventh early twelfth centuries), a slightly different approach emerges, leaning away from the more battle-soaked imagery, and toward themes of unity, obedience, and good order.

In each instance, a similar image of St. Paul develops; he is the stout defender of the faith, and by extension, the church. This chapter will examine this image, and the ways in which these authors use the many iterations of this image to bolster their arguments and their claims.

The rationale for looking to these two particular sources centers around the understanding of the prominent role that each plays in the development of the late eleventh century, and their respective impact on subsequent generations of ecclesiastical officials, canonists, and scholars. The importance and influence of Pope Gregory VII, while seemingly self-evident, grows out of his expression of the authority of the church and the papacy. The examination of Gregory's record must extend to that framework of sources out of which he fashioned his arguments and provided the rationale for his actions. The *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles'* wide reception and influence on the development of canon law during the twelfth century provides a solid rationale for focusing on its details. By focusing on these two particular sources, we can more closely examine and explicate the nuances of the uses of Paul in these texts, which allow greater ease in situating these particular uses of Paul in the broader context of the Middle Ages.

1. *Pope Gregory VII*

Pope Gregory VII, being chiefly a religious figure, naturally gravitated toward the primary source of his devotion and knowledge as the wellspring

for support in constructing his arguments in response to all issues that confronted him and the church during his pontificate. H. E. J. Cowdrey comments that, "... more even than the form of profession indicated, Gregory laid weight upon scriptural authority."[1] Due to such emphasis, it is our task to ascertain the ideas behind the use of such a witness.

Of the 429 New Testament references in the 390 letters, synodal reports, and other assorted pieces included in the Register, Gregory refers to St. Paul 186 times. Of these references, Gregory returns to four particular verses on multiple occasions, Ephesians 6:10, Philippians 2:21, Romans 2:5, and I Corinthians 5:5. These four passages will serve as the focus for the first section of this chapter, noting the way in which Gregory utilizes these particular texts.

Ephesians 6:10, "Finally, be strong in the Lord and in the strength of his power", is used most frequently of the Pauline passages, on eight separate occasions,[2] followed by Philippians 2:21 on seven occasions, Romans 2:5 four times, and I Corinthians 5:5 four times. As Gregory rarely utilizes any other source material as often as scripture, such use is one key for understanding the way in which Gregory acts as pope, pastor, and politician.[3]

Ephesians 6:10 is an interesting choice, notably in that it opens Paul's detailed expression of preparation for spiritual battle, wherein Paul encourages the believers to clad themselves in the 'whole armor of God'. By referring to only this particular component of the larger pericope,

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[1] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), p. 515.

[2] The passage is used twice in the April 1076 letter to Wifred, thus the total is more accurately nine. Gregory's use of scripture is both direct and indirect. On many occasions, the text is simply embedded in the regular flow of the correspondence. On a more irregular basis, Gregory will provide a full quotation from scripture. It does not appear that there is a significant change in the way these differences affect the argument that he is establishing. More important than the difference between indirect and direct use of scripture are those letters wherein Gregory marshals a cluster or long string of biblical references together to provide great emphasis on the depth of his feeling regarding a particular topic or argument. Gregory's first letter in the Register (not counting the official announcement of his election), provides a solid example of the way in which Gregory stitches a series of references together to reveal his thoughts on the matter of his election. When these clusters occur, it is best to note what it is that Gregory is attempting to articulate.

[3] In examining the different sources for Gregory's references, by comparison to the number of Biblical allusions, only 117 references are made to Patristic and Conciliar sources. Of those, sixty-two are references to works by Pope Gregory I (including thirteen references to *Regula Pastoralis* 3:25). Recognizing Gregory VII's connection to Gregory I is vital to building Gregory VII's development of ideas, and the way in which he argues for the various components of his reform program. To see the interior working of Gregory VII's thought processes we benefit from an examination of those sources that he most frequently revisits. Finally, Gregory only refers to secular sources on ten occasions.

Gregory focuses on the need to draw strength from God in the battles that confront those to whom he writes.

In the first use of this passage, in a 27 September 1073 letter to the lay leader of the Patarenes, Erlembald, Gregory relates necessary information about the current state of affairs with the Normans, his recent correspondence with the Emperor Henry IV, and Beatrice and Matilda's loyalty to the church.[4] The concluding statements of the letter offer support and encouragement to Erlembald and serves as a useful entry into the way in which Gregory uses St. Paul in the Register. Gregory, both prior to his election and in the early years of his pontificate, cultivated the Patarenes in order to combat the canonical abuse of clerical marriage in Milan. Gregory's statement as he closes the letter introduces a major theme when using the Pauline passages.

> Do you, therefore, altogether trust in the Lord and your mother the Roman church; play the man, being strengthened in the Lord in the power of his might, in the knowledge that the more fiercely the tempest of strife now assails you, so much the more favorably, by God's agency, tranquility will hereafter smile.[5]

The reference to Ephesians 6:10 is indirect and coupled with an indirect reference to I Corinthians 16:13, which highlights the need to be upheld by the strength of God. Both references point to Gregory's principle goal when using Paul in his letters, as a way to offer courage to those who were poised to stand against the enemies of the church. In this particular case, Gregory encourages Erlembald not only to stand strong against his enemies, but also notes that God will reward him commensurate with his level of struggle.

Gregory renews his correspondence with Erlembald in the next letter in the Register, dated 9 October 1073, in which he answers a series of questions pertaining to the ongoing strife in Milan with Godfrey, the Archbishop of Milan, and other ancillary matters. The bulk of the letter serves

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[4] Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, and her mother Beatrice, wife of Godfrey of Lower Lorraine. Matilda was an exceptionally strong supporter of the reform papacy.

[5] Epistle I.25, H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085 An English Translation*, (Oxford, 2002), 30–1; *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. Erich Caspar (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae, vol. 2, fasc. 1–2, rep. ed., Munich: 1978), p. 42.28–34: "Tu igitur omnino confidens in Domino et in ma | tre tua Romana ecclesia viriliter age, confortatus in Domino et in potentia virtutis eius, sciens, quia quanto vobis gravius nunc insurgit perturbationis tempestas, tanto postmodum Deo faciente iocun dius arridebit serenitas." Footnotes to the Cowdrey translation will hereafter be cited simply as Cowdrey, *Register*, and the Caspar edition as Caspar.

to provide Erlembald with basic information on the relative progress of Gregory's agenda, and specifically mentions that he has great hopes for a rapprochement with Henry IV, as mediated by Beatrice and Matilda. At this stage of his papacy, Gregory yet holds out great hope that Henry will act according to the church's desire. Nonetheless, Gregory airs a note of caution about this potential.

Gregory concludes the letter with a direct reference to Ephesians 6:10, assuring Erlembald that, "For the rest, therefore, 'be strong in the Lord in the power of his might.'"[6] The use of Paul reinforces the entire thrust of the letter, which encourages Erlembald to seek out and rely upon those who support Gregory's endeavors, those who would be natural allies of Erlembald's efforts to aid in the reform of the Milanese church. These early references to Paul are general, and tend to mirror Gregory's more optimistic appraisal of the potential for producing the desired progress in the reforms set in motion long before he ascended to the papacy. The frequent use of Ephesians 6:10 in the early years of the papacy reinforces the constructive necessity to stand strong against one's adversaries, without delving deeply into the actual substance of the enemies' plans or agenda. These are blanket statements of hoped for steadiness in the face of potential crises.

The tone begins to shift, every so slightly, in the next reference, as Gregory promotes a general summons to defend the Byzantine Empire against the Seljuk Turks. The 1 March 1074 letter opens with the traditional greeting[7] but adds a qualifier in the way that it is addressed, noting that this letter is "to all who are willing to defend the Christian faith."[8]

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[6] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 31. Caspar, p. 42.

[7] The greeting offered in the majority of Gregory's letters follows a standardized form, 'Gregorius, episcopus, servus servorum Dei,' followed by the one (or group of people) to whom Gregory addresses the letter, concluding with the official greeting and, most often, the apostolic blessing. This blessing often serves as a bellwether for ascertaining the progress of Gregory's reforms, often shifting toward a conditional blessing for those who are in need of repentance. This conditional blessing is most often used after the Lenten Synod of 1076, revealing a deterioration in the way in which Gregory deals with those whom he deems to have fallen short of the necessary reformation of character. Prior to the Lenten Synod of 1076, Gregory frequently exhorts those to whom he writes to repent, revealing a prophetic inclination to lead the guilty to renewal and restoration. After the Lenten Synod of 1076, the methodology changes, and Gregory more frequently demands strict obedience, driving instead of leading to repentance.

[8] I.49, Cowdrey, *Register*, pp. 54–5. Caspar, p. 75.9–11: "GREGORIUS episcopus servus servorum Dei omnibus christianam fidem defendere volentibus salutem et apostolicam benedictionem."

The letter, often cited as a precursor to Pope Urban II's call for a crusade in 1095, provides a brief description of the barbarities inflicted upon the Byzantine Empire, and calls on all Christians to not only lament the devastation, but to "lay down our lives for the liberation of our brothers."[9] Immediately after referring to the need to lay down their lives, Gregory makes use of the Ephesians passage in reference to his own preparations.

> Know, therefore, that we, trusting in the mercy of God and in the power of his might, are by every means taking steps and making preparations so that as quickly as possible, with God's help, we may bring assistance to the Christian empire.[10]

Gregory again uses an indirect reference to the Pauline text in order to provide a sign that the potential campaign is supported by the trust in God's mercy and strength. Once again, Gregory uses Paul to provide a very basic expectation of success built upon God's protective activity.

A lengthy letter to the archbishops and bishops of France, dated 10 September 1074, exhorting them to rein in Philip I's wanton treatment of the church and his own people, likewise concludes with a call for standing strong against those who would harm the church.[11] Gregory uses Paul to argue that the only way to stand strong is to depend on the strength of God, for to rely on human merit and potential is to invite disaster.

This explication of the text is stated more plainly in the fifth (and sixth) use of Ephesians 6:10, wherein Gregory addresses one of Erlembald's successors, Wifred, about the current state of affairs in Milan, Germany, and the rest of northern Italy. As in his letters to Erlembald, Gregory provides information regarding the church's relationship to the Normans, and the now shattered relationship with Henry IV. In this letter, dated April 1076 and thus coming mere months after the excommunication and deposition of Henry IV at the Lenten Synod, Gregory comments that pleas for making peace and offering reconciliation have already been frequently extended. Gregory states succinctly that he too desires peace, but that such peace

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[9] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, pp. 54–5. Caspar, p. 75.22–26: "Et non solum dolere super hac re debitae sollicitudini nostrae sufficit, sed animas pro liberatione fratrum ponere exemplum redemptoris nostri et debitum fraternae caritatis a nobis exigit, quia, sicut ipse 'pro nobis animam suam posuit, et nos debemus pro fratribus nostris animas ponere'."

[10] Ibid., p. 55; Caspar, p. 75.26–29: "Scitote igitur nos in misericordia Dei et in potentia virtutis eius confisos omnibus modis id agere atque parare, ut adiutorium christiano imperio quam citius Deo iuvante faciamus."

[11] II.6, Cowdrey, *Register*, pp. 97–9. Caspar, pp. 133–35.

will only take place if "he will set right the things that he has done to the damage of holy church and to the increase of his own perdition."[12]

Gregory turns his attention back to Wifred and offers a short excursus on the strength of God in times of great trial. Gregory opens and closes his final paragraph with references to the Ephesians text, first by stating that he has already set his "faith, hope and all our thoughts in the power of the divine might rather than in man,"[13] and that Wifred should as well. Gregory cautions that the devil is at work in the world, but offers the hope that such work cannot last. He closes the paragraph by reframing the Ephesians passage, now not simply encouraging Wifred to once again "be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might," but to also "strengthen those whom you know to be standing fast in the Christian faith."[14]

He concludes the letter with a brief prayer that names Paul as one who, with Peter, Mary, and Ambrose, offers prayers to God to "illumine your minds and ever establish you in his law."[15] This direct reference to Paul is not as common as references to Peter, but is offered frequently enough to note. Gregory refers to very few individuals by name, offering most frequently Peter, followed by Mary and then Paul.

Gregory returns to his correspondence with Wifred, now adding Arderic to the list of recipients for his latest missive, a 31 October 1076 letter, which once again addresses the way in which he will tend to the Norman and German problems. After the opening greeting, modified in its address to Wifred and Arderic by noting that they are "true-born sons of the Milanese church",[16] which seemingly offers an editorial comment on

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[12] III.15, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 197. Caspar, p. 277.6: "Quibus nos respondimus cum eo nos pacem velle habere, si ipse cum Deo pacem studuerit habere et ea, quae ad periculum sanctae ecclesiae et ad cumulum perditionis suae commisit, iuxta quod saepe a nobis ammonitus est, emendaverit."

[13] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 197; Caspar, p. 277.11–14: "Sed quia in potentia divinae virtutis magis quam in homine fidem spem et omnes cogitatus nostros collocavimus, volumus, ut tu etiam, quem ad confortandos Christi milites animum et fortitudinem resumpsisse intelligimus, firmiter in Deo confidas."

[14] Ibid., Caspar, p. 277.25–29: "Tu itaque, karissime fili, confortare in Domino et in potentia virtutis eius et eos conforta, quos in christiana fide cognoveris permanere, eos autem, qui fidem christianam operibus negaverunt, ut resipiscant ammone, ut erubescant in servitute diaboli vivere."

[15] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 198. Caspar, p. 277.32–34: "Omnipotens Deus meritis summae dominae et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli atque beati Ambrosii precibus mentes vestras illuminet et in lege sua vos semper stabiliat."

[16] IV.7, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 216. Caspar, p. 305.10–12: "GREGORIUS episcopus servus servorum Dei Heinrico Arderico Wifredo fidelibus sanctae apostolicae sedis legitimis filiis Mediolanensis ecclesiae salutem et apostolicam benedictionem."

what the characteristics of those who support the Milanese church might be as opposed to providing a statement of fact, Gregory turns to the matter at hand.

The opening of the letter offers yet another summation of Gregory's overall reading of the current state of the church and its place in the greater community using a passage from St. Paul's second letter to Timothy. Gregory introduces the central understanding by remarking that, "It is a plain pronouncement of the Apostle that all who wish to live godly lives in Christ Jesus suffer persecution."[17] Gregory offers the recognition that the truly righteous, those who labor to bring about the longed for reform of church and society, must realize that they will suffer for the cause. Many of the letters that contain references to Paul are letters addressed to those who must confront the more powerful individuals in their communities. In the case of Ephesians 6:10, of the nine uses, eight are directly addressed to lay leaders who are struggling with authorities, authorities who have more power than those to whom Gregory is writing, authorities who are acting contrary to the demands of the church.

This point is worth exploring, as Gregory utilizes Paul as the champion for those who defend the church, and do so from unenviable positions. Clearly, Gregory is writing to those who have a great deal of power and authority to act as deemed necessary, but the way in which he constructs his letters provides the sense that Gregory perceived those who supported the church to often have the far greater struggle to ensure success. Yet, even though Gregory often sets the stage in these letters as moments of great doubt, wherein the defenders of the church do start at a great disadvantage, he offers the possibility of victory, and the surety that the faithful will be supported even though the rest of the world militates against that victory.

In this letter, Gregory elaborates on this understanding by briefly describing the harm wrought on the church by the Normans and Henry, and suggesting that as the Normans have been brought "under our hand", so to will the King "not long prevail against the apostolic see."[18] Gregory continues by offering an only marginally veiled threat, that "unless the

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[17] Ibid., Caspar, p. 305.13: "Manifesta apostoli sententia est, quod omnes, qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Iesu, persecutionem patiuntur."

[18] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 217. Caspar, p. 305.19–22: "Sed confidimus in Domino, qui superbiam Normannorum paulo ante sub manu nostra substravit, quod adversus apostolicam sedem non diu prevalebunt."

king comes to make satisfaction", certain German princes and ecclesial leaders will "elect another king."[19]

Gregory concludes the letter with an exhortation to Arderic and Wifred to "be strong in the Lord, since through the mercy of God your redemption in nigh."[20] The final word to these two supporters is a reminder that their strength lies in God, and that their faithfulness will be rewarded. Paul, for Gregory, is the ever-present reminder to the faithful that they do not act alone, that the Lord offers the necessary strength to do what is required.

A letter dated 30 December 1078, to Duke Welf IV of Bavaria and others unnamed,[21] reinforces this notion, that those who seek to defend the church will not only be supported in their struggle, but that they will emerge from their struggles victorious.

> And as for you, trusting in righteousness and counting upon the aid of blessed Peter, 'be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might', because, if you cleave to God with faithful and steadfast heart, victory and peace will quickly smile upon you.[22]

The final use of Ephesians 6:10 appears in a 22 September 1080 letter to all of the faithful in Germany. It is a brief letter, even for Gregory's standard of relative brevity, which seeks to provide a rationale for the profound struggles that the church is enduring. The church, "stricken by a mass of floods and storms" and "the raging of tyrannical persecution",[23] because it is sinful, suffers. Gregory offers the explanation, using Job, that nothing on earth happens without a cause, and therefore the church suffers because of its sinfulness, which Gregory defines throughout the Register as maintaining the practices of clerical marriage, simony, and lay investiture. Gregory

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[19] Ibid., Caspar, p. 305.26: "Ad tantum enim numerum fideles Romanae ecclesiae pervenerunt, ut, nisi ad satisfactionem veniat rex, alium regem palam dicant eligere."

[20] Ibid., Caspar, p. 305.30–31: "Vos itaque confortamini in Domino, quoniam per misericordiam Dei prope est redemptio vestra."

[21] As H. E. J. Cowdrey notes, the letter (VI.14) was not likely sent to only Duke Welf IV, as Gregory uses the plural, 'dearest brothers -fratres carissimi' to address the recipients in the midst of the letter. Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 295. Caspar, pp. 419–20.

[22] Ibid., Caspar, p. 419.3–6: "Vos autem de iustitia confidentes et de beati Petri adiutorio presumentes confortamini in Domino et in potentia virtutis eius quia, si fideli corde et stabili Deo adhęseritis, cito vobis victoria et pax arridebit."

[23] VIII.9, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 374, Caspar, p. 527.25–30: "Quoniam nichil in terra sine causa, sicut sapientis verba testantur, quod dudum sancta aecclesia fluctuum procellarumque mole concutitur quodque tyrannice persecutionis hactenus rabiem patitur, non nisi peccatis nostris exigentibus evenire credendum est, nam iudicia quidem Dei verissime omnia iusta sunt."

exhorts the faithful in Germany to rectify this dire situation by offering proper penance. By offering the necessary repentance the "enemies will quickly perish and (the) holy church will receive her long-desired peace and security."[24]

Gregory briefly narrows his audience, focusing primarily on the bishops, reminding them that at the time of judgment they will be held accountable for the care that they have offered to the people. This is a common theme throughout the Register; those who are in positions of authority in the church have a profound responsibility to tend to the spiritual health of the people in their care, and will be held accountable for their actions or for their inaction. In the early years of Gregory's pontificate, he often sought to justify his actions by declaring his responsibility for the care of the people, and that should he not tend to their needs, he would be held accountable. As the years of his papacy pass Gregory shifts the focus of the responsibility, not taking it off of himself or attempting to minimize his responsibility, but to point to all of the clergy and to remind them of their accountability. The wording of this common theme in this particular letter is noteworthy for its concision.

> Wherefore we now speak especially to you who preside at the summit of priestly rule, to whose oversight the life of the subjects is acknowledged to belong and to whom it falls to render an account in the coming Judgement of the flock committed to them, to say that you should with no favor or fear hindering diligently inspect the deeds and the behaviour of your subjects; and you should not neglect discerningly to cut away with the blade of correction the things that should be pruned away according to what you have received from your mother the holy Roman church, always having in remembrance this prophetic word: 'Sacrifice the sacrifice of righteousness and hope in the Lord.'[25]

[24] Ibid., Caspar, p. 527.35–528.1: "Quodsi culparum morbis penitentiae medicamen adhibuerimus et excessus ac negligentias nostras ipsi districte corrigendo ad iustitiae formam mores nostros instituerimus, profecto superna virtute auxiliante et inimicorum rabies cito peribit et diu desideratam pacem atque securitatem aecclesia sancta recipiet."

[25] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 375. Caspar, p. 528.1–10: "Quare vobis specialiter, qui in sacerdotalis regiminis apice presidetis, nunc loquimur, ad quorum sollicitudinem subditorum vita pertinere dinoscitur et quos de commissi gregis cura in venturo examine rationem reddere convenit, ut subiectorum actus et conversationem nulla gratia vel timore prepediente diligenter inspiciatis et discrete correctionis acie, quę amputanda sunt, resecare, secundum quod a matre vestra sancta R. ęcclesia accepistis, non negligatis, illud propheticum in memoria semper habentes: ' Sacrificate sacri ficium iustitię et sperate in Domino.'"

Turning once again to address all of the faithful, the letter concludes with a brief reference to the Ephesians passage, offering the advice that the people should put their trust in God and in his power. Gregory turns to Paul to help to provide the spiritual support in the midst of their struggles. The words may ring overly formulaic, but Gregory continues to return to them as a way to offer the assurance that they do not wade through these difficulties alone.

The Ephesians passage focuses on the relatively benign ideal of reminding the faithful of Paul's call to stand strong in the Lord, or to rely on God's strength (recognizing the weakness of human beings) in the face of the enemies of the church, Philippians 2:21 ("All of them are seeking their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ.") and provides a more provocative definition of the precise motivation for those who are the enemies of the church, in Gregory's thinking. The first use of this Philippians passage, in the 24 January 1074 letter summoning Archbishop Sigehard to the Lenten Synod of 1074, is explicit in stating the dangers that face the church, most notably from those individuals, both clergy and lay, who seek to promote their own causes, regardless of the consequences. In this letter from the first book of the Register, Gregory details the wretched state of affairs, and calls Sigehard to attend the Lenten synod, which will begin to address the profound needs of the church. Gregory states the case plainly:

> For the rulers and princes of this world, each one of them seeking the things that are their own and not those of Jesus Christ, have abandoned all reverence and oppress their lady and mother, that is, the bride of Christ, like a common slave-girl; and they in no wise fear to destroy her, for just so long as they can satisfy their own desires.[26]

The Lenten synod, as envisioned by Gregory in this letter, would seek to begin to ameliorate the problems affecting the church. The concluding sentences of the letter signal the hope that Gregory holds out for the future of the church, noting that the synod will provide the opportunity to begin to "help the liberty and religion of the church."[27]

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[26] I.42, Cowdrey, *Register*, pp. 46–7. Caspar, pp. 64.34–65.3: "Rectores erum et principes huius mundi, singuli quęrentes quę sua sunt, non quę Iesu Christi, dominam et matrem suam, videlicet sponsam Christi omni reverentia conculcata quasi vilem ancillam opprimunt eamque confundere, dum cupiditates suas explere valeant, nullatenus pertimescunt."

[27] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 47. Caspar, p. 65.21–29: "Ideoque et vestram fraternitatem rogamus et ex parte beati PETRI apostolorum principis ammonemus, ut in prelibato termino vestram nobis presentiam exhibeatis, convocatis una vobiscum tum per haec nostra tum per vestra scripta vestris suffraganeis episcopis, ut tanto tutius tantoque firmius ad

Gregory continues to shape and define the enemies of the church in the next use of the Philippians 2:21, a 29 October 1074 letter addressed to Bishops Werner of Strassburg and Burchard of Basle. At stake in this letter is a local issue regarding the proper representation of the monastery of the Holy Cross at Woffenheim, disputed by Hugh and Gerard, nephews of Pope Leo IX, both of whom claimed this right of representation. Gregory displayed great consternation that Hugh and Gerard were not only disputing the rightful advocacy of the monastery, but also despoiled the monastery for their own gain.[28] Again, Gregory's use of Paul in this context enabled him to define the behavior as contrary to the good of the church by stating that Hugh and Gerard were acting in ways that sought "the things that are their own rather than the things of God."[29] By so defining their actions, Gregory enlists Paul in shaping the proper activity for those in positions of leadership, and is able to define the limits of that proper behavior. Paul provides the necessary authority to set the limits, even if Gregory describes the limits.

Throughout the Register Gregory will point to the various scriptural authorities he enlists and express his understanding that he is powerless to promote activities contrary to their dictates.[30] With Paul, the situation is slightly varied, as Gregory most often simply refers to the particular texts without exclaiming that he acts because Paul so directs him to act. Thus, Paul is important tactically in a different way, often providing the words that form the arguments that Gregory develops.

This is apparent in the next use of the Philippians text, wherein Gregory writes to Henry IV in a 7 December 1074 letter expressing his care and love for Henry, and regarding the potential expedition to aid the Christians in

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subsidium ecclesiasticae libertatis et religionis accingamur, quanto uberius atque vicinius consiliis vestrae prudentiae aliorumque confratrum frequentia et provida consultatione circundamur."

[28] II.14, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 109. Caspar, pp. 146–47.

[29] Ibid., 146.26–31: "Verum, sicut nos certa relatione comperimus, nepotes illius, Hugo videlicet et Gerardus, sua potius quam quae Dei sunt querentes nec tam sanctissimi viri excommunicationem timentes, dum inter se de advocatia contendunt, monasterii bona diripiunt et, quae ad sustentationem ancillarum Dei constituta sunt, sacrilegis invasionibus militibus suis predam faciunt."

[30] When Gregory uses Jeremiah 48:10, Ezekiel 33:8, and Isaiah 58:1 (the vast majority of which are used prior to the Lenten Synod of 1076 or after the Lenten Synod of 1080) he frequently notes that the prophets demand particular actions from him, and that he is compelled to act as he acts because he is working on their behalf. This is also true when Gregory refers to Peter, as he understands himself simply to be the vehicle through which Peter acts. He often labors quite strenuously to downplay his own agency in many of the courses of action that he undertakes.

Byzantium against the Seljuk Turks. Gregory opens the letter with words of love and affection for Henry, but also a warning to follow the path as set by the church and not those who might lead him astray.

> Therefore I warn you and urge, most dear son, turn away your ears from them, and without wavering give a hearing to those who seek not their own but the things of Jesus Christ, and who do not set their honour or gain before righteousness, so that by their counsel you will not forfeit the glory of this life but will confidently win that which is Christ Jesus.[31]

Paul is referred to by name, in the concluding prayer, pairing him with Peter (as Gregory often does when actually using Paul's name), as Gregory expresses the hope that Henry will be absolved from his sins, and that God will "cause you to walk in the way of his commandments and lead you to life eternal."[32] This reference serves to reinforce the earlier Pauline message that Henry should attend to those things that are of Christ, and likewise to associate only with those who attend to the things that are of Christ.

What should be the primary focus? Gregory elucidates this expectation in a 17 June 1075 letter written to Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg. Gebhard, during the papacy of Alexander II, sought to create a new bishopric within his jurisdiction. Alexander II granted this request, which was supported by Hildebrand. Gregory explains that Alexander agreed to the request because he recognized in Gebhard the desire to "promote the salvation of many people."[33] Gregory details this desire with a positive construction on the use of the Philippians text:

> For what man who sets his heart upon spiritual gain, especially in these times when, according to the Apostle, all are seeking things that are not their own, not things that are of Jesus Christ, would not most gladly welcome an intention of setting earthly riches after the salvation of souls?[34]

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[31] II.31, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 122. Caspar, p. 166.8–13: "Moneo itaque te et hortor, karissime fili, ab his aures tuas averte et eis auditum indubitanter prebe, qui non sua sed quę sunt Iesu Christi querunt, neque honorem suum vel lucrum iustitię pręponunt, ut eorum consilio huius vitę gloriam non amittas, sed eam, quę est in Christo Iesu, fidu cialiter acquiras."

[32] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 124. Caspar, p. 168.1–4: "Omnipotens Deus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt, meritis et auctoritate beatorum apostolorum PETRI et PAULI a cunctis peccatis te absolvat et per viam mandatorum suorum incedere faciat atque ad vitam aeternam perducat."

[33] II.77, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 173. Caspar, p. 240.30–33: "Quam tuae mentis intentionem tanto alacrius audivimus atque, ut adimpleretur, studuimus, quanto te religiosius id petere atque multorum saluti professe velle intelleximus."

[34] Ibid. Caspar, pp. 240.33–241.3: "Quis enim, cui spiritualia lucra cordi sint, his presertim temporibus, cum iuxta apostolum omnes quęrant quę sua sunt, non quę Iesu Christi, non libentissime amplectatur voluntatem divitias terrenas animarum saluti postponentem?"

Celebrating Gebhard's initial desire to act for the good of the church and the salvation of souls, Gregory then pivots from the use of the Philippians text to deplore Gebhard's current actions, as Gebhard is now not allowing Bishop Gunter of Gurk to benefit from the tithes due to the new bishopric. Gregory castigates Gebhard for his greed by using I Timothy 6:10 and Matthew 20:1–2 as a reminder of his original intent, and then Gregory exhorts him to resume what he began years before.

This use of Paul, as a way of reminding the faithful to act according to the needs of the church, is likewise directed toward himself in a 31 May 1077 pastoral letter addressed to the faithful in Germany. After explaining that he has sent his legates to Germany on a mission to Henry and Rudolf of Swabia to determine who might provide safe passage so that he might conduct a peace council in Germany, Gregory notes that obedience to the church and the apostolic see is of central importance. Gregory repeats a refrain common to his papacy after the Lenten Synod of 1076, noting that all, even kings or prospective kings, are subject to Peter, and thus Peter's representative on earth, the pope. "For if the see of blessed Peter looses and judges heavenly and spiritual things, how much more earthly and secular things?"[35] He also acknowledges that he is bound by the same expectations as those around him, that "we were ordained and placed in the apostolic see to the end that in this life we should seek not things of our own but those of Jesus Christ."[36]

Having raised the expectation regarding the way in which the faithful should act, himself included, Gregory, in a 28 November 1078 letter to the clerks of S. Martino, details precisely what will happen if they do not follow what is required of them. In past letters, Gregory has utilized the Philippians passage to describe selfish behaviors that do not take into account those 'things of Jesus Christ', including greed, usurpation of proper authority, a failure to do what one was called to do, or an unwillingness to offer true repentance (which covers a myriad of sinful behavior). In this letter, Gregory provides yet another example, noting that the clerks are not leading the common life, and have resisted the calls to return to the common life, as well as resisting sending a delegate to speak to Gregory

[35] IV.24, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 238. Caspar, p. 338.14–16: "Si enim caelestia et spiritualia sedes beati Petri solvit et iudicat, quanto magis terrena et secularia?"

[36] Ibid., Caspar, p. 338.22–26: "Ad hoc enim nos ordinatos et in apostolica sede constitutos esse cognoscimus, ut in hac vita non, quae nostra, sed quae Iesu Christi sunt, queramus et per multos labores patrum sequentes vestigia ad futuram et aeternam quietem Deo miserante tendamus."

about the issue. A stern reminder that their actions have potentially dire consequences is woven into the use of the Philippians text.

> But you, seeking the things that are your own not those of which are of Jesus Christ, have neglected our warnings.[37]

The warning that Gregory issues in conclusion of this letter is clear: should they not live as stipulated, they will face excommunication. Gregory claims the basis for the right to act in this way on the "authority of Almighty God and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul."[38] Paul, once again, serves not only as one on whom Gregory builds his demands for proper behavior, but also as one who provides the necessary authority for Gregory to make such demands.

The final use of Philippians 2:21, located in the second letter to Bishop Hermann of Metz (15 March 1081), follows Gregory's extensive argument for the authority of the apostolic see to act whenever and wherever is deemed necessary by the needs of the church, especially in dealing with secular rulers. In this use, Gregory expresses the differentiation between those who are faithful and those are not faithful.

> In sum, it is fitting that any good Christian whatsoever should more appropriately be regarded as kings than should evil princes. For by seeking the glory of God the former rule strongly over themselves; but seeking not the things of God but their own, the latter being enemies to themselves oppress others tyrannically.[39]

Explicitly stated in this section of the letter is the understanding that those who seek their own glory, and not the glory of God, and therefore the church, are endangering themselves as well as harming the church. Gregory details an argument that reduces the authority of the kings and princes to less than that of an exorcist, at best, and states clearly that faithfulness finds its expression in following the path that the church sets out.

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[37] VI.11, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 290. Caspar, p. 413.1–2: "Sed vos quę vestra sunt querentes non quę Iesu Christi nostras ammonitiones e neglexistis."

[38] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 290. Caspar, p. 413.18–22: "Quodsi neutrum horum, quod absit, facere recusatis, ex auctoritate Dei omnipotentis et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli omnium aecclesiarum introitum vobis usque ad emendationem congruam prohibemus."

[39] VIII.21, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 392. Caspar, p. 557.11–15: "Ad summam, quoslibet bonos christianos multo convenientius quam malos principes reges intelligi decet. Isti enim gloriam Dei querendo se ipsos strenue regunt, at illi non quae Dei sunt sed sua querentes sibimet hostes alios tyrannice opprimunt."

The implication for not remaining on that path of righteousness, already stated in response to the call to seeking the things of Christ, and not our own desires, is brought into high relief when we examine the use of Romans 2:5, wherein Paul writes that "by your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath, when God's righteous judgment will be revealed."[40] While this passage is only used on four occasions, the references continue to unpack Gregory's sense of Paul as the protector of the good order of the church. Gregory's use of Ephesians 6:10 and Philippians 2:21 offer a prolonged examination of the way he develops basic arguments for the life of the church. The Ephesians passage provides the encouragement necessary for the faithful to stand strong against the enemies of the church. The Philippians text offers an explanation of how to understand who it is that is viewed as working against the church, notably those whose lives and work reveal an agenda separate from the agenda of the church. The Romans passage offers a continuing explanation of what will happen to those who do act contrary to the demands of the church, and who continue to harm the faithful through their activities.

The first letter employing Romans 2:5 ("But by your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath, when God's righteous judgment will be revealed") serves as a particularly helpful exemplar of the model that Gregory is developing. In this 13 November 1074, letter to Count William of Poitou, Gregory calls upon the Count to confront King Philip I of France and call on him to repent of his almost innumerable crimes against the church and the people of France. Gregory's description sets the tone for the entire letter:

> Although it is not to be doubted that the iniquities of Philip, king of the French, have come to your knowledge, we have nevertheless thought it profitable to make known to you how greatly we are aggrieved by these iniquities. For amongst other crimes in which he seems to have surpassed not only Christian but even pagan princes, and after manifold destructions of church which it has pleased him to ruin, he has so put aside the restraint of the royal dignity that, inflamed rather by greed than impelled by good reason, he has despoiled merchants of Italy who had come to your parts.[41]

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[40] New Revised Standard Version.

[41] II.18, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 112. Caspar, p. 150.24–32: "Licet Philippi regis Francorum a iniquitates ad notitiamtuam pervenisse dubitandum non sit, utile tamen duximus, quantum de eisdem iniquitatibus doleamus, tibi innotescere. Nam inter cętera scelera, quibus non solum christianos sed etpaganos videtur superasse principes, post ecclesiarum, quas sibilicuit confundere, varias destructiones adeo regię dignitatis posthabuit verecundiam,

It is a breathless beginning, but does serve to express Gregory's profound ire regarding Philip's activities. It is not the first letter that Gregory sent to France regarding this issue, as, two months prior to this letter, Gregory sent a letter to the archbishops and bishops of France[42] decrying the same problems with Philip. From the letter, we can see that what likely prompted Gregory to return to the matter of Philip so quickly, and through an avenue that might prompt a greater degree of success, was that pilgrims on their way to Rome were now being affected by Philip's depredations. Gregory often allowed rulers on the outside of Germany and northern Italy more latitude in dealing with internal affairs,[43] as exemplified by his approach to King William I of England's resistance to Gregory's entreaties to extirpate lay investiture, but with the introduction of activities outside of France a line may have been crossed, which triggered Gregory's letter.

Gregory then offers the Romans text as a means to explain Philip's potential fate should he not amend his life according to the dictates of the church.

> If he shall agree to your counsels, we shall treat him with the charity that is our duty; otherwise, if he shall be adamant in the wrongfulness of his ways and according to hardness and his impenitent heart shall store up for himself the wrath of God and of St. Peter, we, by God's help and as his wickedness deserves, will in the Roman Synod undoubtedly separate from the body of the communion of holy church him and whoever shall show to him royal honour or obedience, and his excommunication will be confirmed daily upon the altar of St. Peter.[44]

Gregory comments that he had "put up with his iniquities,"[45] for quite some time due to his youth, but that now was the time to end these

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ut avaritia potius inflammante quam ratione aliqua poscente Italię negotiatores, qui ad partes vestras venerant, depredatus fuerit."

[42] As noted above in the discussion on Ephesians 6:10.

[43] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073–1085*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 424.

[44] II.18, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 112. Caspar, p. 151.8–16: "Qui si consiliis vestris adquieverit, nos eum qua debemus caritate tractabimus; alioquin si in perversitate studiorum suorum perduraverit et secundum duritiam et impenitens cor suum iram Dei et sancti PETRI sibi thesaurizaverit, nos Deo auxiliante et nequitia sua promerente in Romana synodo a corpore et communione sanctae ecclesiae ipsum et, quicunque sibi regalem honorem vel obaedientiam exhibuerit, sine dubio sequestrabimus et eius cotidie super altare sancti PETRI excommunicatio confirmabitur."

[45] Ibid., Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 112. Caspar, p. 151.16–19: "Diu est enim, quod iniquitates suas portavimus, diu est, quod sanctae ecclesiae iniuriam parcendo adulescentiae suae dissimulavimus."

activities. Excommunication serves as the outward expression of the church's judgment as it awaits the final judgment. The day of wrath, the day when God will consummate his condemnation of sin[46] serves as the final weapon in the church's arsenal against those who would do it harm. Gregory, who regularly offers declarations about accountability and the potential for dire consequences for the one who did not do all that they could for those in their care at the final judgment, states in clear terms that there will be no uncertainty as to the fate of Philip should he not repent and amend his life.

This same clarity is offered in a 21 July 1080 letter thunderously denouncing Henry IV and the newly elected anti-pope Clement III, the former Archbishop of Ravenna, Guibert. After providing a brief excursus on the similarity between the present crisis and the Cadalan schism during the papacy of Alexander II, as well as an accounting of the more recent difficulties with the Lombard bishops, Gregory launches into a blistering attack on Guibert, starting off with a reference to the Romans passage regarding the day of wrath.

> But in all these things bearing faces hardened after the manner of harlots and by their shamelessness treasuring up for themselves the wrath of just judgement, those who in respect of their effrontery should have returned to their senses have followed their father who has said: 'I will set my throne in the north, and I will be like to the Most High'; they have tried to renew their previous conspiracy against the Lord and the holy universal church and to set up for themselves as antichrist and heresiarch a man who is sacrilegious and perjured against the holy Roman church, as well as stigmatized for the most wicked crimes throughout the Roman world—Guibert, we say, the ravager of the holy church of Ravenna.[47]

Gregory employs Paul's words from his letter to the Romans as the final declaration regarding those who seek to harm the church, declaring the day of wrath for those who not only will not repent, but also, from Gregory's perspective, actively seek to harm, or even destroy, the church. The

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[46] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy, editors, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 210, New Testament.

[47] VIII.5, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 370. Caspar, p. 522.23–33: "Sed in his omnibus obduratas meretricum more fronts gerentes et impudentia sua iram sibi iusti iudicii thesaurizantes, qui respectu contumelię suę ad sensum redire debuerant, patrem suum secuti, qui dixit: 'Ponam sedem meamab aquilone et ero similis Altissimo', pristinam conspirationem adversus Dominum et sanctam universalem ęcclesiam conati sunt innovare et hominem sacrilegum et sanctę Romanę ęcclesię periurum necnon per universum R. orbem. nefandis simis sceleribus denotatum, W. dicimus sanctę Ravennatis ęcclesię devastatorem, antichristum sibi et heresiarcham constituere."

near destruction of a church Gregory notes has already taken place in Ravenna, and now Guibert threatens to do so as well to Rome with his election as anti-pope. In a 15 October 1080 letter, addressed to the clergy and laity of Ravenna, Gregory reiterates his startlingly vituperative condemnation of Guibert and his treatment of the church, once again using Paul's words regarding the day of wrath, as well as recalling the denunciation of Guibert at the November synod of 1078.[48]

> In short, the criminal, sacrilegious and perjured man, after he has been punished for offences of this kind by a sentence of condemnation appropriate to his evil ways in a universal synod with all the bishops who were present consenting and applauding, did not forthwith repent and return to the counsel of a sound mind; but, imitating his father the devil and storing up for himself wrath in the day of wrath, he has endeavored to think of whatever graver things, and to venture upon whatever excess of pride, that he has been able.[49]

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[48] The deposition of Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, as recorded in a letter dated 26 November 1078, is addressed to the people of Ravenna. "But he who is now said to be the bishop of the church of Ravenna—how by tyrannical plundering he has laid waste her who was formerly so very rich as well as so very religious and has corrupted her by the example of his irreligious life, both you have experienced by what you have suffered and seen and we have learnt by most sure demonstration. But because he is ensnared and defiled by these evils and other outrages without number lest he should be accused or convicted, and puffed by the arrogance of pride he has lifted his heel against the prince of apostles and has persisted in disobedience which is likened to the crime of idolatry, know without doubt from this present intimation that by judgement of the Holy Spirit and by authority of the apostolic see he has been deposed without hope of restitution in the holy Roman synod. We accordingly command you all by authority of blessed Peter the prince of apostles that you henceforth show him none of the obedience that is due to a bishop." VI.10, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 289. Caspar, pp. 411.21–412.4: "Ille autem, qui nunc ecclesię Ravennatis episcopus esse dicitur, quomodo eam olim tam ditissimam quam etiam religiosissimam tyrannica depredatione devastaverit et inreligiosę vitę exemplo corruperit, et vos patiendo videndoque sensistis et nos certo experimento didicimus. Sed quia his malis aliisque quampluribus flagitiis irretitus atque pollutes ne argui possit atque convinci, superbię fastu elatus contra apostolorum principem calcaneum erexit et in inoboedientia, quę sceleri comparatur idolatrię, perseverat, eum sine sperecuperationis Spiritus e sancti iudicio apostolice sedis auctoritate in sancta Romana synodo esse depositum presentium indiciis indubitanter cognoscite. Quapropter, ut nullam ei deinceps, quę episcopo debetur, oboedientiam exhibeatis, omnibus vobis beati Petri apostolorum principis auctoritate precipimus."

[49] VIII.13, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 379. Caspar, p. 533.16–23: "Denique scelerosus sacrilegus atque periurus, postquam ob a huiusmodi nefaria in universali synodo cunctis qui aderant episcopis consentientibus atque laudantibus digna suis, moribus dampnationis animadversione multatus est, non confestim resipiscens ad sani cordis consilium rediit, sed patrem suum diabolum imitans sibique iram in dię iræ thesaurizans, quicquid gravius cogitare, quicquid superbissimum potuit audere, molitus est."

The final use of Romans 2:5, in a letter dated late 1083, once again provides Gregory with the opportunity to express the grave consequences for one who is utterly lost. In this letter to Count Robert I of Flanders, Gregory opens by stating that he has heard that Robert has still not acted against Bishop Lambert of Therouanne and then reminds Robert that Lambert "is still treasuring up for himself the wrath of God."[50] Gregory's intention in using the Romans text at the beginning of the letter is unmistakable; Lambert, due to his many and various crimes against the church, will suffer grievously. It is a warning to Robert that this might be his fate should he not begin to act as Gregory has required.

All of the texts presented develop Gregory's use of Paul as one who offers support for those defending the church. Additionally, they provide Gregory with an avenue by which to determine who and who does not support the church, as well as to describe what will happen to those who do not support the church. The last text offers another mechanism by which Gregory can describe the potential consequences of a lack of obedience. This text, I Corinthians 5:5 ("you are to hand this man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord") is used by Gregory in such a way as to reveal his willingness to focus on the larger context of a particular pericope. In this case, Gregory eschews the issue of sexual impropriety as detailed in I Corinthians chapter Five, in order to treat the larger issue of church discipline. Gregory shares Paul's attitude at the appalling seeming acceptance of the sin, an attitude perhaps even stronger than his revulsion in reaction to the sin or sinner. In the first three references, Gregory tempers this ire for the potential complacency of those around the sinner, and speaks directly to the sinner, yet the implication regarding those surrounding the sinner is made abundantly clear. In the fourth, Gregory's focus is clearly on those who have seemingly simply accepted the actions of the sinner in their midst, to their own detriment. Gregory uses the text in order to provide the proper impetus to right action for those who have not responded to the guilty, by reminding them of the possibility should they not act.

The first use of I Corinthian 5:5 provides us with an example of what can happen when penance is completed, absolution granted, and church discipline maintained according to the system that Gregory hopes to

[50] IX.36. Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 441. Caspar, p. 629.4–6: "Pervenit ad aures nostras, quod L., inimicus Dei et invasor Teruanensis aecclesiae, ope et sustentatione tua adhuc sibi iram Dei thesaurizet."

extend to the entire church. In this case, the people and clergy of Beauvais, as noted in the first part of the one and only paragraph of this letter, had "committed things that are abhorrent and detestable."[51] Yet, the letter reorients toward a positive and constructive conclusion, noting that their bishop, William, "pleading for you with fatherly kindness, sent us his letter in the time of the synod," to which Gregory responded "with wonted mercy, and absolving you by the authority of blessed Peter the prince of apostles, we have decided straightaway to convey through our letter the absolution that has been granted."[52]

Gregory then reminds the people and clergy of Beauvais of the need to remain obedient to their bishop, so that they will not fall into sin again. If they maintain proper discipline, following what their bishop demands, then they will be saved from a dire fate, specifically that their spirits "may be saved in the day of the Lord."[53]

I Corinthians 5:5 details the understanding that while the flesh of the sinner might be lost, the very action of the destruction of the flesh in this life may preserve the spirit of the individual at the time of judgment, the day of the Lord. Excommunication for those guilty of the offense allows the possibility that they may yet retain salvation as their physical affliction might preserve their spirit.

The second and third references to I Corinthians, both found in the record of the Lenten Synod of 1080, and entered into the Register with a 7 March 1080 date, address the matter of the authority to conduct the affairs of the church. The first in this record follows a declaration that no secular authorities, regardless of rank, will participate in the "investiture of

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[51] I.74, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 77. Caspar, p. 105.25–31: "Quoniam mira et hactenus inaudita fecistis, detestanda et abominanda perpetrastis et super gentes quae ignorant Deum seviendo et inhumanas linguas exacuendo in Deum et in dominum vestrum presumpsistis, idcirco sancta Romana ecclesia auctoritate patrum, sanctione canonum in vos iaculum anathematis iure contorsit et pro meritis talibus ac tantis gladium in vos dire animadversionis evaginavit."

[52] Ibid., Caspar, pp. 105.31–106.4: "Sed postquam filius et confrater noster Guilielmus episcopus vester paterna pietate rogando pro vobis epistolam suam nobis in tempore synodi direxit, sentientes eum erga vos benivolum et referentem pro malo bonum precibus eius moti solita pietate condescendimus et per auctoritatem beati PETRI apostolorum principis vos absolventes indultam absolutionem continuo vobis per litteras nostras significare destinavimus."

[53] Ibid., Caspar, p. 106.4–10: "Eadem igitur auctoritate beatorum apostolorum PETRI et PAULI et nostra vos monemus, quatenus posthac sibi subditi et obaedientes sicut vestro episcopo et sanctae Romanae filio ecclesiae sitis et de tanta perpetratione, si paenitentiam adhuc non fecistis, eiusdem episcopi vestri salubri consilio sine mora suscipiatis, quatenus spiritus vester salvus sit in die Domini."

bishoprics or of any ecclesiastical dignity."[54] Gregory, especially after the synods of 1078, is adamant regarding the issue of lay investiture, sought to eliminate the practice, and brings to bear not simply excommunication, although clearly that is offered as the definite consequence for any secular power overstepping their bounds, but suggests through this Pauline text the far graver possibility that their immortal souls would be in peril.

> In addition too, unless he should repent and restore proper liberty to the church, he should feel the retribution of divine punishment in this present life as well in his own body as in other things, so that the spirit may be saved at the coming of the Lord.[55]

The second in the record serves as the closing passage of the concluding paragraph, following on the heels of a succinct rationale for the deposition of secular rulers.[56]

> Now let kings and all secular princes learn how great you are, what you can do, and let them fear to belittle the command of your church. And against the aforesaid Henry, so swiftly execute your judgement that all may know that he does not fall and is confounded by chance but by your power, would that it may be to penitence, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.[57]

The final use of the I Corinthians 5:5 passage, in a 27 December 1080 letter to the clergy and people of Rheims, provides a reading that most closely

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[54] VII.14a, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 340. Caspar, p. 480.26–30: "Item si quis imperatorum regum ducum marchionum comitum vel quilibet secularium potestatum aut personarum investituram episcopatuum vel alicuius ecclesiasticae dignitatis dare presumpserit, eiusdem sententiae vinculo se obstrictum esse sciat."

[55] Ibid. Caspar, pp. 480.30–481.3: "Insuper etiam, nisi resipiscat et ecclesię propriam libertatem dimittat, divinę animadversionis ultionem in hac presenti vita tam in corpore suo quam ceteris rebus suis sentiat, ut in adventu Domini spiritus salvus fiat."

[56] Ibid., p. 344: "Act now, I ask, most holy fathers and princes, that the whole world may understand and know that, if you can bind and loose in heaven, on earth you can take away from and grant to each one according to his merits empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marches, counties, and the possessions of all men . . . For if you judge spiritual things, should it be believed that you can do concerning secular things? And if you will judge the angels who rule over all proud princes, what can you do concerning their servants?" Caspar, p. 487.4–8: "Agite nunc, queso, patres et principes sanctissimi, ut omnis mundus intellegat et cognoscat, quia, si potestis in caelo ligare et solvere, potestis in terra imperia regna principatus ducatus marchias comitatus et omnium hominum possessiones pro meritis tollere unicuique et concedere."

[57] Ibid., Caspar, p. 487.14–19: "Addiscant nunc reges et omnes seculi principes, quanti vosestis, quid potestis, et timeant parvipendere iussionem ecclesię vestrę. Et in predicto Heinrico tam cito iudicium vestrum exercete, ut omnes sciant, quia non fortuitu sed vestra potestate cadet, confundetur, utinam ad penitentiam, ut spiritus sit salvus in die Domini."

mirrors Paul's use. Gregory details the case of Manasses, former archbishop of Rheims, noting his crimes against the church, the opportunity granted to Manasses to defend his conduct, and the fact that Manasses did not take advantage of that opportunity. Gregory then reiterates the list of iniquities and that these sins are sufficient to warrant excommunication, possibly in perpetuity. Gregory then offers his warning to the people that they should take care lest their proximity to the former archbishop endanger them. The Pauline text enables Gregory to exhort the people of Rheims to resist Manasses so that he can be punished in this life, which will allow for the possibility that his spirit might be saved.[58]

For Gregory, Paul provides the faithful the necessary encouragement to act for the church, knowing that their strength derives from God, thus having the necessary ability to act on God's behalf. Gregory argued that working for the benefit of the church meant adopting his ideal of creating a church that was chaste, catholic, and free. Paul provided the support for those struggling to make that ideal a reality. The Pauline texts also enabled Gregory to define the enemies of the church, and the consequences for those who worked contrary to the good of the church. Paul, for Gregory, helps to define the righteous and the unrighteous.

2. *The Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*

A much different image emerges in examining the use of Paul in the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*,[59] as Paul becomes something different from the great champion of the faithful. In this particular canon law collection, Paul develops into the champion of the proper ordering of the church. While the *Seventy-four Titles* does not share the incredible wealth of references to the Pauline corpus as Gregory's Register, it does provide an exceptional perspective on how the canonists provided rationales for their developments regarding papal primacy, authority, and good order within the church.

Not surprisingly, the first use of a Pauline text, I Corinthians 12:12 in the *Seventy-Four Titles* is in the first title, fourth chapter, detailing the rationale for the primacy of the Roman Church. The use is unequivocal in championing the unique character and position of the Roman Church, noting that "it is not right for the limbs to dissent from the head; instead,

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[58] VIII.17, Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 383. Caspar, pp. 538–9.
[59] Hereafter referenced as *Seventy-Four Titles*.

according to the testimony of sacred scripture, all members should follow the head."[60] This unique character provides the necessary understanding that not only is the Roman Church to be followed, but likewise deferred to in all important matters, as it alone truly has the capability to lead the rest of the body.

The first use is an important precedent in that each of the twenty uses of Paul, out of fifty-five New Testament texts put into the employ of the various sources now compiled in this collection, sets the proper parameters for the life and work of the church. Of the twenty Pauline uses, eight are drawn from I Timothy, six from I Corinthians, and three each from Ephesians and Romans. The use is thematic, providing additional rationale for the arguments developed in a way that strengthens the proper ordering of the church, and thus the use of the I Timothy texts are logical inclusions, as the book is primarily instruction for pastoral office.

The second use, in chapter seven, provides a subtle pronouncement that those examined by the Roman Church are not to be questioned upon their return to their homeland, suggesting that once corrected they should be understood to be ready for service; "the workman is worthy of his hire."[61] The statement is drawn from an excursus in Timothy on the respectful treatment of those who preach and teach, and reinforces not only the proper ordering of the society into which these priests are placed, but also that if Rome so stipulates that they are ready to serve, the stipulation is to be followed without question. This guarantees that Rome is recognized as wholly authoritative.

This recognition is made explicit in the following use, wherein the very traditional rationale for Roman primacy is joined with the necessary conceptualization of the church as fully unified.

> And St. Paul the Apostle teaches this unity of the church, and demonstrates the sacrament of unity, saying, 'One body, one spirit, one hope of our vocation, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God.' This unity we ought to hold and defend, especially we bishops who preside in the church, in order to prove that the episcopacy itself is also one and undivided.[62]

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[60] John Gilchrist, *The Collection in seventy-four titles: A Canon Law Manual of the Gregorian Reform*, (Toronto, 1980), p. 73; *Diuersorum partum sententiae siue Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta* (Hereafter DPS), ed. John Gilchrist (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series B: Corpus Collectionum,, 1; Vatican, 1973), p. 21.3–4: "Non decet a capite membra dissidere, sed iuxta sacre scripture testimonium Omnia membra caput sequantur."

[61] 1.7, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 75. I Timothy 5:18. DPS, p. 23.18.

[62] 1.18, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, pp. 81–2; DPS, p. 29.13–18: "Hanc ecclesie unitatem et beatus apostolus Paulus docet, et sacramentum unitatis ostendit dicens, 'Vnum corpus

These three uses suggest the canonist understands the need to begin with the recognition that, if the overall structure is ordered correctly, the other components will fall into proper alignment. By beginning with these basic Pauline uses, the canonist also signals the way in which Paul will be called into service, enlisting Paul as the one who provides necessary rationale for the proper structure. Paul also then provides the necessary arguments for outlining greater specificity in that proper order.

Even in death Paul provides an opportunity to reveal the primacy of the church at Rome, as read in chapter twenty-two, wherein the argument develops that the "church obtained its primacy over the other churches not by virtue of synodal authority but by the words of our Lord and Saviour in the gospel."[63] The canonist argues that the deaths of Peter and Paul on the same day "consecrated the holy Roman church to Christ the Lord and by their presence and revered triumph they exalted her over all cities throughout the earth."[64] Paul's death in Rome, with Peter, provides yet another rationale for insisting that Rome stands above all other churches. A baptismal image from Ephesians 5:27 provides the concluding sentiment: "Therefore, the first see of the Apostle Peter is the Roman church, 'having no stain nor wrinkle nor any such blemish.'"[65]

Greater specificity regarding the way in which the church needs to be properly ordered, offered in chapter seventy-eight, instructs the people regarding the propriety of the sheep accusing shepherds, and offers few possibilities for this occurrence. The argument is based on Romans 13:2, and unfolds in a manner consistent with a strict reading of the text, which does not allow authority to be resisted. Only in matters where there is an exceptional deviation from the faith can the people be justified in challenging their shepherd.

> For his other acts, to be sure, he is rather to be tolerated by his sheep and subjects than accused or publicly denounced, because when in these thing

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et unus spiritus, una spes uocationis nostre, unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus.' Quam unitatem tenere et uendicare debemus, maxime nos episcopi, qui in ecclesia presidemus, ut episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indiuisum probemus."

[63] 2.22, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 84; DPS, p. 31.3–5: "... sancta tamen Romana catholica et apostolica ecclesia nullis, synodicis constitutes ceteris ecclesiis prelate est, sed euangelica uoce Domini et Saluatoris nostri primatum obtinuit..."

[64] Ibid.; DPS, p. 32.10–12: "... et ambo sanctam Romanam ecclesiam Christo Domino consecrarunt eamque omnibus urbibus in uniuerso mundo sua presentia atque uenerando triumpho pretulerunt."

[65] Ibid, pp. 84–5; DPS, p.32.12–14: "Est ergo prima Petri apostolic sedes Romana ecclesia, 'non habens maculam nec rugam nec aliquid huiusmodi.'"

> he is accused by his subjects, they are resisting the authority of him who set them over the subjects, for as the apostle says: 'He who resists authority resists the ordinance of God.'[66]

The use is not subtle, those who challenge the shepherd in any way, unless for the most deleterious deviation from the faith, resist God. Paul provides the necessary strength for the argument that the church, and those who act in leadership positions, cannot be challenged.

The next six uses of Paul in the *Seventy-Four Titles* focuses on the necessity to maintain proper standards within the ranks of the clergy. Three chapters treat the issue of those prelates who are simply not acceptable due to a lack of training or other various limitations. In each case, the Pauline text used provides the necessary rationale for insuring that the clergy are prepared and worthy for their calling. In chapter 129, Gregory I offers another passage from I Timothy 3:10.

> Since it is written, 'Let him first be tested so that he may minister,' so much the more is he proved who takes on the role of the people's mediator, lest evil priests be the cause of the people's destruction.[67]

The following entry, likewise from Gregory I, returns to I Timothy, in this instance I Timothy 5:22.

> And since among other matters relating to sacred orders the apostle teaches the disciple that one is not to lay hands too quickly upon anyone, what could be worse than this, or more precipitate than that he should start at the top and be a master before he begins to be a disciple.[68]

This idea is unpacked later in the same title, as Augustine's words from *On Ecclesiastical Ranks* makes clear that there is an expectation regarding the way in which the office is reserved for those appropriate to the task. Augustine, once again using I Timothy 5:22, provides greater clarity for these expectations.

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[66] 9.78, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 113; DPS, p. 60.6–10: "Pro aliis uero actibus suis magis est tolerandus ab ouibus et a subditis suis quam accusandus aut publice derogandus, quia cum in eis a subditis delinquitur, eius ordinationi obuiatur qui eos pretulit eis, dicente apostolo: 'Dei ordinationi resistit qui potestati resistit.'"

[67] 15.29, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, pp. 142–3; DPS, p. 87.14–16; "Nam cum scriptum est, 'Vt prius quis probetur et sic minstret', multo amplius ante probandus est qui populi intercessor assumitur, ne fiant causa ruine populi sacerdotes mali."

[68] 15.130, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 143; DPS 88.6–10: "Et cum apostolus doceat inter alia sacri ordinis institute discipulum manus non esse citius cuiquam imponendum, quid hoc deterius quidue precipitatius quam ut exoriatur a summitate principium et antequam esse incipiat discipulus, sit magister?"

> There is a precept of St. Paul the Apostle, inspired by the Spirit of God, where in the person of Timothy the body of all the priests of Christ is instructed and each of us is told, 'Do not impose your hands hastily upon anyone nor share in the sins of others.' But what is a hasty imposition of hands unless it is to bestow the office of the priesthood without respect for the conditions relating to age and maturity, the appropriateness of the time, the quality of obedience, or the experience of learning?[69]

In title sixteen, again treating the issue of ordination, three references to I Timothy, chapter three, provide further clarification regarding who is worthy and who is not. Chapter 141 forwards a general warning against the ordination of those who are not prepared. In chapter 145, an exceptionally brief statement provides that "He who has taken a second wife in no way can be a cleric, because it is written 'a husband of one wife.'"[70] This text, I Timothy 3:2, is repeated in chapter 150, as Celestine I remarks:

> Let there be no unlawful ordinations. No one from the laity, no one twice married, no one who has been married to a widow should be ordained; but he should be blameless and of the kind that the apostle would have chosen. The Lord commanded through Moses, 'Let a priest take a virgin as wife.' The apostle supports and reinforces this, saying 'a husband of one wife' ought to be consecrated.[71]

The advice offered from I Timothy concludes in the title regarding the issue of bishops and witnesses, wherein it is recommended that the bishops should always have witnesses so as not to fall victim to those who would attempt to harm the church, or simply offer false testimony.

> Although his own integrity can suffice, nonetheless, on account of evil doers, according to the apostle, 'you ought also to have the good testimony of those who are from outside.'[72]

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[69] 15.137, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 148; DPS, p. 93.2–8; "Vbi est illa beati Pauli apostolic per spiritum Dei emissa preceptio, qua in persona Timothei omnium Christi sacerdotum numerous eruditur et unicuique nostrum dicitur: 'Manus nemini cito imposueris neque communices peccatis alienis.' Quid est cito manus imponere, nisi aut etate maturitatis aut examine temporis aut merito obediente aut experientie discipline sacerdotalem honorem tribuere non probatis?"

[70] 16.145, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 152; DPS, p. 97.1–2: "Is qui secundam duxerit uxorem clericus nullomodo fiat, quia scriptum est: 'Vnius uxoris uirum.'"

[71] 16.150, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 154; DPS, p. 99.2–7: "Abstineatur ab illicitis ordinationibus. Nullus ex laycis, nullus digamus, nullus qui sit aut fuerit uidue maritus ordinetur, sed irreprehensibilis et qualem elegerit apostolus fiat. Per Moysen Dominus precepit: 'Virginem accipiat sacerdos uxorem.' Subsequitur et supplet apostolus 'unius uxoris uirum' debere consecrari."

[72] 20.169, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 163; DPS, p. 107.3–5: "Et licet conscientia sufficere possit propria, tamen propter maluolos iuxta apostolum 'etiam testimonium uos oportet habere bonum ab his qui foris sunt.'"

In each instance, the canonist uses Paul to shape the structure of the organization of the church, providing the systems by which the church can provide order at all levels of that organization. Paul offers the blueprints for the development and construction of the proper ordering of the church, allowing the canonist to build as needed with the knowledge that the foundations are secure.

A relational quality begins to develop in these uses, as the canonist, through Paul, expands on this ordering to provide clear expectations for the church. On three occasions, the canonist suggests a relationship akin to marriage between the people and the church, offering the ruling that the people should not have more than one bishop as that would be like the sin of adultery, or that when a spouse dies the other might remarry, allowing for a bishopric to call a new bishop in the case the current bishop leaves the office.[73] In each case, the order set in place for the church corresponds to the proper order in marriage.

As the *Seventy-Four Titles* unfolds, the references to Paul continue to focus on creating good order in the church, recognizing the need for one baptism,[74] the authority of preaching,[75] proper penitence,[76] and the proper allocation of offices and goods.[77] In each case, the references to Paul continue to build on the ideal of good order, insuring that the church functions with minimal confusion of roles and responsibilities, for both those who hold ecclesiastical offices and the laity who are under their care. The use of Paul in the *Seventy-Four Titles* is primarily structural and organizational.

Gregory's letters in the *Register* and the chapters in the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* use Paul as the stalwart champion of the church, but with differing methodologies and intent. Gregory employs Paul as a support for his reform platform, for those who support his development of the church, as well as to provide ample clarification for what will happen to those who work contrary to his expectations. The canonist of the *Seventy-Four Titles* employs Paul to provide the necessary structural articulation of the expectations for the proper functioning of the church. In each case, Paul is the defender of the church for writers who sought to provide justification for their agendas, in addition to providing those working on behalf of the church support for their activities.

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[73] 25.187, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, pp. 172–3; DPS, p. 116.7.
[74] 37.221, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, pp. 196–7; DPS, p. 139.8–9.
[75] 50.241, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, pp. 207–8; DPS, p. 149.6–8.
[76] 56.252, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 213; DPS, p. 155.6.
[77] 59.258 and 61.264, Gilchrist, *Seventy-Four Titles*, p. 217 and p. 220; DPS, p. 158.5–10 and DPS, p. 161.13.

ST. PAUL AND REFORM RHETORIC IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

C. Colt Anderson

For the men and women of the high Middle Ages, the Pauline Epistles formed a double-edged sword in terms of working for the reform and renewal of the church. Paul was a much more robust figure in the Middle Ages than he is among theologians today—at least insofar as they believed he was the author of the entire Pauline Corpus. He was also significant in terms of his example, which they had access to through the Acts of the Apostles supplemented by hagiographical materials. Finally, he was understood in the context of the writings of the Fathers, the saints, the Gloss, and the various collections of canon law. Medieval people could find in Paul justifications for including and for excluding women from roles of leadership, for a celibate and for a married clergy, for correcting superiors and for refraining from criticism. The struggle between reformers and their opponents was exegetical in nature; however, it was not the sole province of theologians, clerics, and the religious. By the latter half of the twelfth century, lay movements began to employ Pauline materials to defend their activities as vernacular editions of the Bible became available and as preaching became more regularly used as a means of formation for Christian communities.

There were many different ways that St. Paul played into reform rhetoric in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but there are three major themes that emerge from various sources in this period. Perhaps the most frequent use of Pauline materials was in reform agendas concentrating on the concept of ritual purity and the fear of the Lord. The second theme was concerned with who had the authority and the right to correct others in the church, which was inextricably connected to the question of who had the right or duty to preach. The third way reformers used Pauline materials was to justify the emergence of new institutions, forms of life, and ministries in the church. Proceeding out of these apologetics for novelty and progress, some reformers began to read Pauline materials in light of the Apocalypse. These apocalyptic readings tended to envision some new age when the church would be reorganized and purged of corrupt elements.

The relationship between these approaches to Paul developed organically and they should not be seen as mutually exclusive. All of the reformers

in this period had concerns with ritual purity, most had to contend with issues related to authority and preaching, many had to defend novelty, and a few were apocalyptic visionaries. Since using Paul as a source to raise critiques based on ritual purity was a common factor among the reformers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we will begin by seeing how this theme was developed by the Gregorian reformers of the eleventh century and proceed to consider how it was transmitted through canon law, monastic sources, the canons regular, the Parisian masters, Innocent III, and the mendicant orders.

1. *Paul and Purity*

The reformers of the eleventh century built their efforts to respond to simony and clerical concubinage on the foundation of ritual purity. Popes such as Gregory VI and Gregory VII advocated strikes against the services of such impure clergymen, which left the evaluation of the clergy to the laity.[1] While the rhetoric associated with impurity remained potent throughout the thirteenth century, popes in the twelfth century began to disavow such lay criticism as illegitimate. The most influential theologian of the period, Peter Damian, formulated the position on purity that became the yardstick for evaluating the clergy regardless of rank and position in the church. Peter Damian's theology provided a Pauline framework for reformers to simultaneously maintain the efficacy of the sacramental acts of impure clergy and the pollution of those acts. Insofar as impure clergy polluted some aspects of sacramental ministry, these reformers argued that they rendered a cleric useless and subject to deposition from office.[2]

Writing to Pope Leo IX, Peter Damian cited Ephesians 5:5 to explain why impure priests and bishops should be stripped of their offices. As Peter Damian quoted it, Ephesians 5:5 warns: "For you can be quite certain that no one who indulges in fornication, or impurity or avarice can inherit

[1] Bernard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (Columbia University Press: New York, 1992), p. 141.

[2] For a brief overview of Peter Damian's career see C. Colt Anderson, *The Great Catholic Reformers: From Gregory the Great to Dorothy Day* (New York, 2007), pp. 30–55. For more detailed studies see Jean LeClerq, *Saint Pierre Damien: Ermite et Homme D'Église* (Roma, 1960); Owen J. Blum, *St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life* (Washington, 1947). For a newer study that offers a different perspective see Michel Grandjean, *Laïcs Dans L'Église: Regards de Pierre Damien, Anselme de Cantorbéry, Yves de Chartes* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994).

anything of the kingdom of Christ and of God."[3] He asked the pope to consider whether an impure man with no share in the kingdom of heaven, a man presumptuous enough to assume a position of honor in the church, would feel compelled to follow God's commandments and the discipline of the church. For those bishops who were not enforcing discipline, he drew on Romans 1:32 to assure them that they were "deserving of death, that is, not only those who do these things, but also they who approve those who practice them."[4] Pointing to Romans 9:22, he concluded that such men were vessels of wrath and that they were unfit to celebrate the divine mysteries.[5]

Since Paul taught that the unworthy recipient eats and drinks their own condemnation (1 Cor 11:29), Peter Damian concluded that unworthy priests would suffer condemnation as a result of their Eucharistic service.[6] Even so, he maintained that the sacramental aspects of priestly ministry were unaffected by the impurity of the clergy. While their sacramental ministry remained valid, he affirmed that their intercessory role in offering oblations and prayers was corrupted by impurity. He also emphasized

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[3] Peter Damian, Letter 31.13. All of the English translations of the letters are from the series *Peter Damian: Letters*, vol. 1–7, trans. Owen J. Blum and Irven M. Resnick, *The Fathers of the Church: Medieval Continuation* (Washington, 1989–2005). I have followed Blum's translation except for places where inclusive language issues arise. The numbering of the letters in the translation follows the critical edition *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. Kurt Reindel, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1, (1983–1993), p. 291: Ait enim in epistola ad Ephesios: 'Hoc autem scitote intellegentes, quod omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei (Eph 5:5).' Si ergo immundus in caelo nec qualemcumque habet haereditatem, qua praesumptione, quo temerario fastu in aecclesia, quae nichilominus est regnum Dei, optineat insuper dignitatem? This source will be cited as *MGH* when providing Latin notes.

[4] Peter Damian, Letter 31.13; *MGH*, vol. 1, p. 294: "Illi nimirum, qui ad corrigenda subditorum peccata conivent et inconsiderato silentio subditis peccandi licentiam praebent. Audiant, inquam, et prudenter intellegant, quia omnes uniformiter 'digni sunt morte, videlicet non solum qui illa faciunt, sed et qui consentiunt facientibus (Rom 1:32).'"

[5] Peter Damian, Letter 31.37; *MGH*, vol. 1, p. 307: Et certe satis dignum est, ut qui contra legem nature, contra humane rationis ordinem carnem suam per tam feda commercia demonibus tradunt, communem orationis angulum cum demoniacis sortiantur. Nam cum his malis ipsa penitus humana natura resistat, difficultas non diversi sexus abhorreat, luce clarius constat, quia nunquam tam adversa tam aliena praesumerent, nisi eos, utpote 'vasa ire apta in interitum (Rom 9:22),' iniqui spiritus pleniter possiderent.

[6] Peter Damian, Letter 40.12–13; *MGH*, vol. 1, p. 404: "Et tamen dicit apostolus, quia 'indignus iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non diiudicans corpus Domini [1 Corinthians 11:29].' Si ergo et illud corpus Domini est, quod indignus accipit, perspicuum est, quia res bona malo vertitur in perniciem, quae bono utique provisa est ad salutem. Nec tamen res mala est dicenda, quia nocet, nec ideo esse sacramentum desiit, quia execrandus accaepit. Sed potius asserendum est, quia indigno eadem res facta est occasio mortis, quae bonis procurata est ad remedium salutis."

that the priest's or bishop's role as a model was undermined by their sinful behavior. Nonetheless, he recognized that denying the sacramental efficacy of impure clergymen would undermine confidence in the sacraments. Just as evil people can receive baptism or the Eucharist to their own destruction, so too evil men can receive holy orders "with the final outcome they deserve."[7] In this case, Peter Damian had found a powerful source in St. Paul to provide authority for his efforts to motivate priests to repent and to encourage bishops to enforce church discipline.

The theologians and reformers of the twelfth century found a great resource in the Pauline Epistles to call for clerical reform in terms of issues such as simony. Perhaps the most influential figure of the period, Bernard of Clairvaux, quite effectively employed Pauline materials to highlight the problems with clerical impurity. Alluding to Ephesians 5:5 and Colossians 3:5, Bernard explained that the men who serve avarice and chase after human approval demonstrate the impurity of their souls.[8] He reminded such men that nothing is more certain than death and that sin leads to eternal death: "But here the wages of sin is death (Romans 6:23) and he who sows in the flesh will reap corruption from the flesh (Gal 6:8).... Men sow unknowingly; they sow, hiding the mysteries of iniquity (2 Thes 2:7)..."[9] Relying heavily on the Pauline Epistles, he advised these men to consider that they would not be able to hide their sin.

Bernard reminded his audience that Paul taught that there will be a multitude of witnesses (Heb 12:1) in the judgment, and he warned sinners to consider that the Judge, before whom they would stand trial (Rom 14:10), sees everything in their hearts and minds. Jesus Christ penetrates the thoughts and intentions of the human heart more easily than a two-edged sword (Heb 4:12–13) and knows all the deeds of everyone (1 Tm 2:5).

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[7] Peter Damian, Letter 40.20; *MGH*, vol. 1, pp. 412–413: "Sed si ita est, quomodo verum est, quod per apostolum dicitur, quia indigne percipiens 'iudicium sibi manducat et bibit, non diiudicans corpus Domini?' Si enim abscedente spiritu non illud iam corpus Domini sed simpliciter communis est panis, non incidit in iudicium, qui nullum accipit sacramentum. Quodsi absurdum videtur et impium propter indigne suscipientes sanctum Spiritum a Christi corpore separare, non durum videatur malos etiam homines ad dignos meritorum exitus Spiritum sanctum posse suscipere."

[8] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion*, 8.15. The English translation I am using is contained in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Selected Works*, trans. G. R. Evans (New York, 1987), pp. 66–97. The critical edition has an excellent introduction that can be found in *Sancti Bernardi Opera* (hereafter *SBO*), vol. 4, eds. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1977), pp. 61–7.

[9] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion*, 7.17., SBO 4, pp. 90.19, 91.1: "Nunc vero stipendia peccati mors, et qui in carne seminat, de carne metet corruptionem ... Seminant ergo dum nesciunt, seminant dum occultant homines iniquitatis mysteria..."

Bernard urged them to consider the meaning of Paul's statement that it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God (Heb 10:31).[10] He identified those who presumed to enter the clergy with impure hearts as Judas priests, pretending friendship with Christ while pursuing their ambitions. Admonishing them, he preached and wrote: "Do not suppose then that God will approve of what he endures from those in his great house who are vessels fit for destruction (Romans 9:22)."[11]

In addition to identifying the impure and unworthy priests as vessels of destruction, Bernard used Ephesians 2:3 to indict them as the sons of wrath. Bernard offered this tale of woe to these men:

> Woe to the sons of wrath (Ephesians 2:3) who profess they are ministers of Grace. Woe to the sons of wrath who are not afraid to usurp to themselves the rank and name of "peacemaker." Woe to the sons of wrath who pretend to be the mediators of peace and who feed on the sins of the people. Woe to those who, walking in the flesh, cannot please God (Romans 8:8) and presume to wish to please him.[12]

For those who could not remain chaste, he advised them to consider that it is better to marry than to burn (1 Cor 7:9).[13] Like Peter Damian, Bernard was trying to call members of the clergy to conversion, which in some cases would mean taking on a life of penance as a monk.

Lay reformers were also concerned with issues connected to ritual purity. In the eleventh century, the Patarines in Milan used violent means to convert and to depose clerics who were guilty of concubinage and simony. The Waldensians were working for reform and some, such as Bernardus Primus, were accused of holding to the idea that bad priests are worthless because their prayers and masses have no value.[14] Mary of Oignies, the Beguine who formed a community of women following the *vita apostolica*, was reported to be able to see whether a priest received the host after the Confiteor worthily or not, which alludes to 1 Corinthians 11:29. If the priest was worthy, she "saw the Lord in the spirit who

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[10] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion* 9.18–19.

[11] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion* 19.32, *SBO* 4, p. 109.15: "Nec tu Deum putes, quae in magna domo sua a vasis irae aptis in interitum sustinet . . ."

[12] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion* 19.32, *SBO* 4, p. 110.3: "Vae filiis irae, qui se ministros gratiae profitentur! Vae filiis irae, qui pacificorum sibi usurpare gradus et nomina non verentur! Vae filiis irae, qui fideles sese mediatores pacis, ut peccata populi comedant, mentiuntur! Vae qui ambulantes in carne, Deo placere non possunt, et placare velle praesumunt."

[13] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Conversion*, 20.36.

[14] Euan Cameron, "The Waldenses," in *The Medieval Theologians*, ed. G. R. Evans (Oxford, 2001), p. 273. Cameron cites *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 216, p. 292.

remained in the soul of the priest and filled him with wondrous brightness," but if he was unworthy, she reported that she could see "the Lord withdrawing with indignation and the soul of the wretched man remaining empty and shadowy."[15]

At this point in Mary's life, Jacques de Vitry interjected a strong warning for impure priests who offend angels. He wrote,

> Woe to those wretched priests, companions to the traitor Judas, who again crucify Christ as much as they are able! They defile the blood of the Testament with polluted hands, with immodest eyes, a venomous mouth, and an impure heart while they irreverently approach the Sacrament that must be venerated. They offend the holy angels who assist them and, wretchedly, obtain for themselves death instead of the medicine that gives salvation.[16]

This exhortation drew heavily on 1 Corinthians 11:29 interpreted in light of material ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux. Actually, the *Stella clericorum* ends with the exact same exhortation for the Judas priests.[17]

The *Stella clericorum* was probably composed in the early thirteenth century and survives in over 450 manuscripts, which indicates its widespread influence.[18] Like these earlier sources, it focuses on the worthiness or purity of the cleric in order to perform sacramental acts and to hold positions of leadership. It begins by interpreting Paul's statement that there are many divisions in ministry (1 Cor 12:5) in light of a misquotation

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[15] Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Mary of Oignies* 2.7.4.72. The best printed Latin edition is *Vita Mariae Oigniacensis*, in *Acta sanctorum*, vol. 25 (Brussels-Paris, 1867), p. 561: "Frequenter autem, dum sacerdos levaret hostium, inter manus sacerdotis vidit pueri pulchri speciem, et coelestium spirituum cum lumine non modico exercitum descendentem. Quando vero post e confessionem, hostium sacerdos reciperet, ipsa videbat in spiritu Dominum in anima sacerdotis remanere, et eum mirabili claritate illustrantem; vel, si indigne sumeret, videbat quod, Domino cum indignatione recedente, anima miseri vacua et tenebrosa remaneret. The English translation I am using is *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation*, trans. Margot H. King and Hugh Feiss, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout, 2006).

[16] Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Mary of Oignies* 2.9.7.86, p. 566: "Vae sacerdotibus miseris, Judae proditoris socis; qui Christum iterum quantum in se est crucifigunt, et sanguinem testamenti pollutum ducunt; qui manibus pollutis, oculis impudicis, ore venenato, corde impuro, dum ad reverendum sacramentum irreverenter accedunt, angelos sanctos assistentes offendunt, et de salutari medicina mortem sibi miserabiliter acquirunt.

[17] *Stella clericorum*, ed. Eric H. Reiter (Toronto, 1997) 23.75: "Bernardus: Ve vobis sacerdotibus miseris, Iude proditoris socii, qui Christum iterum quantum in se est crucifigunt, et sanguinem testamenti pollutum ducunt. Qui manibus pollutis, oculis inpudicis, ore venenato, corde inpudico, dum ad reverendum sacramentum irreverenter accedunt, angelos assistentes offendunt, et de salutari medicina sibi miserabiliter acquirunt erternam dampnacionem."

[18] *Stella clericorum*, pp. 1–2. There are another sixty manuscripts that were attested to but have been lost or destroyed.

of Paul saying that it is better to be among the few useful ministers than among the many useless.[19] Much of its argument that impure priests are worthless was predicated on 1 Thessalonians 4:7: "For God did not call us to impurity but in holiness." One of its primary goals was to exhort bishops to maintain discipline in their dioceses by deposing unworthy priests, which was a theme that was vigorously picked up by Pope Innocent III.

In a sermon presented to the clergy of Rome, Innocent III highlighted the accountability of the clergy for their sins. Many of the sins that are not serious for laity, he explained, are serious for clergy. This is a result of both the dignity of their offices and the perversity of their examples. Citing Juvenal, he wrote: "The greater the offender, the more conspicuous is every vice of the heart."[20] Innocent linked the dignity of being able to consecrate bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ with the damnation associated with eating unworthily (1 Cor 11:29). The greater guilt was due to the fact that priestly sins made the people guilty. Through the clergy, he warned, "the name of God is blasphemed among the nations (Romans 2:24)." Alluding to Romans 2:21–22, he drew out the consequences of clerical impurity: "The layman asks, why not commit adultery, when the priest fornicates? Why not commit usury, when the priest is a userer?"[21] Innocent explained that the odious effects of impure clergymen are the reason why canon law stated that the priest is worthy

[19] *Stella clericorum* 1.26–32. The misquotation is in lines 31–32: "Unde Apostolus: Melius est esse paucos et utiles quam multos et inutiles."

[20] This sermon from the *Sermones de diversis*, which is titled *Sermo I: In consecratione pontificus*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1864), vol. 217, pp. 650–654. The Migne series will be cited as PL hereafter. Commenting on Leviticus 4:3, the quote from Juvenal comes up in this context (p. 649): "Sunt autem quator species personarum, sacerdos, princeps, populus, et anima. Porro, sicut peccatem sacerdotis primum describitur, ita maximum judicatur: tum propter perversitatem exempli. Primum notatur, cum dicitur: 'Si sacerdos, qui est unctus, peccaverit': secundum, cum additur: 'Faciens delinquere populum'; nam juxta satyricum Juvenalem: 'Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se Criminem habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur.'" All English translations of Innocent's sermons are from Pope Innocent III, *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. Corinne J. Vause and Frank C. Gardiner (Washington, D.C., 2004).

[21] Pope Innocent III, *Sermo I: In consecratione pontificus*, p. 650: "Sed 'si manducas indigne, judicium tibi manducas, non dijudicans corpus Domini (1 Corinthians 11:29).' Quid, quod tuo peccato facis delinquere populum? Per te 'nomen Dei blasphematur in gentibus (Romans 2:21–22).' 'Non enim potest filius facere, nisi quod viderit patrem facientem (John 5:19).' Et in excusatiove praetendit: "Sufficit discipulo, si sit sicut magister ipsius (Matthew 10:25). Cur, inquit laicus, non adulterer, cum sacerdos fornicetur? Cur non foenerer cum sacerdos foeneretur?"

of as many deaths as the examples of moral ruin he gives to the people.[22] Ultimately, Innocent understood that the scandalous behavior of priests was giving ammunition to the Cathars and other critics of the church by undermining the credibility of the sacrament of Holy Orders.

Variations on deploying Pauline materials concerning ritual purity were popular until the sixteenth century. In one way or another, the reformers who were concerned with priestly impurity were deploying traditional rhetoric framed around the fear of the Lord to either call offenders to adopt a life of penance or to warn of the consequences for laxity. The concerns over the moral example of the priests raised questions about who had the authority to correct superiors. Whereas Paul could be easily deployed against impurity, reformers found Paul to be an ambivalent source when it came to correcting superiors.

2. *Paul as a Source Justifying the Correction of Superiors*

It would not be an overstatement to say that medieval people were very conscious of their place in society. People had a strong sense of standing in terms of being a superior or an inferior, whether this was in the church, the monastery, or the guild. One's lot in life was seen as a result of God's mysterious providence. This tended to make it difficult to consider correcting a superior, especially when St. Paul explicitly stated: "Never be harsh with an elder (presbyter), but speak to him as a father (1 Timothy 5:1)." 1 Timothy 5:1 was interpreted in light of Jesus' instructions in Matthew 18:15–16:

> If another member of the church sins against you, go and point out the fault when the two of you are alone, if the member listens to you, then you have regained that one. But if you are not listened to, take one or two others along with you, so that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses. If the member refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church. . . .

[22] Pope Innocent III, *Sermo I: In consecratione pontificus*, p. 650: "Certe tot mortibus est dignus sacerdos, quot exempla perditionis transmittit in populum." Pope Innocent was probably drawing this from Gratian, *Decretum*, C.2.3.3. There is no critical edition of this text. The Latin text I consulted was *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, 2nd edition, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879). There is a better edition that is not widely available: *Decretum Gratiani Emendatum et Notationibus Illustratum una cum Glossis* (Rome, 1582). The *Decretum* is citing Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care* 3.4. Of course, Innocent may have been citing Gregory directly.

The result was that not many people felt comfortable critiquing their clerical superiors. These superiors often had tremendous power over their lives. Further, if they were guilty of simony or fornication or rape or murder, it might not be wise to privately confront them over their sins.

The Epistle to the Romans reinforced the idea that one should not correct their superiors. Paul wrote: "Every person must submit to the authorities in power, for all authority comes from God, and the existing authorities are instituted by him. It follows that anyone who rebels against authority is resisting a divine institution, and those who resist have themselves to thank for the punishment they will receive (13:1–2)." The *Stella clericorum* claimed that anyone who did not recognize that the authority and dignity of priests was above that of kings and that anyone who questioned their honor must bear God's judgment (Galatians 5:10).[23] This idea that it was never legitimate for members of the laity to correct the clergy was commonly accepted and can be found repeated in the theology of fifteenth century theologians such as Jean Gerson.[24] Even so, St. Paul was also the primary source for those who believed that subjects could publicly expose the sins of their superiors.

It was Peter Damian who offered the most commonly cited response to the Pauline texts that discouraged people from speaking out against corrupt, impure, or unworthy superiors. In a letter written to his secretary in 1058, Peter Damian asserted that no spiritual institution could survive without correction. He argued that the model for superiors should be the way St. Peter was willing to accept the public criticism of St. Paul and that St. Paul's public rebuke of St. Peter showed that sometimes it is appropriate to approve a superior. How could St. Paul ignore his own advice to Timothy about correcting superiors? Peter Damian's answer was that St. Paul did so out of his obedience to orthodoxy. St. Peter had fallen away from the orthodox position formulated by the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15:10–11, namely that gentiles should not be forced to follow Jewish

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[23] *Stella clericorum* 21.11–20: "Sic sacerdos prelucet dignior et maior coram Deo omnibus regibus et principibus mundi in sua dignitate. Unde honorandi sunt scerdotes, quibus Dominus tantam in mundo pre omnibus hominibus contulit graciam et honorem. Unde Dominus: 'Qui vos audit, me audit: qui vos spernit.' Apostolus: 'Qui conturbat vos' (scilicet indebite), 'iudicium portabit, quicumque est ille.' Zacharias: 'Qui tangit vos' (scilicet sacerdotes) 'offendit pupillam oculi mei.' Unde Dominus in Psalmo: 'Nolite tangere christos meos' (quos et / prophetas vocat D[ominus]), 'et in prophetis meis nolite malignari.'" The citations, in order, are: Luke 10:16, Galatians 5:10, Zachariah 2:8, and Psalm 104:15.

[24] See Louis B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 32.

observances. By publicly shaming St. Peter, Peter Damian claimed that St. Paul helped him to recover his commitment to orthodoxy.[25] Since Peter was Paul's superior, at least in the minds of Peter Damian's audience, Paul became the model for correcting superiors.

In the thirteenth century, theologians and preachers began to reflect on the relationship between Peter and Paul and concluded that inferiority, equality, and superiority are relative terms. Some opponents to reform and to the growth of papal power, such as William of St. Amour, had been claiming that Paul was Peter's equal on the basis of Galatians 2:2, where Paul said he opposed Peter to his face as an equal. This would have had the twofold effect of diminishing papal power and of raising the local bishop to a position where he would only be subject to fraternal correction by his fellow bishops. As a result, bishops would only have to answer to the disciplinary decisions of a synod or council. The leading mendicant theologians of the thirteenth century, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, both pointed to Augustine's comment in the *Gloss* on Galatians 2:14: "Peter himself left an example to his successors that those who are greater might not disdain being corrected by those inferior to them, if perchance the righteous have gone astray. Aquinas argued that those who are subject must publicly reprove their superiors if their actions present a scandal to the faith.[26] Writing towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Dominican theologian Jacobus de Voragine explained the relationship between the two apostles in his *Golden Legend*, which was an important source book for medieval preaching and popular religiosity, by saying that Paul was inferior to Peter in terms of dignity, superior in terms of preaching, and equal in terms of holiness.[27]

The notion that one can be equal or even superior in holiness to someone who holds a greater dignity was already traditional in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through the writings of John Cassian, Gregory the Great, and others. Monks had been appropriating the Pauline claim that

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[25] Peter Damian, Letter 54.14–16.

[26] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 2.2.33.4. reply to objection 2; Bonaventure, *Disputed Questions On Evangelical Perfection*, trans. Thomas Reist and Robert Karris (Franciscan Press, 2008), p. 271.

[27] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1993), p.351. The only modern Latin edition is *Legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, ed. Dr. Th. Graesse (Leipzig, 1845). There are three subsequent editions: Leipzig, 1850; Dresden-Leipzig, 1890; and Osnabrück, 1969. All of these editions contain materials added to Jacobus' original text. The introduction to the English translation provides important information concerning the history of this text.

the spiritual person judges all things (1 Corinthians 2:15) for some time in their various struggles with the bishops and with adventurous scholars such as Roscelin or Berengar of Tours. Anselm of Canterbury was using traditional monastic apologetics in his famous Letter to Pope Urban II on the Incarnation of the Word. He set himself and his monastic brethren up as the spiritual men because they were living the *vita apostolica*. The argument was founded on Pauline concepts:

> First, let us disregard the things that belong to the flesh, and let us live according to the Spirit, instead of destroying the deep things of faith by our judgment. For the one who lives according to the flesh is carnal or animal, and it is said of this person that "the sensual person does not perceive the things that are of the Spirit of God (1 Corinthians 2:14)." But the one who "by the Spirit" mortifies "the deeds of the flesh (Romans 8:13)" is made spiritual, and it is said of that person that "the spiritual person judges all things (1 Corinthians 2:15)."[28]

Anselm's argument had the weight of antiquity behind it and can be found in a source as venerable as John Cassian's *Conferences*.[29]

In the twelfth century, monks continued to make this argument for their authority; but what is really interesting is the manner in which this rhetoric began to be applied to the laity and to new forms of ministry as the idea of *vita apostolica* became more associated with the commissioning of the disciples in Luke 10:1–12 than with the community life portrayed in Acts 4:32–35. In a prefatory letter to Archbishop Fulk of Toulouse, Jacques de Vitry admitted that he expected to be attacked by detractors for his promotion of Mary of Oignies as a spiritual exemplar for others to follow. Jacques explained that such sensual people do not perceive the things which are of the Spirit of God (1 Corinthians 2:14).[30] He claimed

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[28] I cite this from a text that I and many others have used when teaching medieval theology, *Letter of Anselm to Pope Urban II on the Incarnation of the Word*, in *Scholastic Miscellany: Anselm to Ockham*, ed. Eugene R. Fairweather (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 97. I have slightly revised the translation to fit inclusive language concerns, to remove its Victorian style, and to omit an editorial addition. As you can see, Fairweather presented a rather loose translation. The critical is in Anselm, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1, ed. Franciscus Salesius (Edinburgh, 1946), p. 284: "... prius inquam ea quae carnis sunt postponentes secundum spiritum vivamus, quam profunda fidei diiudicando discutiamus. Nam qui secundum carnem vivit, carnalis sive animalis est, de quo dicitur: 'animalis homo non percipit ea quae dei sunt (1 Corinthians 2:14);' qui vero 'spiritu facta carnis mortificat (Romans 8:13),' spiritualis efficitur, de quo legitur quia 'spiritualis iudicat omnia (1 Corinthians 2:15)."

[29] John Cassian, *The Conferences* 4.19.1. The critical edition is *Conférences*, vol. 1, ed. Dom E. Pichery (Paris, 1955).

[30] Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Mary of Oignies* prologue.10, p. 549.

that Paul warned against them when he said, "Extinguish not the spirit; despise not prophecies (1 Thessalonians 5:19, 20)."[31] These sensual people extinguished the Spirit and despised prophecies by scorning spiritual people and considering them to be either insane or idiots. He accused them of not recognizing with Paul that there has been no time since the beginning when the Holy Spirit did not work miraculously in his saints (2 Thessalonians 1:10). This miraculous work of the Spirit, symbolized by the oil in Psalm 132:2, descends from the head to the beard, from the beard to the skirt of the garment, from the garment to the fringe, which Jacques saw as indicating how the grace of prophecy could extend to every member of the church including a laywoman such as Mary of Oignies.

Jacques de Vitry had to show that Mary had demonstrated her spiritual nature through her mortification of her flesh. Mary and the other women in her community gave themselves to a variety of activities associated with Pauline ascetic practices such as making "hospitality their special care" (Romans 12:13), "keeping an undefiled wedding bed" (Hebrews 13:4), and "giving themselves to prayer for a time and returning afterwards together again in the fear of the Lord lest they be tempted by Satan" (1 Corinthians 7:5). Some, like Mary, led an angelic life because they abstained from "licit embraces with the assent of their husbands" and therefore showed they were worthy of a crown of glory because they did not burn when put in the fire (1 Corinthians 7:9). Mary's asceticism was so extreme, including cutting off pieces of her flesh, that Jacques felt compelled to state that his readers should admire rather than imitate her ascetic acts. These acts, he explained, were achieved through her familiar counsel with the Holy Spirit.[32]

In a much more modest vein, Pope Innocent III also exhorted his clergy to recognize the importance of asceticism for ecclesial authority. He began by alluding to 1 Corinthians 9:26- 27, where Paul wrote: "So I do not run aimlessly, nor do I box as though beating the air; but I punish my

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[31] Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Mary of Oignies* prologue.10, p. 549: "Contra quos ait Apostolus: 'Spiritum nolite extinguere, prophetias nolite spernere (1 Thessalonians 5:19).'"

[32] Jacques de Vitry, *The Life of Mary of Oignies* 1.2.12, p.550: Nec hoc dixero ut excessum commendem, sed ut fervorem ostendam. In iis autem et multis aliis, quae privilegio gratiae operata est, attendat lector discretus, quod paucorum privilegia non faciunt legem communem. Ejus virtutes imitemur; opera vero virtutum ejus; sine privato privilegio imitari non possumus. Licet enim corpus spiritui servire cogendum sit (Romans 7:25), licet 'stigmata Domini nostri Jesu Christi in nostro corpore ferre (Galatians 6:17)' debeamus; scimus tamen quod honor Regis judicium diligit, nec placet Domino sacrificium de rapina pauperis. . . . Quod ergo quosdam sanctos ex familiari consilio Spiritus Sancti fecisse legimus, admiremur potius quam imitemur."

body and enslave it, so that after proclaiming to others I myself should not be disqualified."[33] Innocent believed that this passage indicated the prelate's duty to chastise his own body and bring it to subjection in order to preach. He described the priest or bishop who failed to practice asceticism as growing putrid in his own excrement and as stinking like a four-day corpse.[34] Innocent believed that asceticism was necessary to tame concupiscence, which is the source of the sin and vice that undermines the legitimacy of the preacher. Again his source was Paul read in light of Ecclesiasticus. Innocent said, "Fear is the best nail, for it fastens us to the cross, as is said, 'They have crucified their flesh with its vices and concupiscences (Galatians 5:24)" since 'the fear of the Lord drives out sin (Ecclesiasticus 1:27).'"[35]

The link between asceticism and authority was a persistent theme in both the early and the medieval church. As Conrad Leyser has shown, John Cassian and Gregory the Great had firmly established the connection between asceticism and the authority to correct and to preach.[36] This helps to explain why so many laymen and women who became involved in reform and preaching practiced such extreme asceticism. Though there are many cultural issues involved, as Caroline Walker Bynum has explored in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, extreme acts of mortification such as Mary of Oignes' practice of cutting off pieces of her flesh should also be understood in the context of establishing authority.[37] There seems to be an inversely proportional relationship between the intensity of asceticism and a reformer's ecclesial or social standing. For example, a prelate with a high office such as Jacques de Vitry could establish his authority with a moderate form of asceticism, but a laywoman such as Marie of Oignies

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[33] Innocent III, *Sermo IV: In consecratione pontificus*, PL 217:668.

[34] Innocent III, *Sermo IV: In consecratione pontificus*, PL 217:668: "Debet enim praelatus non solum cibos condire, sed et carnes siccare: ut castiget corpus suum, et in servitutem redigat (1 Corinthians 9:27), ne forte, cum aliis praedicaverit, ipse reprobus fiat: quia nisi fluxus carnalis concupiscentiae desiccetur, profecto carnalis homo tanquam jumentum in stercore computrescit, et quasi quatriduanas foetet in monumento."

[35] Innocent III, *Sermo IV: In consecratione pontificus*, p. 668: "Optimus clavus est timor, qui carnem cruci affigit. Juxta quod legitur: 'Crucifixerunt membra sua cum vitiis et concupiscentiis (Galatians 5:24):' quia 'timor Domini peccatum expellit (Ecclesiasticus 1:27)."

[36] Conrad Leyser, "Expertise and Authority in Gregory the Great: The Social Function of Peritia," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame, 1995), pp. 38–61.

[37] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

would have to subject herself to an almost inhuman form of asceticism to establish her authority to speak publicly.

The Pauline Epistles, with their ambivalence towards women in the church, drove much of this dynamic; however, the need to practice severe asceticism would also be required for laymen who were engaged in reform and preaching, which can be seen in the ascetic regimen of Francis of Assisi and his early followers. As the Franciscan friars became more clerical and their preaching was seen as supported by papal authority, their asceticism became much more moderate. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the debate over whether the religious or the laity could preach and what they could say was largely a debate over how to reconcile various Pauline statements over preaching.

The key passage that seemed to forbid monks and laypeople from preaching was Romans 10:15: "And how can they proclaim him unless they were sent." The twelfth century was marked by repeated conflict between members of the monastic communities and the bishops as the monks began to assert their right to preach outside of their monasteries. Rupert of Deutz, a Benedictine reformer, saw preaching as the chief instrument for reform. He advanced the argument that monks could preach if they were ordained as priests. He maintained that being ordained was to be made a successor to the apostles, who were charged with the task of teaching the sacred words in an official manner. He asked his readers to consider whether the ordained monks could avoid fulfilling their sacred function.[38] He believed that "by constant preaching and improved learning the whole condition of the Catholic Church reformed."[39] John Van Engen has shown that Philippians 2:21, "All of them are seeking their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ," was a key text that reformers such as Rupert used to condemn avarice and ambition within the church.[40] He also cited Ephesians 5:5, which states that the greedy are idolaters, to

[38] Rupert of Deutz, *Quod monacho liceat praedicare*, PL 170:541–542. An excellent study on Rupert that I found helpful is John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, 1983).

[39] The translation is from John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, 272. In PL 167:816 the text reads: "Tandem 'luto alio liniet domum,' id est, malis sensibus exclusis sedula praedicatione ac meliori doctrina totum reformabit fidei vel catholicae pacis statum."

[40] John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, 273. One of the texts Van Engen points to is Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke O.S.B., *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. 22 (Turnholti: Brepols, 1972) p. 849: "Quidnam est animam pollutam edere de carnibus hostiae pacificorum quae oblata est Domino, nisi sacerdotem *quaerentem quae sua sunt non quae Iesu Christi* (Philippians 2:21), inhiare oblationibus peccatorum, ut offerantur quasi Domino, cum potius provideat ventri suo, deo suo?"

show how their service to idols leads to the abandonment of chastity, of religion, of knowledge, of fervor for sacred study, and of all good things.[41]

Rupert was not alone among the monks. His arguments were echoed in the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, Guibert of Nogent, and later Joachim of Fiore. All three argued that ordained monks should be allowed to preach.[42] Though they linked preaching to priestly ordination, the monks lost their struggle with the diocesan clergy over preaching rights and the restriction of preaching to the bishop or his representatives, a decision that was vigorously reinforced by the First Lateran Council in 1123. Though the voices of reform-minded monks were largely muted by the council, the laity and then the mendicants picked up the banner of reform and, in turn, had to justify their preaching against corruption.

When laypeople began to preach, they encountered Romans 10:15 as well. Pope Lucius III's decree from the council of Verona in 1184 condemned the Waldensians on the basis of this Pauline line, which was incorporated into canon 3 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215:

> There are some who "holding to the form of religion but denying its power (2 Timothy 3:5)" (as the Apostle says), claim for themselves the authority to preach, whereas the same Apostle says, "How shall they preach unless they are sent?" Let therefore those who have been forbidden or not sent to preach, and yet dare publicly or privately usurp the office of preaching without having received the authority of the apostolic see or of the Catholic

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[41] Rupert of Deutz, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 2.2, in PL 169:879: "Nam ubicunque sacerdos sive pontifex conductitius exemplo Balaam mercedes amat iniquitatis, continuo tanquam de mala radice vitiorum omnium pullulant fructus mali, primumque Ecclesiae castitas et omne decus religionis perit, scientiae nulla cura, nullus honor, nullus fere sacri fervor studii, sed avaritiae, quod idolorum servitus (Ephesians 5:5), vorago bona cuncta submergit."

[42] For a good review of the issues and notes pointing to more sources see Wanda Cizewski, "Guibert of Nogent's *How to Preach a Sermon*," *Theological Studies* 59 (September, 1998) pp. 406–419. For the ways these ideas moved forward in terms of lay preaching see Darleen Pryds, "Preaching Women: The Tradition of Mendicant Women", in *Franciscan Evangelization: Striving to Preach the Gospel*, ed. Elise Saggau (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2007), pp. 55–78. A relevant passage from Guibert can be found in PL 156:21b–22d. The best source for Honorius Augustodunensis' position is *Quod monachis licet praedicare* in *Honorius Augustodunensis*, ed. J. A. Endres (Munich, 1906). For a seminal study see J. Leclerq, "La crise du monachisme aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siecles," *Bulletin dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 70 (1958), pp. 47–67. While Joachim of Fiore favored allowing ordained monks to preach, he opposed preaching by the laity. For more information see William Skudlarek, *Assertion without Knowledge? The Lay Preaching Controversy in the Twelfth Century* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1976) pp. 175–76.

> bishop of the place, be bound with the bond of excommunication and, unless they repent very quickly, be punished by another suitable penalty.[43]

Though this may appear definitive to us, there were significant theologians who did not see either the Council of Verona or the Fourth Lateran's interpretation of Paul as excluding lay preaching.

Perhaps the most influential theologians who supported lay preaching in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were Peter the Chanter and Pope Innocent III. Peter the Chanter advocated the patristic belief that any Christian who is inspired by the Holy Spirit can preach without special permission:

> Where did Paul get his preaching certificate? He started to preach right after his conversion. That convinces me, that each Christian can preach if he sees his brother in error. Not in the church, unless the local bishop or the local priest has granted him permission. But otherwise it is enough to be guided by the Holy Spirit, even if one is not licensed by a human or by any ecclesial authority. It has been said that no one should preach without being ordered to do so by man. But should I not give alms to a poor person even if I am not commissioned to do so by the church? Preaching is very similar: it is a work of charity, and thus the Gospel itself was preached to many without any commission.[44]

Peter the Chanter recognized that Paul had been "called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God (Romans 1:1)" and that he was "sent neither by human commission nor from human authorities, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father (Galatians 1:1)."

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[43] The best translation of the canon can be found in the *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington: Georgetown University, 1990), pp. 234–235: "Quia vero nonnulli 'sub specie pietatis virtutem eius (iuxta quod ait Apostolus) abnegantes (2 Timothy 3:5),' auctoritatem sibi vendicant praedicandi, cum idem Apostolus dicat: 'Quomodo praedicabunt nisi mittantur? (Romans 10:15),' omnes qui prohibiti vel non missi, praeter auctoritatem ab apostolica sede vel catholico episcopo loci susceptam, publice vel privatim praedicationis officium usurpare praesumpserint, excommunicationis vinculo innodentur, et nisi quantocius resipuerint, alia competenti poena plectantur.

[44] Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 126. This text is only available in manuscript 176 at the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, however, Phillippe Buc includes the Latin text in an appendix to his article, "*Vox clamantis in deserto*? Pierre le Chantre et la Prédication Laïque," *Revue Mabillon* 4.65 (1993), 37: "Sed a quo mittebatur Paulus? Statim post conversionem sine missione apostolorum predicavit. Similiter credo quod quilibet predicare debet si fratrem viderit delinquentem, sed non in ecclesia nisi cum permissione episcopi vel sacerdotis. Sufficit si quis mittitur a Spiritu sancto, licet non ab homine, nec aliqua auctoritate. Exprimitur quod non predicet quis nisi missus ab homine. Nunquid non dabo elemosinam pauperi nisi missus? Predicare autem opus elemosinarium est, quasi, multis predicatum est evangelium."

Innocent III, who was trained in the Parisian environment created by Peter the Chanter, was also open to the idea that laypeople could preach through the reception of grace or by commission from episcopal authorities. This idea was contained in popular hagiographical traditions about women such as Mary Magdalene, the sermons of Gregory the Great, the example of Paul as understood by his Parisian masters, and the works of the canonist Huguccio. Huguccio allowed laypeople to preach in terms of exhortation, which included moral correction and reprimand.[45] The distinction between preaching as teaching and as exhortation was drawn from Romans 12:4–8: "For as in one body we have many members, and not all members have the same function . . . prophecy, in proportion to faith; ministry in ministering; the teacher in teaching; the exhorter, in exhortation . . ." Innocent could recognize preaching as exhortation, also known as penitential preaching, to be a legitimate function that did not require either official permission or ordination.[46] Of course penitential preaching, the ability to publicly criticize people for their moral failures, was absolutely necessary for lay and religious reform movements to function.

3. *Paul as an Advocate for Novelty*

It was one thing to suggest that laypeople and monks might preach, but there was still the problem of trying to establish new reform-oriented institutions within the church. The men and women who founded new communities that aimed at reforming pastoral care or monastic life faced the charge of novelty. Whereas our culture tends to promote things as new and improved, it can be said that the medieval preference was toward old and the same. As the debate over the value of new orders, ministries, and forms of life intensified, both the opponents and the supporters of reform became increasingly apocalyptic. The vague warning of 2 Timothy 3:1–5 that in the last days there will appear presumptuous boasters who appear pious while denying piety's power was a recurring theme among the opponents and supporters of reform—depending on who was being identified with the false lovers of piety.

Bernard of Clairvaux had to respond to Benedictines who accused the Cistercians of being presumptuous because they sought to do something new and better in the Church. He wrote that this attitude reflects the

[45] Philippe Buc, "*Vox clamantis in deserto*?," pp. 14–15.
[46] Philippe Buc, "*Vox clamantis in deserto*?," pp. 21–22.

spirit of those who obstinately defend and blindly observe human traditions. For Bernard, the argument that some practice, observance, or law is the way that the church has always done something did not preclude improvement. While scripture warns against being wiser than is proper, he pointed out that it never says, "Be not overly good." He reminded the opponents of progress that St. Paul "was not content, but gladly stretched forward to those things that were before, forgetting those that were behind, striving ever to be better (Philippians 3:13)."[47] He gave this warning to those who opposed progressive reform:

> Jacob saw angels ascending and descending the ladder, but he did not see any standing still or sitting down. A fragile hanging ladder is no place for standing still nor, in the uncertain condition of this mortal life, can anyone remain in one fixed position. We have not here an abiding city nor do we yet possess it, but we are still seeking the one to come. Either you must go up or you must come down, you inevitably fall if you try to stand still. It is certain that the one who does not try to be better is not even good.[48]

Bernard advised his reforming brothers to avoid confrontation or conciliation with the "modern Pharisees," because he said they were blind and incapable of much more than spitefulness. "It is not your concern," Bernard wrote, "to cure the scandal of those who will not be cured unless you too become sick."[49]

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[47] Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter 94 (91), SBO 7, p. 240.3: "Bonus erat iam Paulus, et tamen nequaquam contentus, libenter se ad ea quae ante sunt extendebat, posteriora obliviscens et seipso semper melior effici studens." All of the English translations of the letters are from *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. by Bruno Scott James (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Press, 1998; first edition London, 1953). The critical edition for all of Bernard's works is *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 1–8, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome, 1957–1977). The translation and the critical edition have different systems for numbering letters. Further, the two editions of James' translation have different page numbers. As a result, I decided to follow James' system of numbering the letters, which is consistent between the English translations. Further, I have placed the critical edition's number for the letter in parentheses when the critical edition differs. I have checked the accuracy of the cross-referenced list in the English edition, and it is usually accurate; however, it is not always accurate so be careful when consulting these sources.

[48] Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter 94 (91); SBO 7, p. 240.13: "Vidit Iacob in scala angelos ascendentes et descendentes: numquid stantem quempiam, sive sedentem? Non est stare omnino in pendulo fragilis scalae, neque in incerto huius mortalis vitae quidquam in eodem statu permanet. Non Habemus hic manentem civitatem, nec futuram adhuc possidemus, sed inquirimus. Aut ascendas necesse est, aut descendas: si attentas stare, ruas necesse est.

Minime pro certo est bonus, qui melior esse non vult, et ubi incipis nolle fieri melior, ibi desinis etiam esse bonus." The English translation contains an additional sentence that is not in the critical edition, which I have omitted.

[49] Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter 94 (91), *SBO* 7, p. 240.22: "At novos nunc pharisaeos non verbum, sed silentium scandalizat. In hoc uno certe advertitis quod occasionem quaerunt

This strategy was also employed with great success in the defense of the regular canons, who had developed a new form of ministry that included monastic elements into the lives of diocesan clergy. Regular canons were members of the diocesan clergy who voluntarily agreed to follow Augustine's Rule, but there were different communities that added elements to the rule. The Norbertines were among the most successful of these groups. They tended to provoke the ire of both the monks and the secular priests who did not take up the chastity, poverty, and obedience of the regular canons. Anselm of Havelberg, a Norbertine, was involved in such a dispute with the Benedictines.

Around 1138, an unnamed Benedictine monk broadly charged the regular canons with presumption and novelty, which led Anselm of Havelberg to write his *Apologetic Letter*. The Norbertines were seen as presumptuous because they were taking on a monastic form of life, which the Benedictine had argued was "more honorable than the excellence of the clergy." Anselm responded that he did not say a monk was good because he was a monk, nor a cleric because he was a cleric, but because he was in fact good. Nor did he judge a member of the laity to be good or bad based on his or her rank, because God does not respect status but finds acceptable everyone who fears Him and who does just works.[50] Since God "desires everyone to be saved (1 Timothy 2:4)," Anselm obliquely charged his Benedictine opponent with presumption for exalting the monks, especially since the modern monks lived in wealth, warmth, and leisure as compared to the poverty, nakedness, and manual labor of the early monks.

Having undermined the ascetic credibility of his opponent, Anselm of Havelberg turned to address the charge of novelty. He wrote:

> Further you complain about the term "regular canon." You say that it is a novelty and therefore contemptible, as if novelty need be contemptible. Anyone who understands syllogisms knows that this is itself a contemptible argument, for everything old was new at some time, and therefore is neither

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adversum vos. Sed sinite illos: caeci sunt, duces carcorum intendite saluti parvulorum, non murmuri malevolorum. Non valde illorum vobis curandum est scandalum, qui non sanantur, nisi vos infirmemini."

[50] Anselm of Havelberg, *Apologetic Letter*, in *Norbert and Early Norbertine Spirituality*, eds. and trans. Theodore J. Antry and Carol Neel (New York, 2007), p. 40. Hereafter cited as *Apologetic Letter*. The Latin edition is *Epistola apologetica*, in PL 188:1121: "Ego nec clericum, quia clericus est, bonum dico; sed, quia bonus est, bonum dico, et bonum diligo. Ego nec laicum, quia laicus est, aut bonum aut malum judico; sed, quia bonus aut malus est, aut tanquam bonum probo, aut tanquam malum improbo, 'non' enim 'personarum acceptor est Deus sed in omni gente, qui timet Deum, et operatur justitiam, acceptus est illi (Acts 10:34–35),' qui etiam, ut ait Apostolus, 'vult omnes homines salvos fieri (1 Timothy 2:4).'"

> more nor less contemptible because it is new or was new. Nor is something more or less acceptable because it or will be old, but rather it should be acceptable to all good people because it is good or useful whether it is old or new.[51]

While the term "regular canon" was new, Anselm argued that the blending of the active and contemplative forms of life was not new. The model for this new form of life was none other than St. Paul. The various types of regular canons were, according to Anselm, simply following the Apostle Paul's appeal in 1 Corinthians 4:16 "to be imitators of me." Paul's contemplative dimension was what allowed him to forget "those things which are in the past" and to go forward "into those things of the future (Philippians 3:13)."[52] Though Paul ascended to the heights of contemplation and heard hidden words in the third heaven (2 Corinthians 12:4), Anselm reminded his opponent that Paul took up the active tasks of disputing and persuading, gathered in Jews and Gentiles by his preaching and fought the good fight, achieving the crown of martyrdom.

Paul's experience of the three heavens and his propensity towards the future also inspired one of the most interesting characters of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, namely, Abbot Joachim of Fiore. Joachim, who died in 1202, began his monastic career as a Cistercian and eventually founded his own order. He had the reputation of being a prophet, which made it easy for his supporters to associate him with Romans 12:4–8 where Paul identifies prophecy as a function within the church. He was an advisor to kings and to popes during his lifetime, but by the end of the thirteenth century he was seen by many members of the clergy as a mystical revolutionary whose works deserved to be condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council, by a papal inquisitorial commission, and by the Council of Lyons (1274).

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[51] Anselm of Havelberg, *Apologetic Letter*, p. 42; PL 188:1122: "Causaris etiam hoc nomen regularis canonicus, et dicis illud esse novum, et ideo comtemptibile, quasi necessaria sit illa consequentia, si novum, tunc contemptibile; quod quidem contemptibile argumentum quam sit contemptibile, nulli, qui syllogistice loqui noverit, est incongnitum; equidem omne quod antiquitatem vel vetustatem suscepit, aliquando novum fuisse certissime constat, ideoque non quia novum est aut novum fuit, aliquid plus minusve est contemptibile; nec quia vetus est aut vetus erit, aliquid plus minusve est acceptabile: sed sive vetus sive novum sit aliquid, si tamen bonum est et utile, jure omnibus bonis debet esse acceptabile."

[52] Anselm of Havelberg, *Apologetic Letter*, p. 55, PL 188:1133: "... nempe apostolus, Paulus Doctor gentium in fide et veritate, qui secure ausus est dicere: 'Estote imitatores mei, sicut et ego Christi (1 Corinthians 4:16),' interdum obliviscitur ea quae retro sunt, et in anteriora se extendens ad contemplandum Deo mente excedit..."

Paul's claim to forget the past and to push towards the future was applied in ways that earlier exegetes would have seen as radical. Joachim's work was inspired by three visions that led him to develop a complex exegetical approach that linked his revealed understanding of the Trinity to his revealed understanding of parallels between the history of Israel and of the church. He believed there were three ages of the world that corresponded to the three persons of the Trinity, to the three orders of the church, and to the three heavens experienced by St. Paul.

Though there are many nuances to Joachim's thought, his systematic appropriation of Pauline theology is easy to see. He identified the time of the Father with the period when the laity held the highest position in the church, or more properly the church as synagogue, which is the period when there is little light because the church was mostly carnal in nature; and since there is little light, this corresponds to the lowest heaven, in this case, represented by the stars.[53] The period of the Son is when the clergy, who are partially spiritual and partially carnal, govern the church; since there is more light, he identified this period with the moon and with Paul's second heaven.[54] The age of the Spirit corresponds to the time when the monks will govern the church; this age, which he predicted would come

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[53] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordie Novi ac Veteris Testamenti, Books 1–4*, ed. E. R. Daniel (The American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia, 1983) 2.1.1, p. 51: " 'Primus homo,' ut ait apostolus, 'de terra terrenus, secundus homo de celo celestis (1 Corinthians 15:47).' Qualis terrenis tales et terreni; et qualis celestis tales et celestes. Sicut portavimus ymaginem terreni, portemus et ymaginem celestis. Cum essemus parvuli, loquebamur ut parvuli, sapiebamus ut parvuli, cogitabamus ut parvuli. Quando autem facti sumus viri, evacuemus ea que parvulorum sunt 1 Corinthians 13:11). Si enim de numero illorum sumus qui, relicto inchoationis Christi sermone, ad perfectionem feruntur, tales nos exibeamus, quales esse optat ille qui dicit: 'Nolite pueri effici sensibus sed malitia [fol. llrb] parvuli estote, sensibus autem perfecti (1 Corinthians 14:20).' Tales nos exibeamus quales sunt hii de quibus ipse dicit: 'Sapientiam loquimur inter perfectos (1 Corinthians 2:6).' Non quales errant illi quibus ait: 'Non potui loqui vobis quasi spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus: tamquam parvulis in Christo lac vobis potem dedi non escam (1 Corinthians 3:1–2).' Raptus Paulus usque ad tertium celum audiuit archana uerba que non licet homini loqui (2 Corinthians 12:2). Quare non licet homini loqui archana uerba, que audita sunt in tertio celo; nisi quia spiritualia sunt; et non possunt capere ea hii, quos homines vocat dicens: 'Cum enim sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales estis et secundum hominem ambulatis (1 Corinthians 3:3)?' 'Animalis quippe homo,' ut ipse ait, 'non percipit ea que sunt spiritus dei. Stultitia enim est illi, et non potest intelligere ea, quia spiritualiter examinatur (1 Corinthians 2:14).'" Herein cited as *Liber de Concordia*. Delno West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz have noted the importance of Pauline materials for Joachim in *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1983), pp. 42–43. This section of the text marks a turning point in the *Liber de Concordia*. For more information about the structure of the text see E. R. Daniel, "Introduction," in *Liber de Concordie Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, pp. xiii–xxvii. This is also the most available critical edition.

[54] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia* 2.1.1, pp. 55–56.

to full fruition sometime around 1260,[55] would be fully spiritual and is represented by the brightness of the sun and corresponds to the third heaven where Paul heard the secret words.[56] One aspect of Joachim's agenda was to reform pastoral care by advocating for orders of preaching monks, the preachers of truth (*predicators veritatis*), who would usher in this new age when Peter would be replaced by John.[57] While his meaning is not exactly clear, he seemed to suggest at a minimum some form of monastic or contemplative renovation of the papacy if not an outright overthrow of the existing hierarchy.

Though Joachim was engaged in studying the Apocalypse of John, his reading was heavily influenced by 1 Corinthians and Ephesians. To show why a new way of reading scripture and of understanding the church was necessary, he cited 1 Corinthians 13:11 in the preface to the *Liber de Concordia*: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, had the wisdom of a child, reasoned as a child. When I became a man, I left behind childish things."[58] Joachim identified this immaturity with the spiritual understanding of the church, which he contrasted with the vision presented in Ephesians 4:13 of the church in the form of a perfectly mature man.[59] Pauline texts distinguishing between earthly or heavenly, immature or mature, and carnal or spiritual people permeate Joachim's theology. The people who have this mature or fully spiritual reading could, according to the abbot, unlock the prophecy of the angel about the time of the end as revealed and sealed in chapter twelve of Daniel, which in turn would unveil the meaning of the seven seals of the Apocalypse.[60] Without getting entangled

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[55] Joachim makes his calculations based on generations rather than years, but his calculations pointed to the middle of the thirteenth century. See Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia* 2.1.12, pp. 81–83. The two best sources on Joachim's understanding of how the ages will unfold are Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillon Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 130–131; E. Randolph Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. Richard Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 78–79.

[56] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia* 2.1.1, p. 56; 2.1.5, p. 68.

[57] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia* 2.1.33, p. 138: "Petrus sane et Iohannes unius ordinis sunt, et tamen ipse unus ordo consumari prius oportet quo ad Petrum, ut scientibus loquor; stabit autem quo ad Iohannem."

[58] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, preface, p. 14: "... quod idcirco maxime precavendum dicimus, quia nunquam intelligentia scripturarum pari modo presto est de futuris et de preteritis, apostolo attestante qui dicit: 'Cum essem parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus. Quando autem factus sum vir evacuavi que erant parvuli (1 Corinthians 13:11).'"

[59] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, Preface, p. 15.

[60] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, Preface, pp. 14–15.

in the intricacies of Joachim's peculiar system of exegesis, his prophecies inspired many members of the mendicant orders of the thirteenth century in their struggles with the diocesan clergy. His expectation of an imminent age of spiritual maturity, as promised by Paul and by the apocalyptic books of scripture, particularly affected the Franciscans of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

During the early phase of the Mendicant Controversy, which was a struggle over whether it was legitimate for members of religious orders to take on the pastoral tasks of preaching and hearing confessions, some of the friars began to appeal to the prophecies of Joachim and of pseudo-Joachim against the secular clergy. When the Mendicant Controversy broke out at the University of Paris in the early 1250s, William of St. Amour identified the apocalyptic warning in 1 Timothy 3:1–5 of people who appear to love piety but who in fact love themselves with the mendicant orders. He argued that ministry in the church belonged solely to the diocesan or secular clergy and that this reality cannot change because the ecclesiastical hierarchy reflects the heavenly hierarchy, which is immutable.[61] Joachim's theology of a third age with a restructured hierarchy seemed to offer an attractive response to William's critique. Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, a Franciscan, published a tract claiming that Joachim's works comprised a new Eternal Gospel and identifying the Franciscan and Dominican Orders with the *predicators veritatis* who Joachim had predicted would usher in the third age of the church. The results were disastrous. Gerard and his Eternal Gospel were condemned by an inquisitorial commission, Gerard was confined to prison, and the minister general was forced to resign and to go into exile. Even so, Franciscans such as Peter John Olivi (1248–1298) and Angelo Clareno (d. 1337) continued to advance variations on Joachim's apocalyptic reading of the Pauline corpus.[62]

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[61] For a brief overview see C. Colt Anderson, *A Call to Piety*, pp. 16–19. See also Yves Congar, "Aspects Ecclésiologiques de la Querelle entre Mendiants et Séculiers dans la Seconde Moitié du XIII^{e} Siècle et le Début du XIV^{e}," *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen age*, vol. 27–28 (1961), pp. 44–52.

[62] Angelo Clareno, *A Chronicle or History of the Seven Tribulations of the Order of Brothers Minor*, trans. David Burr and E. Randolph Daniel (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2005), pp. i–xxx. This text contains all of the uses of St. Paul that I introduced at the outset. Given the voluminous amounts of material I found, Clareno's use of Paul could not be adequately treated in this essay. For more on Olivi see David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1993).

4. *Conclusion*

Paul was an ambivalent source for most of the medieval reformers, but they recognized that it was rhetorically necessary to answer the Pauline critiques posed by the opponents of reform with Pauline responses. The way that reformers used both the example of St. Paul and his writings to justify their critiques of the clergy in terms of purity issues, their authority to speak and preach on corruption, and their ability to create new ecclesial institutions and forms of ministry needs to receive more attention from theologians and historians. Beyond coming to a better understanding of the medieval church, such study begins to put the theology of later figures such as Martin Luther and John Calvin into context. At the same time, studying the rhetorical value of Pauline materials for medieval reformers raises questions about how Paul is used today. How much value do hagiographical sources have in popular culture today? Do exegetical traditions continue to hold authority in Christian churches? Has the role of rhetoric been ceded by contemporary biblical scholars and theologians to those who wish to use Paul to oppose change, criticism, and equality? If so, we would be wise to remember Augustine's advice:

> Rhetoric, after all, being the art of persuading people to accept something, whether it is true or false, would anyone dare to maintain that truth should stand there without any weapons in the hands of its defenders against falsehood; that those speakers, that is to say, who are trying to convince their hearers of what is untrue, should know how to get them on their side, to gain their attention and have them eating out of their hands by their opening remarks, while these who are defending the truth should not? That those should utter their lies briefly, clearly, plausibly, and that these should state their truths in a manner too boring to listen to, too obscure to understand, and finally too repellent to believe?[63]

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[63] Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 4.2.3. The critical edition is Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. J. Martin, *Corpus Christianorum Latinorum* 32 (Turnholt, Belgium, 1962), p. 117: "Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et vera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, adversus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere veritatem, ut videlicet illi, qui res falsas persuadere conantur, noverint auditorem uel benevolum uel intentum uel docilem prooemio facere, isti autem non noverint? Illi falsa breviter aperte verisimiliter et isti vera sic narrent, ut audire taedeat, intellegere non pateat, credere postremo non libeat?" The English citation is from Augustine, *Teaching Christianity: De doctrina christiana*, trans. Edmund Hill, O.P., ed. John E. Rotelle, O.S.A. (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press, 1996).

PAULUS RAPTUS TO *RAPTUS PAULI*: PAUL'S RAPTURE (2 COR 12:2–4) IN THE PRE-SCHOLASTIC AND SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGIES

Csaba Németh

1. *Introduction*

In his second epistle to the Corinthians, Paul remembers someone who was caught up to the third heaven and into Paradise and heard there certain secret words (2 Cor 12:2–4).

Medieval theologians understood this account as Paul's testimony about his own experience. Following Augustine's intuition, they interpreted Paul's rapture into the third heaven (that is, into Paradise) as a cognitive act, the highest form of the cognition of God in ecstasy possible to men living earthly lives.

Between the fourth and mid-thirteenth centuries, the interpretations of Paul's rapture show remarkable variance.

There existed a strong scholastic tradition: from the mid-twelfth century onwards, the new institutions of theological education—urban schools and the university—made one of Augustine's interpretations authoritative and, using modern concepts to refine Patristic ideas, by the mid-thirteenth century elaborated the concept of *raptus*. As from the thirteenth century onwards scholastic theology became the authoritative theology of the West, *raptus* became the sole acceptable theological meaning of 2 Cor 12:2–4.

The main aim of the present paper is to give an overview of non-scholastic (or pre-scholastic) interpretations which preceded or, for a short while, coexisted with the evolving scholastic theories. Outside the scholastic tradition, Augustine's theories did not have a granted authority on this issue, nor had Paul's rapture one single theological interpretation. The rapture narrative was interpreted and used in various ways—and often contrary to those doctrines of Augustine which later defined *raptus*. While *raptus* implies an immediate face to face vision of God (that is, a cognition of God's substance), some theologians excluded the possibility of such cognition and conceived Paul's rapture as a mediated vision; while *raptus* means a supernatural and extraordinary category with the single example of Saint Paul himself, some theologians taught that Paul's rapture was the same ecstatic contemplation as *contemplativi* used to have.

The non-scholastic interpretations do not form a tradition, as they are a series of individual and unconnected interpretations elaborated between the sixth and twelfth centuries. In spite of all their differences, these theories have at least two common points: none of them had influence on the development of the scholastic doctrines, and most of them contradict the later scholastic interpretation of Paul's rapture.

Non-scholastic and scholastic theories alike were based on Augustine's theories but differed in preferences. Their presentation, therefore, shall begin with an overview of Augustine's various positions on Paul's rapture and their consequences.

1.1. *The Latin Reading of 2 Cor 12*

In his second epistle to the Corinthians, Paul makes a short digression to "visions and revelations." Without naming the person, the Apostle mentions someone who was "caught up" or "snatched" (*raptus*) into the third heaven; then he also tells that the same person was "caught up" into Paradise and heard there certain words (2 Cor 12:2–4). The elliptic and ambiguous sentence of Paul leaves the readers clueless concerning the exact meaning of this account. He states repeatedly that he does not know whether that human being was caught up bodily or without body. He does not explain the meaning and the relation of "third heaven" and "Paradise;" it is not clear if "third heaven" is identical with "Paradise" or not, and, consequently, whether the Apostle speaks about one or two raptures. Finally, the reader is assured that nothing of the words heard in that rapture may be known, for those words are secret and may not be communicated to others.[1] Other texts by Paul made no explicit references to the event mentioned here.

In order to make sense of the elliptic narrative, any interpreter has to impose a coherent reading on the text, resolving its ambiguities by rational decisions and explanations. It was Augustine who established such a reading in Western theology. The exegetical decisions he presented in Book 12 of the *De Genesi ad litteram* defined later Latin readings and

[1] The Vulgate translation reads: (12:2) *scio hominem in Christo ante annos quattuordecim, sive in corpore nescio, sive extra corpus nescio, Deus scit, raptum eiusmodi usque ad tertium caelum;* (12:3) *et scio huiusmodi hominem sive in corpore sive extra corpus nescio, Deus scit,* (12:4) *quoniam raptus est in paradisum et audivit arcana verba quae non licet homini loqui.*

interpretations of the text, even if concrete elements of his explanation were not accepted unanimously.[2]

A crucial decision affected the number of heavens. Paul mentioned the *third* heaven, and Augustine defined the number of heavens in three: this decision—as it equated third heaven with the ultimate one—made Paul enraptured into the highest heaven. (In addition, Augustine explicitly refused to discuss positions counting with seven, eight, nine or ten heavens.) In this question, the theological imagination of the West was defined by Latin sources (especially by Augustine), and it remained uninfluenced by theories counting more than three heavens where Paul was taken into one of the lower heavens (positions not unusual in Patristic and Gnostic works written in Greek).[3] Another decision of Augustine was to identify "Paradise" with the third heaven. The other position, assuming a first rapture into the third heaven and another one from there to the Paradise, was also acceptable until the later-twelfth century but it disappeared as scholastic theology made Augustine the authority on the issue.[4]

2. *Traditions of Augustine*

Medieval interpretations of the rapture narrative were substantially influenced—sometimes even defined—by a few concepts of Augustine.[5] Most of the medieval theologians thought that Paul in his rapture saw God (while the Bible mentions only audition of words); this vision was

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[2] Editions: CSEL 28/1, pp. 379–434 (ed. J. Zycha) (Vienna, 1894), PL 34:453–486.

[3] See *De Genesi ad litteram* XII, 29, 17. For an overview of the Hebrew traditions on multiple heavens and heavenly journeys up to Paul's time see Paula Gooder, *Only the Third Heaven? 2 Corinthians 12.1–10 and the Heavenly Ascent* (London, 2006); for Gnostic and Catholic Christian reception of the rapture of Paul, see Riemer Roukema, "Paul's rapture to Paradise in early Christian literature," in Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten, eds., *The Wisdom of Egypt. Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuizen* (Leiden, 2005), 267–283.

[4] The double rapture was held by Origen (see note #) and Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in 2.Cor.:* "Bis se raptum dicit, id est hinc usque ad tertium caelum, deinde in paradisum caelestem." (ed. H. J. Vogels) (Vienna, 1969) CSEL 81/2, p. 300 (= PL 17:329D).

[5] For Augustine see *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, Engl., 1999). For an overview of the discussions concerning Augustine's so-called mystical doctrines, see Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism* (New York, 1991), 228–262 and *Augustine: Mystic and Mystagogue*, Frederick van Fleteren and Joseph C. Schnaubelt, eds (New York, 1994). The works mentioned below can be dated as follows: *Enarrationes*: 392–418; *Confessiones*: 397–401; *De consensu evangelistarum*: 404; *De Gen. ad litt.*: 401–415, *Ep.* 147: 413 (dating from the appropriate articles of *Augustine Through the Ages*).

comparable to the Old Testament theophanies, and it happened in ecstasy. Such interpretation of the rapture presupposes two premises: that God's ultimate reality (in Augustine's words *substantia* or *natura* but from the 1240s *essentia*) can be cognized by humans, and that this kind of cognition can happen in this life. Although these doctrines are characteristic to Latin theology, they are not self-evident in themselves: according to Greek theology, God's ultimate nature cannot be cognized by creatures at all,[6] and before the early-thirteenth century many Latin theologians denied that such cognition can happen during this life.

2.1. *Three Heavens as Three Visions*

Augustine devoted the last, twelfth book of his literal commentary on Genesis (*De Genesi ad litteram*) to Paul's rapture, due to Paul's joint reference to the Paradise and the third heaven in 2 Cor 12. In this monographic work, Augustine interpreted the rapture into the heavens as an epistemological allegory: the three "heavens" of the lemma are read as allegorical equivalents of three forms of cognition (three "visions"), and the rapture into the third one becomes the ultimate form of cognition of God. In this interpretation, the first "heaven" means corporeal vision;[7] "second heaven" is an equivalent of imaginary vision or "spiritual" vision (*spiritus* stands here for imagination). It operates with images, that is "likenesses" (*similitudines*) of those corporeal things which are absent, including images stored in the memory and created by imagination, but also images which occur in dreams or in ecstasy (*extasis*, *alienatio mentis*) as revelations. Imaginary vision also can decide whether such an image is a sign (in case it has a hidden meaning) but cannot decipher its meaning. "Third heaven" refers to the third and highest form of vision, the intellectual vision (*visio intellectualis* or *intelligibilis*). Intellectual vision means rather "understanding" or "perceiving" those incorporeal things which cannot have any image-like representation (*imagines sui similes*). Such incorporeal realities are God, the Word of God, but also

[6] In 1241, the doctrine of the invisibility of the divine essence—a doctrine held by Eriugena and some mendicant masters—was solemnly condemned as a theological error under pain of excommunication. On the doctrinal history of seeing God, see H.-F. Dondaine, "L'objet et le 'medium' de la vision béatifique chez les théologiens du XIII^{e} siècle," *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 19 (1952): 60–130 (with edition of manuscript material), and Nikolaus Wicki, *Die Lehre von der himmlischen Seligkeit in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik von Petrus Lombardus bis Thomas Aquin* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1954), chapter "Die Anschauung Gottes" pp. 95–174.

[7] See *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 6–7.

the abstract concepts leading to the cognition of God: this is also the way the Blessed see and Paul in his ecstasy saw God.

Read against such theoretical background, Paul's rapture narrative obtains an epistemological meaning: the ascent through the heavens describes an ascent from the lower forms of cognition to the ultimate form of the cognition of God (as possible in this life, but for the chosen only). During the ascent, the soul becomes abstracted from the senses; it enters into the realm of corporeal representations, then from there passes to the "realm of intellectual or intelligible things" (*regio intellectualium vel intelligibilium*) where the Truth can be seen without the clouds of false opinions.[8] Through this epistemological reading based on the metaphor of vision, Augustine transformed Paul's account about rapture and hearing secret words into an account of a vision of God—but vision of God is a theme eminently eschatological. Augustine does not equate Paul's cognition with the eschatological cognition entirely, as he assumes an impediment in the mind, a "natural appetite for managing the body" (*naturalis quidam adpetitus corpus administrandi*) which diverts the soul's intention from God, until a glorified, spiritual body joins the soul in the resurrection.[9]

The later reception of the vision theory depended both on its intended functions and the institutional context. As an exegetical interpretation of 2 Cor 12, it became the standard interpretation of the rapture narrative, continuously present in the Pauline commentaries from the Carolingian times onwards; but as a theory on rapture, it was not generally accepted. In non-scholastic theology, it was only a traditional and acceptable theory—if the theologian had not a more appropriate one. For internal reasons, the theory had no place in the theology of a Gregory the Great or an Eriugena; Rupert of Deutz modified it, William of Saint-Thierry accepted it to some extent—but Bernard of Clairvaux and Richard of Saint-Victor replaced it with their own theories.[10] By contrast, in scholastic theology the same theory became an authoritative doctrine. From the later twelfth century onwards, Augustine's interpretation was taught and learned from a textbook, Peter Lombard's Pauline commentary (finished in 1158). In the school milieu the vision theory was a trusted and unquestioned doctrine:

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[8] *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 26. CSEL 28/1, p. 419.
[9] *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 35, 68. CSEL 28/1, pp. 432–433 = PL 34:483.
[10] See Section 3.

as such, it was never replaced or discarded or modified, just repeated, interpreted and refined.

2.2. *Paul's Vision and other Theophanies: The* Letter 147

Augustine's *Letter* 147 (or *De videndo Deo*) gives a broader, historical and theological background to the rapture narrative.[11] Here Augustine attempted to harmonize various, seemingly contradictory Biblical references concerning the vision of God—assertions explicitly denying the possibility of the vision of God, Old Testament accounts which speak positively of men who have seen God (such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Isaiah), and New Testament passages which promise a future vision of God to the Blessed. The doctrinal conclusion of the Letter is not only that Paul in his rapture had a vision of God but also that his vision was far superior to the Old Testament theophanies.

Augustine's starting point is that while in this life God is invisible both to the mind and the senses (but can be cognized through faith), he becomes visible in the life after. Concerning the historical cases of seeing God recorded in the Scripture, Augustine argues in two directions by devaluing all Old Testament visions and increasing the value of Paul's intellectual vision. The devaluation of the Old Testament testimonies happens through a New Testament argument. Contrary to the Old Testament accounts, the Gospel states that no one ever has seen God (Jn 1:18 *Deum nemo vidit unquam*). In order to resolve the contradiction, Augustine introduces a distinction stating that God can be seen in two ways: either in some non-identical form chosen by God (a *species*) which does not disclose God's reality, or in God's own reality (*in natura, in natura propria, in semetipso*). The righteous of the Old Testament (*patres, justi antiqui*) saw God in the first way while Paul in the second one.[12] For the opposite move Augustine uses a testimony from the Old Testament, Ex 33: 20 (*Nemo potest faciem meam videre et vivere*), God's words to Moses asserting that no one can see God's face and live. The verse means for Augustine not the impossibility of such a vision: on the contrary, it confirms that those people who have seen God's reality (*substantia*) alive were not "in

[11] Editions: CSEL 44, pp. 274–331 (ed. A. Goldbacher), PL 33:596–622.

[12] *Ep.* 147, 7,19. "Deus natura invisibilis est. Illi autem ideo viderunt, quicumque Deum viderunt, quia cui voluerit, sicut voluerit, apparet ea specie quam voluntas elegerit, etiam latente natura." PL 33:604.

this life" but were taken to the "angelic life" by divine intervention—as Paul in his rapture.[13]

The *Letter* 147, by cataloguing Paul's rapture among the Old Testament visions of God, canonized Augustine's construction: in the rapture Paul *saw* God, in a more excellent way than anyone else in the salvation history. This also meant the definition of the ultimate form of the cognition of God in this life (at least, for the exceptional cases). The Augustinian idea that vision and faith are two mutually exclusive conditions also become a standard doctrine later, and the dichotomy of faith and vision of God was coordinated with the dichotomy of *via* and *patria*. The conjunction of these widely accepted oppositions created a particular condition for those theologians who accepted the possibility of such cognition of God that is more direct than the one resulting from faith or the investigation of the creatures. Since vision and seeing is the most powerful metaphor of cognition, but a vision of God is, theoretically, reserved for the *patria* only, theologians had to find ways to circumscribe spiritual or "mystical" experiences using the word "vision" with extreme caution. In monastic theology this problem emerged in the context of (ecstatic) contemplation; in scholastic theology, the same problem appeared in the early theories on Paul's rapture and later on in theories concerning the "mystical theology."

Among monastic authors, two opposite solutions can be discerned. In the theological anthropology of the Cistercians William of Saint-Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux, faith and love function as cognition (central terms being *ratio fidei* and *intellectus amoris*),[14] which permits them to speak about immediacy in cognition but still sustain that God cannot be *seen* in this life. By contrast, the Victorines, Hugh, Richard and Achard of Saint-Victor conceived the immediate cognition of God primarily as contemplation, that is, a vision of God (Hugh and Achard) or the Truth (Richard). For them, faith and ecstatic contemplation are two separate ways of cognition mutually excluding each other: Hugh considered faith as a substitute for contemplation.[15]

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[13] *Ep.* 147, 13, 31: "Deinde potest movere quomodo jam ipsa Dei substantia videri potuerit a quibusdam in hac vita positis [...] nisi quia potest humana mens divinitus rapi ex hac vita ad angelicam vitam, antequam per istam communem mortem carne solvatur. Sic enim raptus est qui audivit illic ineffabilia verba quae non licet homini loqui." PL 33:610.

[14] For William and Bernard, see the relevant chapters in Bernard McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism: From Gregory the Great through the 12th Century* (New York, 1994).

[15] For Hugh see e.g. the doctrine of three eyes (*De sacramentis* I, x, 2. PL 176:329C), whose vision is partly extinguished and replaced by faith (*De sacr.* I, vi, 2. PL 176:329D–330A) or re-enabled by the Spirit of God (*In Hierarchiam Caelestem* III. PL 175:975D–976B and

In the scholastic theology the same problem appeared as theologians tried to integrate Paul's rapture into the existing conceptual framework. By granting Paul a vision of God, the Augustinian concept blurred the dichotomies of *via* and *patria*, faith and seeing. Later-twelfth century scholastic theologians wanted to know whether Paul had faith in his rapture, and how his intellectual vision could be related to the mediated vision of *via* and the immediate vision of the Blessed. Two types of answer were elaborated. Simon of Tournai (d. 1201), a master of the Notre-Dame gave the solution that later became paradigmatic, by introducing the distinction *habitus / usus*. He taught that Paul in the rapture had besides the *habitus* of faith (what is common to *viatores*) also the "usage" of that "knowledge" (*usus scientiae*) which is the *habitus* of the Blessed.[16] The other, transient solution used a late twelfth-century innovation of school theology: the subdivision of the Augustinian intellectual vision into an enigmatic vision (reserved for *viatores*, cf. 1 Cor 13:12), a comprehensive vision (reserved for the Blessed), and a "middle" vision (*visio mediastina* or *media*). The category of "middle" vision covered Paul's case. As an account of Stephen Langton (d. 1210) witnesses, some (unknown) theologians regarded the three visions as three separate forms of cognition, from different divine gifts. Stephen —opposing the idea of a third form of vision— attributed a cognition from faith to Paul, subordinating *visio mediastina* to *visio enigmatica*.[17]

2.3. *Paul in Ecstasy: Augustine's Interpretation on Ps 30: 23*

A common lesson of the *De Genesi ad litteram* and *Letter* 147 is that seeing God in his substance is not impossible in this life, but it demands an abstraction from the senses through grace. The two writings do not

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Miscellanea I, 1. PL 177:471BD); cf. *De sacr.* I, x, 9 for the sacramental character of faith, PL 176:342BC. The usual expression Richard uses for contemplation is "seeing the Truth," *quasi* face to face and not through a mirror in an enigma (see *Beniamin maior* IV, 11, V, 14, *Adnotatio in Ps. 113*).

[16] Simon, *Disputatio LXXXVIII*, qu. 2, in *Les Disputationes de Simon de Tournai*, ed. Joseph Warichez (Louvain, 1932), p. 253; see Wicki, *Die Lehre*, pp. 163–165. For a much later variant of the same solution see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* II-II qu. 175 art. 3 ad 3 (using *habitus / actus*).

[17] Stephen Langton, *In Magnam glossaturam Lombardi, In 2 Cor*: "Item tres sunt cognitiones, scilicet enigmatica que est viatorum. Comprehensiva que est beatorum; mediastina que est in corpore raptorum. Enigmatica est ex fide. Comprehensiva ex scientia sive ex sapientia; mediastina ex aliquo medio dono. Dicimus quod nullum est medium quia mediastina est eiusdem generis cuius et enigmatica." (Langton's own position is introduced with *dicimus*.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14443 fol. 339ra.

explain the process of that abstraction, but elsewhere Augustine presents a well-defined pattern of ecstasy. This pattern regularly appears wherever Augustine explains a particular Psalm verse, Ps 30:23 in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*—moreover, the pattern of ecstasy is defined by the content of the Psalm verse.[18]

Augustine, like many Latin theologians, read the Psalms in the translation made from the Greek Septuagint. In the Greek original, three Psalms contain the term *ekstasis*: Ps 30, Ps 67 (68) and Ps 115 (116). The Greek word had more meanings—including fear, dread and ecstasy—which led to discrepancies in Latin translations and their codices.[19] Reading Psalm 30:23, Augustine found the Psalmist saying, "I said in my ecstasy" (*ego dixi in extasi mea*)—and what the author of the Psalm said was, "I am cast away from before thy eyes" (*proiectus sum a facie oculorum tuorum*). In his interpretation, the Biblical verse describes an experience of the general human condition. The soul in ecstasy understands how much rejected and separated is from God: the knowledge of this distance is what the soul gains in ecstasy.

Extasis is a process, and the explanations of Ps 30:23 give its details. The soul becomes elevated above itself (meaning an alienation from senses) and sees something that Augustine avoids calling "God": it is described as "unchangeable light" or "something sublime" (*nescio quid sublime*) or 'something grand' (*nescio quid magnum*). This vision is followed by the insight that the soul is not yet (*nondum*) at that sublime thing. The moment of insight is crucial: the soul understands the enormous difference

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[18] Editions: PL 36–37, CCSL 38–40 (Turnhout, 1956) (eds E. Dekkers, J. Fraipont), CSEL 93/1, 94/1, 95/3–5 (Vienna, 2001–2005). The summary is based on the following texts: E*narr. in Ps. 37*, 12 (PL 36:403 = CCSL 38, #) and *Sermo* 52, 6, 16 (PL 38:360 = CCSL 39, #) being the fullest accounts; see also *Enarr. in Ps 34* sermo 2, 6 (PL 36:337, CCSL 38, #); *Enarr. in Ps 41*, 18 (PL 36:475 = CCSL 38, #). See also *De consensu evangelistarum* IV, 10, 20, speaking of a possible experience of this life: "et si quando adiuta excedit hanc nebulam [. . .] id est hanc carnalem caliginem [. . .] tamquam rapida coruscatione perstringitur et in suam infirmitatem redit uiuente desiderio" (CSEL 43, p. 416); cf. William of Saint-Thierry, *Aenigma fidei* 8.

[19] Gregory the Great read here *ego dixi in pavore meo* ("I said in my dread") but medieval readers usually read *ego dixi in excessu mentis meae* ("I said in excess of my mind"). The same variance can be observed with Ps 67 (68): 28 and Ps 115:11 (116:2); Augustine, Sermo 335E (*PL Supplementum* II, 782. Paris, 1960) reflects on the coexistence of the three variants of Ps 115 (116) in Bible manuscripts. Augustine interprets *extasis* as "mentis excessus" (*Enarr. in P. 67*, 36, *Enarr. 2. in Ps 30*, sermo 1, 2), as a revelation by images ("revelatio spiritalis:" *Ep.* 169, 3. CSEL 44, p. 619, and "excessus spiritus:" *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII, 25. CSEL 28/1, p. 264), but also the way of divine communication ("In hac ecstasi fuerunt omnes sancti, quibus arcana Dei mundum istum excedentia reuelata sunt:" *Enarr. 2. in Ps. 30*, sermo 1, 2. PL 36:230 = CCSL 38, #).

between being at that Sublime and not-being there—the latter being the usual condition of man. Learning this distance is indeed a pedagogical goal of the process: after the soul returns into its usual condition, it perceives the same condition as being cast away from God. Alienation, seeing a light from a distance, understanding the distance and falling back: this is the basic structure.[20] The accounts based on Ps 30:23 elaborate the same scheme to a different degree.[21] The reader may learn from them that the understanding of the cast-away condition is effected by some gleaming of the eternal light (*coruscatione lumini aeterni*) or spiritual contact (*spirituali contactu*); the mind (*acies mentis*), due to its infirmity, cannot bear the light of the Wisdom of God for a longer time and the soul is drawn back by the dead weight of the body (*pondus carnis*), a certain cloud (*nubes*), and carnal thoughts. Other works of Augustine give a fuller context to these elements.[22]

This paradigm of *extasis* can also describe Paul's rapture. Psalm 67 (68):28 mentions the young Benjamin "who is in ecstasy" (*in ecstasi* or *in excessu mentis*). Jerome found this line a prophetic reference to the person of Paul (for he descended from the tribe of Benjamin). Augustine accepted this reading and added a further element: Benjamin's ecstasy may refer not only to Paul's fall (Acts 9:3) but also to Paul's rapture. This reference connects Paul's rapture (known already from an epistemological and theological aspect) to the pattern of ecstasy (elaborated as the meaning of the Psalm verse).[23] In one explanation on Ps 30:23, Augustine makes even more explicit the connection between Paul's rapture and the ecstasy-and-rejection pattern: unlike the soul who is not yet (*nondum*) at that '"sublime something," Paul indeed was there (*iam ibi erat*) but was "called back to us."[24]

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[20] The pattern evolving from Ps 30: 23 is remarkably similar to *Conf.* VII, 17, 23, the so-called "ecstasy of Milan," considered after P. Courcelle as Augustine's failed effort to a Plotinian ecstasy. From another perspective, however, Conf. VII, 17, 23 is a personalized form of the general pattern based on Ps 30: 23.

[21] For a comparative analysis of the different Augustinian accounts on ecstasy (including also *Enarr. in Ps.* 41 and *Sermo* 52), see André Mandouze, *Saint Augustin: l'aventure de la raison et de la grace* (Paris, 1968), chapter "Rencontres avec Dieu" (pp. 665–714). Mandouze has not yet noticed that both texts are based on the same Psalm verse.

[22] On the light above the soul, see *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 31; on the body, XII, 35, 68.

[23] *Enarr. in Ps 67, 36*: "*Ibi Beniamin adolescentior in ecstasi*. Ibi Paulus nouissimus apostolorum [...] Potest hic ecstasis etiam illa eius intellegi, de qua ipse loquens ait, scire se hominem raptum usque in tertium caelum." (PL 36:835 = CCSL 39, #). Cf. Jerome, *In Osee* II, 5 and *Tract. 59 in Psalmos*, in Ps 67.

[24] *Enarr in Ps. 37*, 12: "alius psalmus dixit: *ego dixi in ecstasi mea: proiectus sum a facie oculorum tuorum*. Assumta enim mente uidit nescio quid sublime, et quod uidit nondum ibi totus erat [...] tale est nescio quid quod uidi in ecstasi, ut inde sentiam quam longe

All these Augustinian elements had their various afterlives. The narrative pattern of ecstasy—a momentary experience of joy, a glimpse at some form of light, then falling back into a world of misery—becomes a traditional pattern for "mystical experience" in Latin spirituality.[25] Benjamin in ecstasy will be remembered in Richard's tropological-spiritual treatise named *The Lesser Benjamin* (*Beniamin minor*) or *On the 12 Patriarchs*: commenting on the genealogy of the twelve patriarchs, Benjamin becomes the figure for the ecstatic cognition of God.

Besides the concrete doctrinal elements, most medieval theologians also took over from Augustine a particular attitude toward rapture. They had to hold simultaneously two contradicting theses: that it is impossible to see God in this life, and that some people still have seen God. The contradiction between the "general" rule and the "exception" to it can be solved only by appeal to divine grace that can make the impossible possible. Seeing in Paul's case an exception to a general rule is characteristic of scholastic theology based on a selection of Augustinian ideas. Non-scholastic theology permitted contradiction-free positions. Gregory the Great permitted no exception to the rule, teaching that not even Paul has seen God in his rapture; at the other extreme, Richard of Saint-Victor equated the exception with the rule, describing the contemplative experience by the imagery of Paul's rapture.

3. Paulus Raptus: *Non-Scholastic Interpretations of the Rapture*

Until the eleventh century, Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* was the only work offering an in-depth explanation to the rapture narrative of Paul. The work connected various levels and issues of theological reflection: reading 2 Cor 12:2–4 as an epistemological allegory, it unified the exegesis of the passage with the elaboration of a particular model of theological epistemology and eschatology. From the 1160s onwards, these doctrines

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sum, qui nondum ibi sum. Iam ibi erat qui dixit assumtum se in tertium caelum, et ibi audiebat ineffabilia uerba, quae non licet homini loqui. sed reuocatus est ad nos, ut gemeret prius perficiendus in infirmitate" (PL 36:403 = CCSL 38, #; notice the expression *ut inde sentiam*).

[25] See e.g. William of Saint-Thierry, *De contemplando Deo* 5; Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diligendo Deo* 27; see also C.W. Bynum, "The Cistercian Conception of Community" in her *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley CA / Los Angeles CA / London, 1982), pp. 59–81.

became theological standards in the urban schools of theology and their continuous refinement and adaptation resulted in the concept of *raptus*.

Augustine's authority in this question largely depended on the institutional background. His doctrines became authoritative in the urban schools where masters relied on textbooks, but for twelfth-century monastic authors (who witnessed the emergence of these schools), the Augustinian interpretation was only one possible interpretation, and not necessarily the authoritative one. They elaborated their own interpretations, as did Gregory the Great and Eriugena before, often disregarding Augustine's doctrines. Outside the scholastic Augustinian tradition, Paul's rapture had several possible theological meanings, often contrary to the Augustinian one. The medieval evolution of the genres of theological literature also underpinned the variety of interpretations: Paul's rapture could have had different meanings in exegetical and in spiritual literature.

The influence of these non-scholastic interpretations remained very much limited. By the end of the twelfth century, the monastic form of theology lost its importance and scholastic theology became the official and authoritative theology of the West. The non-scholastic theological interpretations remained invisible to scholastic theologians and were forgotten after the twelfth century.

3.1. *Gregory the Great: Contemplation in a Mirror*

In the works of Gregory the Great (d. 604), Paul's rapture has not much significance. His references to the rapture narrative consist mostly of short one-sentence paraphrases of the locus itself: Paul was caught up or led into the third heaven and the Paradise whose secrets were open to him, and he heard ineffable words there; in his rapture he also saw the orders of the angels which he described later.[26] At these passages, Gregory never mentions any vision of God, the central element of Augustine's interpretation.

The unimportance of the rapture narrative is hardly accidental. Contrary to Augustine, Gregory taught that in this life God cannot be seen as he is, and whatever can be seen of him, is not him but an image of him—and in this context "life" means the concrete human existence bound to

[26] *Moralia in Iob* VI, 33, 53 (PL 75:757C); VIII, 29, 48 (832A); X, 10, 17 (931B); XII, 2, 3 (987B); XVII, 26, 36 (PL 76:27C); XVIII, 7, 13 (44C); XIX, 6, 11 (102A); XIX, 23, 37 (121C); XX, 3, 9 (140B); the reference to the angels: *Homiliae in Ezechielem* I, homilia 8, 20 (PL 76:862D).

the body until the corporeal death.[27] As Gregory rejected the most crucial Augustinian doctrine concerning the vision of God, many related theories became untenable—including the Augustinian interpretation of rapture narrative. The distinction between three kinds of vision loses its explanatory value, as in this life all cognition of God happens through images, and cognition of God without images (that is, the Augustinian intellectual vision) is excluded.[28] Ecstasy and *alienatio mentis* cannot grant a face to face vision of God, since for Gregory a face to face vision before corporeal death is impossible—and conversely, ecstasy cannot be called metaphorically "death" for no ecstasy in this life can lead to such a vision.

What was, then, Paul's rapture? Two closely similar references make clear the Gregorian position and its difference from the Augustinian one.[29] In both cases, Gregory first states that no one living in this mortal body can see God as he is (*sicut est*), and the assertion is confirmed by a reference to Paul who was enraptured into the third heaven. In Augustine's interpretation, Paul was taken into the "angelic life," saw God's *substantia* by an intellectual vision, face to face.[30] Gregory teaches that Paul, even if he was enraptured into the third heaven, was still *in this* life; he saw God

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[27] For example, *Mor.* XXXI, 51, 101: "Quantumlibet enim in hac vita positus quisque profecerit, necdum Deum per speciem, sed per aenigma et speculum videt [...] sancti viri in altam se contemplationem erigunt, et tamen Deum, sicut est, videre non possunt" (PL 76:28D–29A); but also *In Ez.* II, homilia 2: "et cum mens in contemplatione profecerit, non jam quod [Deus] ipse est, sed id quod sub ipso est contemplatur" (PL 76:956CD); *Mor.* XXIV, 6, 12: "quaedam visionis imitatio" (PL 76:292D). *Mor.* XXIII, 20, 39: "sub quadam imaginatione" (PL 76:274C).

[28] Compare the usage of the same examples of Balthasar and the pharaoh in *Mor.* XI, 20, 31 (PL 75:968D) and in *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 9 and 11.

[29] *Hom. in Ez.* I, homilia 8, 30: "adhuc tamen in carne mortali posita [mens] videre gloriam Dei non valet sicut est. Sed quidquid de illa est quod in mente resplendet, similitudo, et non ipsa est. Unde et ille praedicator qui raptus usque ad tertium coelum fuerat dicebat: *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate*" (PL 76:868D). See also *Mor.* XXXI, 51, 103: "Quia quandiu in hac vita sunt qui illam viventium patriam, sicut est, videre non possunt, recte adiungitur, *cernent terram de longe*. [...] Consideremus quam sublimis aquila fuerit Paulus, qui usque ad tertium coelum volavit, sed tamen in hac vita positus e longinquo adhuc Deum prospicit, qui ait: *Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem*. Et rursum: *Ego me non arbitror comprehendisse*. Sed quamvis aeterna valde minus quam sunt ipse conspiciat, quamvis ea se cognoscere perfecte non posse cognoscat, infirmis tamen auditoribus ea ipsa infundere praedicando non potest, quae videre saltem per speculum et imaginem potest" (PL 76:630AB).

[30] *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 5, 14: "quod uidit raptus usque in tertium caelum [...] proprie uidit, non imaginaliter" (CSEL 28/1, p. 386 = PL 34:458); see also XII, 28, 56: "non per aliquam corporaliter uel spiritaliter figuratam significationem tamquam per speculum in aenigmate, sed facie ad faciem" (CSEL 28/1, p. 422 = PL 34:478).

only from a distance—and reported that in this life God can be seen only through a mirror in an enigma (*per speculum in aenigmate*, 1 Cor 13:12).

Seeing God "from a distance" or "through a mirror" are the usual expressions of Gregory to circumscribe the limited vision of God only possible in this life. Gregory calls this form of cognition "contemplation" (*contemplatio*) and gives various formulations for its limited and obstructed nature. God, the unlimited light, can be seen only through images and representations (*per figuras, per circumscriptas imagines*);[31] at the same time, that vision is also banned by the obscurity or clouds of the soul (*caligo, nubes*: the terms refer vaguely to the consequences of the original sin, to the corporeal nature or to the corrupted human nature). Ecstatic cognition also remains mediated.[32]

Besides short and scattered doctrinal remarks on contemplation, Gregory also explained Ps 30: 23, describing contemplative ecstasy (*Mor.* XXIII, 20, 41–43).[33] The Psalm verse (which reads *ego dixi in pavore meo*) refers first to the experience of David: he was caught up in ecstasy (*sublevatus in extasi*); by the grace of contemplation and a ray of light (*radio claritatis*) he saw a light in his soul but also saw that he cannot see there anything by himself—and he fell back. In the continuation, Gregory changes the subject to the perfect soul (that is, the contemplative) who is more familiar with rejection than the interlocutor of the Psalm was. Part of this contemplative experience is the struggle for the truth, against the visual representations: the mind must reject all the distracting images generated in the imagination due to the body, and the gaze of the "eye of the heart" must be fixed on the ray of the unlimited light in order to recollect the mind into a state of one-ness.[34] Other passages make clear that such ecstasy,

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[31] *Mor.* XVII, 54, 88: "quandiu hic mortaliter vivitur, videri per quasdam imagines Deus potest, sed per ipsam naturae suae speciem non potest [...] in hac mortali carne consistentibus, et videri potuit per quasdam circumscriptas imagines, et videri non potuit per incircumscriptum lumen aeternitatis" (PL 76:92BC).

[32] *In Ez.* I, homilia 5: "[in contemplatione] omne quod de aeternitate per speculum et in aenigmate conspicit, quasi furtim hoc et per transitum uidet" (PL 76:826A). Similar patterns of an ecstatic but mediated cognition can be found later in Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry (William, *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei* II, 3, 17–18).

[33] See *Mor.* XXIII, 20, 41–43 (PL 76:276C–277B) and *Mor.* XVIII, 42, 66 (contemplation as a consideration of the heavenly life lost by the sin, PL 76:75BD).

[34] *Mor.* XXIII, 20, 41. (PL 79:835A).

even with a glimpse to the light may be only momentary: the vision repels the soul (*reverberatio*) and the weakness of the body draws it back.[35]

Gregory categorically denied that anyone (including Paul enraptured) can or could see God's reality in this earthly life, while Augustine permitted exceptions to this rule (most notably in the case of Paul). Until the later twelfth century both positions were acceptable, but as scholastic theology made Augustine the authority on the question, Gregory's position became untenable. Scholastic theologians still were able to find an authentic Gregorian passage by which they could support the (opposite) Augustinian position on Paul's rapture. Explaining the throne vision of Isaiah (Is 6:1), Gregory declared that howsoever far the mind progresses in contemplation, it can see only "what is below God" and not God Himself.[36] As dozens of similar passages witness, by "contemplation" Gregory meant a mediated vision of God: the only possible way of seeing God before death. Such a concept fit well the scholastic concept of *raptus*.

From the 1220s onwards, theoretical attempts appeared to separate conceptually contemplation and *raptus*. While twelfth-century authors (who had no concept of *raptus*) used the same term *contemplatio* to describe ecstatic contemplation of this life (including Paul's rapture), scholastic theologians narrowed down the meaning of "contemplation" to a mediated vision of God as opposed to the immediate vision of *raptus*—which made most of twelfth-century spiritual interpretations of rapture incomprehensible. From the 1250s onwards, Gregory's passage became an argument for *raptus*: God cannot be seen by contemplation—but by *raptus* he can.[37]

3.2. *Eriugena: A Return to the Paradise*

John Scot Eriugena (d.c. 877) gave the Pauline narrative a specific epistemological-eschatological meaning. In the *Periphyseon*, the motif of Paul's rapture appears in Book Four where Eriugena recapitulates his interpretation of the Paradise. For him, the Genesis account of the Paradise is

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[35] See for example *Mor*. VIII, 30, 19 (PL 75:831D–832A), *Mor*. XXIV, 6, 11–12 (PL 76:292CD). For an overview of Gregory's teachings on contemplation see McGinn, *The Growth*, pp. 50–79; Ruh, *Geschichte*, pp. 163–167.

[36] *In Ez*. II, homilia 2, 14: "sicut dictum est, et cum mens in contemplatione profecerit, non jam quod ipse est, sed id quod sub ipso est contemplatur" (PL 76:956CD).

[37] See e.g. Bonaventure, *In Sent.* II dist. 23 art. 2 qu. 3, sc 3 (1250–1252); Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sent*. II dist. 23 qu. 2 art. 1 co. (1254–1266).

an allegory of the prelapsarian condition in which Adam (that is, human nature) was created.[38] Eriugena believed that when Paul was taken into the third heaven and into the Paradise, he was taken into the prelapsarian condition (*pristina humanae naturae conditio*).[39] This return was, however, not an extraordinary case: the return into the original condition, that is, into the primordial causes, is the "general return," the eschatological future of all creatures."[40]

Eriugena's discussion of Paul's rapture is also notable for the unique use of two Patristic authorities, Ambrose and Origen. After Eriugena presented his own non-literal explanation of the Paradise, he looks for doctrinal support both in Greek and Latin authors. He finds Ambrose's *De Paradiso* and transcribes it—including Ambrose's own interpretation of Paul's rapture. It is a moral interpretation: the three heavens refer to three phases of spiritual development of being, from *corporalis* to *animalis* to *spiritualis*. Being a "spiritual man" for Ambrose means that one is able to form judgment about "everything" (following 1 Cor 2:15: *spiritualis dijudicat omnia*)—"everything" meaning our thoughts and passions. Because Paul's rapture is an allegory for the desired (and not unreachable) state of being spiritual, Ambrose can state that the righteous are often caught up into the Paradise as Paul was.[41] Eriugena's point in quoting Ambrose was only to prove that the Biblical Paradise was not a corporeal but a spiritual reality. The Ambrosian text served well Eriugena's purpose, because it connected the spiritual state with the rapture into the Paradise. Ambrose's

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[38] Critical edition: *Iohannis Scotti seu Eriugenae Periphyseon. Liber quartus*, ed. Édouard Jeauneau (Turnhout, 2000) (CCCM 164). On the Paradise as prelapsarian condition see Willemien Otten, *The anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 153–171; Deirdre Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 67–72 and 104–5; Giulio d'Onofrio, "Cuius esse est non posse esse. La quarta species della natura eriugeniana, tra logica, metafisica e gnoseologia," in Michael Dunne and James J. McEvoy, eds, *History and eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and his time* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 367–412.

[39] Periphyseon IV, 18: "Non enim credibile est de Apostolo aestimari in alium paradisum raptum fuisse, nisi in ipsum, in quo primus homo ad imaginem dei factus est" (PL 122:833A = CCCM 164, 129–130).

[40] For models of the return see *Periphyseon* V, PL 122:876–879, 1001, 1020; for 'man' (*homo*) as an eternal notion of the divine mind (that is, the primordial reason of humanity), see IV, 7 (PL 122:768B). Read in this way, Paul's rapture meant his temporary reduction to the concept of humanity.

[41] *Periphyseon* IV, 18, quoting Ambrose, *De Paradiso* xi, 53 (CSEL 32/1, 309 = PL 14:300B): " 'Denique justi in paradisum saepe rapiuntur, sicut Paulus raptus est in paradisum et audiuit uerba ineffabilia. [. . .] tertii caeli ascensio tibi est necessaria ut rapiaris in paradisum—rapiaris iam sine periculo, ut possis diiudicare omnia, quia spiritalis diiudicat omnia, ipse uero a nemine iudicatur.' [. . .] Intuere quemadmodum Ambrosius sensum Origenis approbat [. . .] Origenes siquidem paradisum in tertio caelo, quod est intellectuale, hoc est in ipso homine quantum intellectus est asserit esse" (PL 122:832D–833A = CCCM 164, 129).

authority is also used to validate Origen's assumed doctrine, presented in Eriugena's report (a rather distorted paraphrase), namely that the Paradise was in the third, intellectual heaven—that is, in the human intellect. The suspected source of Eriugena here is a side reference in Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, on Cant. 1:3 (*Introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum*): the King (that is, Christ) introduces the Bride (the soul) into the bridal chamber or treasury (into the understanding of God's hidden and secret things in Christ); this is the context where Origen says that Paul in his rapture was in or around that chamber and there heard those ineffable words.[42] All these finer details are wasted on Eriugena's hand.

In the *Homily on the Prologue of John* Eriugena contrasts Paul and John the Evangelist in their raptures, giving the primacy to John. While Paul was caught up into the third heaven and the Paradise, John ascended beyond all heavens and Paradises and entered into God. In other words, John was deified and surpassed all the creatures (even created human nature) while Paul has not reached this ultimate grade.[43]

Eriugena's interpretation of Paul's rapture exerted no influence on Latin theology. The Ambrosian and Origenian interpretations on 2 Cor 12 he used remained remarkably unnoticed to medieval readers. While the *Homily* was a popular reading, it contained no particular detail on the rapture; the *Periphyseon*, where Eriugena gave his interpretation (and connected it to a heterodox eschatology), was condemned in 1225.

3.3. *Twelfth-Century Readings and Uses of the Rapture Narrative*

In the monastic theology of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the rapture narrative appeared in various discourses. The sources permit us to establish

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[42] Origen, *Commentarius in Canticum Canticorum I*: "Prope hunc mihi videtur fuisse aut sequens eum ille, qui dixit 'raptum se esse usque ad tertium caelum et inde in paradisum et audisse verba ineffabilia, quae non licet homini loqui'. Quid enim putas, illa 'verba', quae 'audivit', nonne a rege 'audivit' et in 'cubiculo' aut prope 'cubiculum' positus 'audivit'?" *Origenes. Werke* VIII, ed. W. A. Baehrens (GCS 33) (Leipzig, 1925), p. 108.

[43] *Homilia* IV: "O beate Paule, raptus es, ut tu ipse asseris, in tertium caelum, sed non es raptus ultra omne caelum; raptus es in paradisum, sed non es raptus super omnem paradisum. Johannes omne caelum conditum, omnemque creatum paradisum, hoc est, omnem humanam angelicamque transgreditur naturam." *Iohannis Scotti seu Eriugenae Homilia super "In principio erat verbum" et Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis*, ed. Édouard Jeauneau (Turnhout, 2008) (CCCM 166), p. 9 = PL 122:285CD (the textual problems and various readings do not affect the meaning here). The *Periphyseon* still states that Paul had the privilege of the deified ones: "Ad hoc remotum ab omnibus lignum, solisque deificatis concessum, Paulus raptus est in tertium naturae nostrae caelum." *Periphyseon* V, 36, PL 122:982AB.

an approximate typology of four headings: 1) individual observations on Paul's rapture, 2) exegesis of the rapture narrative, 3) rhetorical uses of the rapture narrative, and 4) Paul's rapture in the context of contemplation. The function of these discourses varied: observations on Paul's rapture referred to the historical case documented in 2 Cor and exegetes gave a systematic explanation of the passage (also referring to the concrete case of Paul); rhetorical utilization converted the narrative into allegories of ascent, and a few authors interpreted it not as a remote historical case but something similar (or identical) to the spiritual experience of contemplation.

For a better understanding of these various approaches a few points must be emphasized. Monastic readings were individual and unconnected interpretations that formed neither one tradition nor influenced the later scholastic theology, which gradually became the representative theology of the West. The scholastic theological tradition on Paul's rapture was based on Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* and *Letter 147* through Peter Lombard's *Collectanea*. The term *raptus* was unknown to monastic authors: the word appeared only in school theology in order to denote a rapture conceived after Augustine. It must be also noted that the theological background of monastic authors made some of Augustine's fundamental positions unacceptable.

The most important difference concerned the vision of God in rapture. Augustine taught that Paul cognized God's ultimate reality, and not something else, in a vision of God *as Trinity*. Seeing God as Trinity before death and resurrection, however, was unthinkable to many twelfth-century theologians. It was a common doctrine until the 1240s that separate souls (the souls separated from the body) and glorified souls (souls which obtain a glorified body) do see God differently, but the difference was still formulated in two ways. Twelfth-century authors often conceived it in a quantitative way, quite contrary to Augustine's mind, thinking that separate souls can see only the humanity of Christ, and the full vision of God, meaning also a vision of the Father, comes with the glorified body only.[44] This quantitative distinction may be traced in the scattered remarks concerning what Paul had seen in his rapture: William of Saint-Thierry

[44] See e.g. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarium* III, 8 (PL 172:1162B); Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* X, 27-XI, 33 (SBOp 3: 142); Sermo 41 de diversis, 11–12 (SBOp 6/1: 252–253); Sermo 4 in festivitate omnium sanctorum, 2 (SBOp 5: 356); Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis* II, xvi, 4 and 11 (PL 176:586C, 596AB); Achard of Saint-Victor, *Sermo 12*, 8 (*Sermons inédits*, ed. Châtillon, p. 129). This model of eschatology was ultimately rejected in 1336 by the constitution *Benedictus Deus* of Benedict XII. See Trottmann, *La vision béatifique* and Marc Dykmans, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique* (Rome, 1973).

stated that the Apostle had *not* seen God face to face (an assertion unthinkable a century later), while Bernard of Clairvaux wrote that Paul in his ecstasy saw the Lord Christ.[45] Contrary to them, Hugh of Saint-Victor seems to permit to Paul a vision of the Father; but Richard and Achard of Saint-Victor describe the ultimate cognition of God possible in this life as a contemplation of the divinity of Christ.[46] By contrast, early thirteenth century scholastic authors usually conceived the difference in a qualitative way. Without distinguishing among the persons of the Trinity, they taught that Paul saw God immediately (unlike us) but obscurely (unlike the Blessed).[47] The last phase of doctrinal development removed that obscurity and Paul's immediate vision was regarded as a clear vision of the Blessed.

3.3.1. *Observations on Paul's Rapture*

Not even Augustine's interpretation covered all aspects of the rapture narrative. Some twelfth-century authors used their theological imagination to add or create details and context for Paul's rapture, focusing on what happened to the historical Paul and how. The following examples show that monastic authors felt free to disregard or correct Augustine on this issue.

The Benedictine Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129/1130) in his Apocalypse commentary reinterpreted John's revelation as an Augustinian intellectual vision. Due to the images seen, Augustine classified the Apocalypse as a spiritual (imaginary) vision and contrasted it with the intellectual vision attributed to Paul. Investigating the meaning of "being in spirit" (cf. *fui in spiritu*, Rv 1:10), Rupert concludes that John must have been "in (the Holy) Spirit," possessing not only the sign-like images (*signa rerum*) but also their meanings (*rerum intellectus*). Rupert therefore considers John's vision an intellectual vision. While following Augustinian logic he draws utterly non-Augustinian conclusions: "being in spirit" means to him exactly what "being caught up into the third heaven" does, that is, seeing

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[45] William, *Meditativae orationes, Oratio 7*, 5: "Scio enim quia si non est datum Paulo apostolo ut uideret in hac uita te facie ad faciem, et dilecto discipulo tuo sicuti es […] non sani est capitis a quo hoc speratur uel quaeritur." *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry. Oraisons méditatives*, ed. J. Hourlier (Paris, 1985) SC 324, p. 128 = PL 180:228A. Bernard, SCC 33, 6: "Paulus raptus in paradisum audivit verba ineffabilia et Dominum suum Iesum Christum vidit" (SBOp 1: 237).

[46] Hugh, *Homilia XI in Ecclesiasten* (PL 175:184CD); Richard, *De sacrificio David* (PL 196:1036CD); Achard, *Sermo 15*, VII, 35 (ed. Châtillon, p. 239).

[47] See William, *Summa aurea* III tract. 37 (written 1215–1220) and Alexander, qu. 68 'antequam esset frater' (written c.1220–1236).

heavenly things through the intellectual eye—and for this reason *all* the prophets and apostles were caught up into the third heaven, even if it was only Paul who recorded that of himself.[48]

Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141), the master of the Augustinian abbey Saint-Victor, gives in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* a short, two-fold interpretation of the rapture.[49] Paul in his mind passed the first, visible heaven, then the second, invisible heaven (the created and invisible substances), and arrived at the "highest point of the universe" (*summum omnium*); he was elevated to the third heaven, to the vision of "the First Principle and the Head of Eternity". A tropological one follows this epistemological interpretation: "first heaven" means the highest status of the created human existence, the second one refers to the further development by virtue, and the third belongs to contemplation. In Hugh's commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite, Paul's rapture and the secret words heard in heaven appear in a specific context. Hugh, like most of the medieval readers, believed that the author of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* was Dionysius the Areopagite who (according to Acts 17) was the direct disciple of Paul in Athens. Commenting on the text of the assumed disciple, Hugh filled the gaps of the legend with his own invention: Paul indeed revealed the secrets learned in his rapture to Dionysius and others who "through the Spirit of God surpassed the human intellect" (*humanam intelligentiam excesserant*). In one case, Hugh even detects the influence of those secret words heard by Paul: at that passage of chapter 7 where Dionysius mentions the whirling motion of the Seraphim around God (a sentence close to unintelligible in Eriugena's translation that he used), Hugh explains the particular obscurity of the text by the derivation from those "secret words."[50]

The Benedictine Ernald of Bonneval (d. 1156), one of the biographers of Bernard of Clairvaux, discussed Paul's rapture in a digression of his Hexaemeron commentary.[51] Ernald notices the ambiguity concerning the way of rapture (*sive in corpore sive extra corpus*), and gives two separate explanations: if Paul was caught up "in the spirit," it was an intellectual vision (in Augustinian sense) but if he was caught up in the body, it was

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[48] Rupert, *In Apocalypsim* I, PL 169:851A–852A. On the Apocalypse as spiritual vision see *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 26, 54.

[49] Hugh, *Homilia XI in Ecclesiasten*, PL 175:184CD.

[50] *In Hierachiam caelestem* V (PL 175:1029CD); *In Hier. Cael.* VI (PL 175:1036AB). The latter passage is discussed by Paul Rorem (without reference to the Apostle): *Pseudo-Dionysius* (New York and Oxford, 1993), p. 217.

[51] Ernald, *De operibus sex dierum*. PL 189:1550A–1552C.

a momentary assumption (*assumptio*), similar to the transfiguration of Christ, and the body of the Apostle become transfigured to the glorified and resurrected body.

Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) created a miniature theological myth out of the rapture account. Paul was taken to the third heaven, which is a light (*claritas*) where the blessed souls rest and which is bright because of the light of the Divinity. Thus Paul could not access the place where the "light of the immutable and eternal Divinity burns" and where the "Sun-like and fire-like angels" contemplate it. So "in the light" of those angels which serve towards men, Paul was led into the Paradise and there fully cognized the secrets (*arcana*), having both seen them through the soul and perceived through the body.[52]

3.3.2. *Commentaries on the Text*

The sole detailed interpretation of the rapture narrative was a part of Augustine's Genesis commentary. From the Carolingian period onwards, this explanation has been transcribed into the commentaries on the Second Corinthians, as the commentaries of Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 853), Bruno the Carthusian (d. 1101), the Benedictine Hervaeus of Déols (d. 1150), masters Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154) and Peter Lombard (d. 1160) attest.[53] Only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appear other, additional explanations, promptly summarized in Peter Lombard's commentary on the Pauline letters (*Collectanea in epistolas Sancti Pauli*, finished in 1158).[54] Peter presented four explanations of 2 Cor 12:2–4, on the three heavens and Paul's rapture:[55]

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[52] Hildegard, *Solutiones XXXVIII quaestionum*, qu. xxiv, *solutio*. PL 197:1048AD. The myth squares with the traditional doctrine that separate souls without the glorified body cannot have a perfect vision of God. In this context Hildegard also made a medical remark: the rational soul of Paul kept his blood warm during his ecstasy, in order to avoid the coagulation.

[53] See Haimo, *Expositio in ep. II ad Corinthios*, PL 117:660C–664A; Bruno, *Expositio in ep. II ad Cor.*, PL 153:273–274; Hervaeus (also as Hervé of Bourg-Dieu), *Expositio in ep. II ad Cor.*, PL 181:1112A–1114D; Peter Lombard includes it twice in the *Collectanea*: PL 191:1328AC (on Rm 1:20) and PL 192:80B–82A (on 2Cor 12: 1–4); Gilbert of Poitiers, *Expositio in ep. II ad Cor.*, Paris, BNF lat. 14441 fol. 64va. For an overview of the exegetical works of the 9th to 14th centuries see C[eslaus] Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1944).

[54] See Marcia Colish: *Peter Lombard* (Leiden, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 23–24.

[55] Peter Lombard, *Collectanea* in 2Cor. PL 192:82A–83A.

1) The first interpretation gives a cosmological interpretation of "heavens." The first heaven is the aerial heaven, the second one is the *firmamentum*, and the third heaven is the *empyreum*, the spiritual heaven, where angels and the blessed souls enjoy the vision of God.
2) The second interpretation reproduces Augustine's positions, being a verbose excerpt from the *De Genesi ad litteram* XII and *Letter* 147.
3) In the third interpretation, attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite (*secundum Dionysium*), three heavens mean three angelic orders, and Paul's rapture into the third heaven means that he has seen God as the angels of the highest hierarchies do.
4) The fourth interpretation is an epistemological one, understanding "heavens" as various types of knowledge. The first heaven is the cognition of heavenly bodies, the second one is that of heavenly spirits, and/ the third heaven is the cognition of the Godhead.

Peter's only merit here is that of a compiler, as all these interpretations were accessible in earlier or contemporary commentaries. Decades before Peter began the compilation of the *Collectanea*, Bruno the Carthusian presented together the Augustinian, the "Areopagitic" and the epistemological interpretations; Peter's contemporary, Hervaeus of Déols, also added the "Areopagitic" reading to the Augustinian one; Gilbert of Poitiers presented the cosmological, the "Areopagitic" and the Augustinian explanations together. Manuscripts of the *Glossa* (*ordinaria*) also present the four interpretations.[56] From all these commentaries only Peter's *Collectanea* had noticeable afterlife: it amassed the results of monastic exegesis of the *locus* and transferred them into the world of the non-monastic school theology.

3.3.3. *Rhetorical Uses of the Rapture Narrative*

In the literate milieu of the monastic theology, allegorical reading of the Bible went together with creating allegories using Biblical patterns. The rapture narrative has its own particular pattern as a gradual structure of three grades ('heavens') where the ultimate grade can be reached only by divine help. This structure could be applied to various contents without any necessary connection to Paul's historical rapture.

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[56] These expositions can be found both in Mss (in extracts) and in earlier printed editions, e.g. *Bibliorum sacrorum cum glossa ordinaria* [...] *et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani, additionibus Pauli Burgensis ad ipsum Lyranum / ac ad easdem Matthiae Toringi replicis* [...] *tomus sextus* (Venetiis, 1601): 447–448. The selective edition of the *Glossa* in the *Patrologia Latina* edition gives only Ambrosiaster's explanation (PL 112:231A = PL 17:329).

For example, the Benedictine Wolbero of Saint Pantaleon (d. 1167) creates from the *locus* an allegory of spiritual development: the mind ascends into the first heaven (of humility), then condemning the world, through love ascends into the second heaven (of divine love), and finally, focusing its love and desires exclusively on God, through contemplation ascends into the third heaven (of contemplation).[57] Bernard of Clairvaux in one of his *sententiae* creates an ecclesiastical allegory where heavens refer to various *status* in the Church: to the secular believers (first heaven), to people of monastic vocation (second heaven) and to the "perfect ones" who enjoy the presence of God and among who Paul was also elevated (third heaven).[58]

Bernard's writings offer more examples to a free and versatile use of the pattern. In a sermon he devises subsequent phases of moral development, each demanding efforts to acquire. The phases are conceived as 'grades' (*gradus*), and Bernard asks rhetorically after the second grade: "who forbids to call it 'third heaven' if you could find another grade above these (grades)?"[59] Even a satirical use is possible: Abelard is depicted as a comic self-made Paul who "puts his mouth" into the heaven (as instead of being "caught up"), investigates the depths of God and, after his return, tells those ineffable words which are "unlawful to tell".[60] The most complex rhetorical use of the narrative can be found in the works of Richard of Saint-Victor, where the three heavens refer to most various subjects. These allegories, due to their special function and complexity, will be treated separately.

3.3.4. *Rapture and Contemplation—Rapture as Contemplation*

In the twelfth century a new form of theological literature emerged, focusing on the religious self (the "inner man"), and its spiritual and moral development towards sanctification. An often treated issue of such works was "the grace of contemplation:" some sort of immediate cognition of God in ecstasy. Only a few of the monastic authors connected the possible experience of contemplation to the rapture narrative of Paul explicitly: such

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[57] Wolbero, *Commentaria in Canticum canticorum* I, i. PL 195:1020C.

[58] Bernard, *Sententiae* III, 33. SBOp 6/2: 86.

[59] Bernard, *Sermo 6 in quadragesima*, 2–3: "Quis enim prohibet tertium caelum dicere, si quem gradum supra istos poteris invenire?" SBOp 4: 378.

[60] Bernard, *Ep. 190* (*de erroribus Petri Abaelardi*): "ponit in caelum os suum et scrutatur alta Dei, rediensque ad nos refert verba ineffabilia, quae non licet homini loqui." SBOp 8: 17; for a non-ironical use of the same elements applied to Paul see *Sermo* 8 in *Cantica*, 8, SBOp 1: 41.

are the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux Achard and Richard, canons of Saint-Victor. These spiritual interpretations of rapture were created under special conditions. Ecstasy (as *excessus mentis*) had its place among the spiritual experiences of monastic life, and monastic anthropologies permitted some kind of immediate cognition of God in ecstasy—hence Paul's rapture was considered as something similar to ecstatic contemplation. The only elaborate and accessible theory on Paul's rapture, Augustine's theory outlined in the *De Genesi ad litteram*, was hardly appropriate to formulate such personal experiences: it described a unique and extraordinary event from the life of an extraordinary person, while monastic vocation and monastic life served as preparation for something similar, for the grace of contemplation. Another point of difference was that an earthly vision of God's substance was contrary to their eschatological positions. These monastic authors had, in this respect, a fundamentally non-Augustinian attitude: they saw Paul's rapture not as an extraordinary case, just an exceptional case of something otherwise familiar. They formulated this familiarity in various ways, depending largely on their theological anthropologies and the way they understood those Biblical passages which refer to the vision of God, especially 1 Cor 13:12 and 1 Jn 3:2.

3.4. *Bernard of Clairvaux: Presence without Vision*

Even though Bernard of Clairvaux's references to Paul's rapture do not form an elaborate theory, they still can be interpreted in the context of his theories on contemplation.[61] Bernard's *Sermon 31 on the Song of Songs* shows a solution to a difficult problem as Bernard formulates the immediateness of ecstatic contemplation avoiding visual metaphors. In this sermon, Bernard integrates his own concept of contemplation into a traditional framework, and his doctrinal positions exposed in the sermon explain well his other references to Paul's rapture.

Bernard's starting point is that the vision of God's reality, *sicuti est*, is impossible in this life as it pertains to the future life. Then Bernard reiterates the distinction of *Letter* 147, but in a modified form: God *now* may appear to men according to his will, but this is not the way he is, and no

[61] For Bernard's doctrines on contemplation see the chapter "Bernard's Mystical Thought", in McGinn, *The Growth*, 181–224 and Étienne Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard*, English trans. A. H. C. Downes (Kalamazoo, 1990). Bernard's works are quoted according to the critical edition: *Sancti Bernardi opera* (SBOp), eds. Jean Leclercq and H.-M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1957–1977); SCC refer to *sermones super Cantica canticorum*, SD to *sermones de diversis.*

wise man, prophet or saint can see him in this mortal body.[62] This variant differs in two crucial point from the original: Augustine's distinction referred only to the Old Testament appearances of God, and Augustine attributed to the enraptured Paul a vision of God's ultimate reality, *sicuti est*. Bernard, as other passages attest, firmly sets the ultimate vision of God's reality into eschatological dimensions: only the resurrected can see God as he is, no separate souls or humans in mortal body.[63]

In the continuation, Bernard creates a catalogue of those three forms of the vision of God which are possible in this life. The first way is to see something *of* God (but not God properly: *de ipso sed non ipsum*) through the creatures: Bernard gives the usual reference to Romans 1:20 and suggests that God's existence can be learned by this vision. The second form of vision pertains to the revelations to the Patriarchs by images appearing "outside," by audible words (*per imagines extrinsecus apparentes seu voces sonantes*) and, as later he adds, by visions and dreams (*per visa et somnia*)—but, as Bernard emphasizes again, neither vision has shown God as he is.

The third kind of vision is what Bernard considers as the possible and desirable vision of God (*divina inspectio*) in this life. The elements he mentions here are characteristic of his spirituality: contemplation is the mind's excess into God (*excessus mentis in Deum*) and a descent of God; a union, a "mixing together" (*commixtio*) of the Word and the soul, a connection of the divine and human spirits. Most of these ideas can be found, in more elaborated form, in his other writings.[64] All the more interesting is the language Bernard creates to circumscribe this experience and the theological evaluation of such experiences.

Describing the ecstasy of contemplation as the presence of the Word in the soul, Bernard creates an original but curiously ambiguous category of

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[62] SCC 31, 2: "Et nunc quidem apparet quibus vult, sed sicuti vult, non sicuti est. Non sapiens, non sanctus, non propheta videre illum sicuti est potest aut potuit in corpore hoc mortali; poterit autem in immortali, qui dignus habebitur. Itaque videtur et hic, sed sicut videtur ipsi, et non sicuti est." SBOp 2/1: 220.

[63] SD 41, 12: "hic vultum Dei, sicuti est, videre non possumus, adimpletionem laetitiae non habemus." SBOp 6/1: 253.

[64] For the descent of the Word in contemplation and the exaltation of the soul see e.g. SD 87, 3 (SBOp 6/1: 331); for *unitas spiritus* see *De diligendo Deo* X, 27 (as the ultimate grade of love; SBOp 3: 142) and SD 41, 11 (as momentary contemplation; SBOp 6/1: 252); for the rapture by *excessus contemplationis*: *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 15 (as momentary freedom from misery; SBOp 3: 177); for contemplation as seeing God indirectly, see SCC 18, 6 (*per speculum siquidem et in aenigmate, non autem facie ad faciem interim intuetur*; SBOp 1: 107).

"vision" (the word means here an internal and personalized presence of God). To explain his theory, he establishes a metaphoric, "interior" space for that experience: this "vision" happens "inside" the soul, unlike those manifestations where God revealed himself to the senses (either in some visible form or by words heard) and the reader is explicitly admonished to take nothing as corporeal or imaginary whatever is said about this union.[65] As the divine presence is only felt in the soul, and the Word appears to the "inner affections" (*intimis affectibus*), Bernard describes it by metaphors which avoid visual imagery, namely by metaphors of taste and functions. The manifestations of the Word (called "the taste of divine presence" and "the good taste of the heavenly sweetness") vary according to the desires of the soul, as the Word fulfils various functions: it gives advice, consoles, confirms, nourishes and attracts the soul to follow. These functions are figured in various male roles of the Song of Songs played by the Word as bridegroom, as physician, as pilgrim, as companion, as a master of the house and as king.

For Bernard, these internal manifestations of the Word (also characterized as *unitas spiritus*) are the highest possible forms of the cognition ("vision") of God in this life. It is crucial that this experience is conceived as a direct and immediate *cognition* of God (called "vision" only metaphorically) but not as an immediate *vision* of God. Bernard calls the induced figures of the Song of the Song *similitudines* giving only a sketch of the Word. The theological limits of those mystical experiences are also clearly drawn in the text: they belong to the vision through a mirror in an enigma (*per speculum in aenigmate*), to the shadow of the truth and the sphere of faith.[66] This limitation also discards the Augustinian intellectual vision, as a face to face vision of God is impossible in this life, not even in ecstasy.[67]

This theological perspective reveals a particular feature of the Bernardian concept on contemplation. Visual metaphors can express only the mediated and limited nature of that experience, as God *cannot* be seen in

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[65] SC 31, 6: "Vide autem tu, ne quid nos in hac Verbi animaeque commixtione corporeum seu imaginarium sentire existimes. […] habeatque praesto quem desiderat, non figuratum, sed infusum, non apparentem, sed afficientem […]. Verbum nempe est, non sonans, sed penetrans; non loquax, sed efficax; non obstrepens auribus, sed affectibus blandiens." SBOp 1: 223.

[66] SC 31, 8: "Ita per omnem huius carminis textum reperies Verbum istiusmodi similitudinibus adumbrari Unde ego puto id significatum apud Prophetam […] quod scilicet videamus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, et necdum facie ad faciem." SBOp 1: 224.

[67] On Bernard's third kind of vision, Bernard McGinn has a different position: "According to Augustine's triple classification of visions […] this would be a vision of the third or highest type, a pure *visio intellectualis*." *The Growth*, 208.

contemplation *sicuti est*—but at the same time, non-visual metaphors and allegories can express its immediacy, since God *can* be loved immediately. In the writings of Bernard, the very term of a *presence* of God (perceived by the affective powers of the soul), the emphasis on the internal experience, and the immediacy of love together create an alternate language which can express spiritual experiences without theological limitations. For Bernard, the same spiritual union is mediated as vision but immediate as cognition in love.

In Bernard, the expressions *unitas spiritus*, *excessus mentis*, "exaltation of the soul," *contemplatio*, and "divine presence" refer to various aspects of the same spiritual experience—and he conceived Paul's rapture in the same terms. The elected are enraptured (*rapiuntur*) as Paul: they see things through *excessus mentis*, and this is the ecstasy the perfect souls desire.[68] Paul's rapture belongs to the highest form of cognition of God possible in this life (called *consideratio speculativa*): it usually happens in unexpected ecstasies (*excessus*) and results in the cognition of the "sublime things".[69] The general impression from these passages is that Paul's rapture is a scriptural instance of an experience that may happen or used to happen to men.

3.5. *Richard and Achard of St. Victor: Paul's Rapture as Pattern*

The writings of two Victorine theologians, Richard and Achard of Saint-Victor, present a very uncommon interpretation of Paul's rapture.[70] Comparing a possible spiritual experience to Paul's rapture is not unusual in monastic theology of the century; the two Victorine authors, however, go much further. In their case, Paul's rapture is not only similar to ecstatic contemplation but it *is* the ecstatic contemplation—as for them the Biblical account gives both the paradigm for *contemplatio* and also the imagery for its description.

Their approach gives a sharp contrast with the more traditional one. When Bernard of Clairvaux wrote about his desire to see Christ as Paul

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[68] SD 87, 2: "Electi vero rapiuntur, sicut Paulus et sui similes, et descendunt, ut ea quae per excessum mentis viderint, parvulis loquantur. [...] Hoc posteriori genere contemplationis rapi desiderat perfecta anima in castissimos amplexus sponsi sui, dicens: OSCULETUR ME OSCULO ORIS SUI." SBOp 6/1: 330.

[69] *De consideratione* V, 3. SBOp 3: 468.

[70] For the most recent literature on Richard and Achard see Patrice Sicard and Dominique Poirel, "Figure vittorine: Riccardo, Acardo e Tommaso," in Inos Biffi and Costante Marabelli, eds, *La fioritura della dialettica X–XII secolo* (*Figure del pensiero medievale* 2) (Milan, 2008), pp. 596–618, with the attached bibliography.

saw in his rapture, he mentioned Paul's vision only as the latest and last one from a scriptural catalogue of visions of God, listed after the similarly desired visions of Moses, the prophets and Isaiah.[71] Already this context makes clear that Bernard regarded Paul's rapture as an exceptional case: For contemplation (the not so exceptional cognition of God more possible in this life), Bernard used the imagery derived from the Song of Songs. Both attitudes had a tradition before and after Bernard: in Latin theology, Paul's rapture had been regarded as exceptional since Augustine, and bridal mysticism also appeared in Latin, since Origen's works on the Song of Songs were translated by Jerome and Rufinus. By the mid-thirteenth century, Paul's rapture (regarded as *raptus*) was codified as not only exceptional but also extraordinary, and the bridal imagery (as *Brautmystik*) had become the convenient and usual form to express spiritual experiences (this tendency is present in by the works of William of Saint-Thierry, Bernard himself, their Cistercian followers and lately by Thomas Gallus). The way the two Victorines use the rapture narrative is contrary to both traditions. By saying that contemplatives *are* caught up to the third heaven, they connect two extremes, formulating a possible and usual experience with terms traditionally reserved for a single and exceptional case at the same time, they use the rapture imagery as a paradigm (instead of the traditional bridal one). Such a usage of 2 Cor 12:2 was based on particular exegetical and theological principles, and Richard's writings help to understand Achard's references.

3.6. *Richard of Saint-Victor*

The spiritual works of Richard of Saint-Victor (d. 1173) abound with references to the rapture into the third heaven.[72] The literally quoted words of Paul serve ever as testimonies of contemplation in *excessus mentis*. These references are not restricted to a particular work or period: the *Beniamin*

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[71] SCC 33, 6: SBOp 1: 237.

[72] Later critical editions used (besides PL 196) are the following: *Beniamin maior* (or *De arca mystica*): semi-critical edition in Marc-Aeilko Aris: *Contemplatio. Philosophische Studien zum Traktat Beniamin Maior des Richard von St. Viktor* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. [1–147]; *Beniamin minor* (or *De XII patriarchis*): *Richard de Saint-Victor. Les douzes patriarches ou Beniamin minor*, Jean Châtillon and Monique Duchet-Suchaux eds (SC 419) (Paris, 1997); *De IV gradibus violentae charitatis: Ives. Épître a Séverin sur la charité. Richard de Saint-Victor. Les quatre degrés de la violente charité*, ed. Gervais Dumeige (Paris, 1955), 126–177; *De Trinitate: Richard de Saint-Victor. De Trinitate*, ed. J. Ribaillier (Paris, 1958). Dating from Pierluigi Cacciapuoti, *"Deus existentia amoris." Teologia della carità e teologia della Trinità negli scritti di Riccardo di San Vittore* (*+1173*) (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 79–96.

minor, the *Beniamin maior*, the *De exterminatione mali et promotione boni* and the *Adnotatio in Ps. 121* (all written in his middle period, 1159 to 1162) contain references such as the late works *De IV gradibus violentae charitatis* and the prologue of the *De Trinitate* (1162–1173). These references make clear that Richard fully identifies Paul's rapture and ecstatic contemplation. Paul's rapture was contemplation—but, conversely, also contemplation is a rapture into the third heaven: both Paul and "those who are similar to him" are caught up to the third heaven and investigate there those secrets which are unlawful to tell.[73] Richard's uncommon position on Paul's rapture is a consequence of his anthropological and exegetical premises.

3.7. *Reading Tropologically*

Most of those works of Richard, which are now considered as "mystical" works, originally were written as tropological (moral) interpretations of Biblical themes. Tropological exegesis was the usual way to explain various aspects of the relation between God and the individual human soul, whether it be moral-spiritual development, moral advice or analysis of "mystical" experiences—but Richard employed its rules in a particular way.[74] For a better understanding of his exegesis, two principles must be mentioned here which Richard not only observed in the Bible but also applied in his own exegesis. One is that the meaning of one and the same word or thing in the Bible may change its reference by widening or narrowing its own meaning; the other is that the same divine instruction may be expressed by various allegories and *similitudines* in the text of the Bible in order to make a deeper imprint on the mind.[75]

The first principle explains the way Richard uses elements of the Biblical themes. In his spiritual works the same element may have not only

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[73] Richard, *Beniamin maior* III, 4 (PL 196:114C = Aris, p. 61).

[74] On Richard's spiritual exegesis see Ineke Van t'Spijker, "Exegesis and Emotions. Richard of St. Victor's *De Quatuor Gradibus Violentae Caritatis*," *Sacris Erudiri* 36 (1996): 147–160 and the chapter "Richard of Saint-Victor: Exegesis and the Inner Man" in her *Fictions of the Inner Life. Religious Literature and Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 129–184, and Patrice Sicard, "Du *De archa Noe de* Hugues au *De arca Moysi* de Richard de Saint-Victor: Action, contemplation et sens scripturaires chez deux théoriciens maquettistes" in his *Théologies victorines* (Paris, 2008), pp. 57–106.

[75] *Benjamin maior* IV, 14: "Saepe unum idemque mandatum sub variis aenigmatibus et figuris proponitur, ut mentibus altius imprimatur." (PL 196:151CD = Aris, p. 104) and *Beniamin minor* 86: "Hoc autem non solum in Benjamin, sed et in omnibus fratribus oportet attendere, imo et in innumeris Scripturarum locis, diligenter observare, quomodo soleat Scriptura divina, circa eamdem rem, nunc significationem extendere, modo restringere, vel etiam mutare" (PL 196:62AB = SC 419, 342).

one but several correlate meanings, unfolding gradually in the process of explanation. For example, in the *Beniamin minor* Naphtali, an older brother of Benjamin, means first imagination, then rational imagination perfused with *intelligentia* (that is, a specified cognitive faculty) and finally *speculatio* (the very working of that faculty). Similarly, Benjamin, the hero of *Beniamin minor*, means first the grace of contemplation (chap. 71), then that sort of contemplation which is above reason (chap. 74) and finally, contemplation of invisible things and *intelligentia pura*, the faculty which makes possible such cognition (chap. 87). The same rule applies to the motif of the rapture and three heavens: their explanations in different writings unfold various aspects of the same underlying theme.

It is the second exegetical principle that makes the interpretation of Richard (and Achard) essentially unlike any other one. After Augustine nearly everyone (with the notable exception of Ambrose) read the rapture narrative as a reference to one historical, individual and exceptional case. Unlike them, Richard read the same narrative according to exegetical (more exactly, tropological) principles what led to non-traditional consequences.

As tropological interpretation is atemporal, the rapture narrative for Richard refers not to a unique historical case but to a potential experience: to the immediate contemplation of God in *excessus mentis* (or *alienatio mentis*), by a proper cognitive faculty called *intelligentia.* Augustine's theory was elaborated primarily for Paul's singular case—and the vague hints at "some saints" who perhaps had that intellectual vision (besides Paul and Moses), with the constant emphasis on the invisibility of God in this life all suggest that ecstatic intellectual vision, if not impossible, is a wonder. By contrast, for Richard the ecstatic contemplation, even if from divine gift, is a possible and not unusual experience: those who are prepared for it may experience it in proper time.[76]

The other consequence of the tropological reading of the rapture narrative is that 2 Cor 12:2–4 is not the ultimate reference, just one reference to the ecstatic cognition of God (even if the most important one). It can have several equivalents in the Bible which—using other *similitudines*—express the same teaching about contemplation. In the *Beniamin minor*, such equivalents are the birth of Benjamin, which kills Rachel (that is, ecstatic contemplation surpasses the limits of reason), the moment of the Transfiguration scene when the disciples fell on their faces (Mt 17),

[76] See e.g. *De differentia sacrificii*: "Miraris fortassis qui haec audis, quia nil in te tale adhuc experiris. Nescis quia omnia tempus habent" (PL 196:1050C).

and the Psalm's reference to Benjamin's *excessus mentis* (Ps 67 [68]: 28). In *Benjamin major* such equivalents are moments such as when the high priest Aaron enters into the Holy of the Holies to the Ark of the Covenant, Moses enters into the cloud on the summit of Mount Sinai (Ex 25), Abraham leaves his tent at Mambre to see God (Gn 18) as a bright cloud covered the disciples in the Transfiguration. In the *De exterminatione* the same is seen in the moment the Ark of Covenant arrives in the Promised Land.[77]

In Richard's interpretation, Paul's rapture is not unique, not extraordinary, not historical, and it is certainly not an Augustinian intellectual vision. Richard had his own theory of spiritual visions and presented it at the outset of his commentary on the Apocalypse, where other authors usually gave a summary of the three Augustinian visions. Besides two forms of corporeal visions, he discerns two spiritual visions: one that uses *similitudines* and images of visible things (as figures and signs), and another one which works without mediating images.[78] The model substantially differs from Augustine's: Richard conceived both forms of spiritual vision as cognition, while Augustine reserved the moment of understanding for intellectual vision only. From this attitude of Richard, uncommon consequences follow. Seeing "through a mirror in an enigma" and "face to face" (1 Cor 13:12) mean to him two forms of cognition, prefigured in the two spiritual visions: *speculatio*, a vision which uses *similitudines* and *contemplatio*, a (*quasi*) face to face vision of the Truth.[79] He also omits the traditional rhetoric about the invisibility of God in this life, and speaks confidently and positively about the possibility of such a vision.[80]

3.8. *Variations on Three Heavens*

Like other Biblical *similitudines* in the works of Richard, the three heavens (and the rapture into the third heaven) have a versatile use with

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[77] See *Beniamin minor* 73; 82; 84–85 (PL 196:52D, 58B, 60A–61C = SC 419, 300–301, 326, 334–340); *Beniamin maior* IV, 11; IV, 22 and V, 2; IV, 23; V, 2 (PL 196:146C–147B; 165A–166C and 171BC; 167; 171BC = Aris, pp. 99; 118–120 and 125–126; 121; 126); *De exterminatione* II, 5–6 (PL 196:1091BD). Richard several times emphasizes the identity behind the various figures, e.g. *Beniamin minor* 85: "Quod enim propheta per Rachelis interitum, quod Evangelista designat per casum discipulorum, Psalmista exprimit in Benjamin per mentis excessum." PL 196:61C = SC 419, 340.

[78] Richard, *In Apocalypsin* I, i, 1 (PL 196:686D–687A), based on Hugh of Saint-Victor, *In Hier. cael.* II (PL 175:941CD). To my best knowledge, no Victorine theologian (meaning here Hugh, Richard, Achard, Walter and Godfrey) used the Augustinian doctrine of three visions.

[79] See *Beniamin maior* V, 14 and its detailed elaboration, *Adn. in Ps. 113*.

[80] See e.g. *Adnotatio in Ps. 113* (PL 196:339BC).

interconnected meanings, in almost all cases exposing doctrines of theological anthropology and epistemology.[81]

In the *Beniamin minor*, Paul's rapture into the third heaven means a rapture to the inaccessible light where God is (1 Tm 6:16): this light is inaccessible through reason and human efforts.[82] Here Richard gives two variants of the theme of three heavens, one describing the subjects of cognition, another the ways of cognition of God.[83] First the heavens mean "the dignity" of human, angelic and divine spirits (all possible subjects of cognition), where to the first heaven pertain the self-knowledge, to the third the contemplation of God. In the other allegory the three heavens refer to three degrees of the possible cognition of God in this life: seeing God through faith (what is below reason), through reason (*ratio*) and through contemplation (what is above reason). The motif or rapture connects both allegories, as to the third heaven—to the cognition of God and to contemplation—no one can ascend by his own power.

The *Benjamin major* set the motives into a proper anthropological-epistemological context.[84] The point of departure is the same as in the *Beniamin minor*: obtaining self-cognition is a necessary step before the cognition of God, and in order to be able to investigate the "depths of God" (1 Cor 2:10) humans must first know the depths of human spirit. Spiritual men enter the depths of human soul and discover there "another world": above the earth of corporeal sensation there is an imaginary heaven, a rational heaven and an intellectual heaven. Three heavens here mean cognitive faculties of Richard's anthropology (together with their subjects): the first heaven is imagination with images and *similitudines*; the second is reason with reasons, definitions and investigations; the third heaven is *intelligentia* with the "understandings and contemplations of divine things."[85] The analysis of the depths of the human spirit culminates in the exposition of the "eye of *intelligentia*"—the faculty which makes contemplation possible.[86] After an elaborated allegory of heaven and sun,

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[81] For an independent uses of these motives see *Adnotatio in Ps. 121* (PL 196:365BD) and *Adnotatio in Ps. 2*.

[82] *Beniamin minor* 74 (PL 196:53A); cf. *De IV gradibus* 37 (PL 196:1220D = ed. Dumeige, pp. 165–167).

[83] *Beniamin minor* 74 (PL 196:53AC = SC 419, pp. 302–304).

[84] See *Beniamin maior* III, 8–10 (PL 196:118B–121B = Aris, pp. 65–69).

[85] *Beniamin maior* III, 8 (PL 196:118D = Aris, p. 66).

[86] *Beniamin maior* III, 9: "Intelligentiae siquidem oculus est sensus ille, quo invisibilia videmus [...] intellectualis ille sensus invisibilia capit, invisibiliter quidem, sed praesentialiter, sed essentialiter" (PL 196:119A = Aris, p. 66).

Richard concludes that human soul, the image of the divine wisdom, is that watchtower or observation point (*specula*), from where the "sublimity of angelic spirits" and the "greatness of the divine spirit" can be cognized and contemplated (III, 10). The same triad of human, angelic and divine spirit occurred already in *Beniamin minor* as three heavens (and it reappears in the same way in the prologue of *De Trinitate*).

These accounts read together give a more detailed composite allegory. The desired goal is to reach the third heaven, by passing the first heaven of self-cognition. This is accomplished in *Benjamin major* III, 9 where Richard describes (by the same allegory of three heavens), the elements of the self—including *intelligentia*, that faculty which makes possible such self-cognition. The already known self serves as observation point to investigate and contemplate the two other heavens: the angels and God. The allegories are interconnected in their ultimate level, as the various meanings attributed to the third heaven and rapture give one complex meaning: the "divine spirit," God can be seen through contemplation by the working of the *intelligentia*.

In the structure of the *De IV gradibus*, the rapture theme has a somewhat subordinated role besides the general pattern of four degrees of love, and is only partly elaborated.[87] The first grade of love means a state when the soul perceives God's presence in an affective state, and tastes the sweetness, but does not see God, only through a mirror. The second grade means obtaining the grace of contemplation: in the evolving allegory of heavens, it means that the clarity of Sun of Righteousness (Mal 4:2) can be seen but cannot be approached. The third grade of love is already explicitly identified with the third heaven (also by quoting 2 Cor 12:2): in this grade happens the deifying transformation in rapture and the union of spirit with God.

The prologue of the late *De Trinitate* gives, besides another variant of the ascension theme, a clue to Richard's usage of rapture imagery.[88] The rapture into the third heaven is here an allegory of an ascent through three phases (heavens) of moral-intellectual development, beginning with the consideration of the immortality of the soul, through acquisition of the angelic incorruptibility, through merits of the contemplation of God (which happens through the "Spirit of Christ," in rapture). The introduction of this allegory reveals why Paul's rapture is the central pattern for

[87] See *De IV gradibus* 35–38 (ed. Dumeige pp. 163–167 = PL 196:1219D–1221A).
[88] See *De Trinitate, prologus* (PL 196:889C–890C = ed. Ribaillier pp. 82–83).

contemplation. Christ's ascent to the heaven is the final model, which was followed by Paul's rapture. Richard even states that Christ ascended in order to be followed, and sent his spirit to elevate us to him: the spiritual ascent in contemplation is the parallel to the corporeal ascent of Christ.[89]

3.9. *Achard of St. Victor*

In his *Sermon 14* Achard (d. 1170/1171), the second abbot of Saint-Victor, combines the imagery of Paul's rapture with that of childbirth, in order to describe contemplation. The sermon, written sometime between 1155 and 1161 on the occasion of the feast-day of All Saints, uses the same technique of tropology as Richard but in an even more daring way.[90]

Achard's *Sermon 14* describes a progress of spiritual development through different phases, called human and angelic "feasts," leading to the divine "feast" of the ecstatic contemplation of the triune God. While human feasts refer to real, liturgical feasts which cleanse the will, angelic feast denotes a gradual ascent which purifies the reason: the soul enters and ascends through the nine subsequent orders of the angels, becomes assimilated to them and takes over their knowledge about the created world (*speculatio*). By the end of the angelic feast, the soul becomes as purified as possible (both will and reason being cleansed). The subsequent feast, separating the angelic and divine feasts, is that of the Holy Virgin which Achard transforms into an allegory of *contemplatio.*

In the process of the ascent, the soul leaves the angelic hierarchy, as the angelic feast (that is *speculatio*) is ended, and feasts the feast of the Virgin, as it meets the Holy Virgin (the twelfth century already conceived the Virgin as the Queen of the angels). From this point on, Achard uses tropological typology in an excessive manner. First he identifies the most pure Virgin, the Mother of God, with the "consummate and perfect purity of the heart" of the contemplative which makes possible a vision of God (based on Mt 5:8), then he restates the predicates stated about the Mother of God about the soul of the contemplative—as the Mother of God "gives

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[89] *De Trinitate, prologus:* "Ascendamus post caput nostrum. Nam ad hoc ascendit in coelum ut provocaret, et post se traheret desiderium nostrum. Christus ascendit, et spiritus Christi descendit. Ad hoc Christus misit nobis Spiritum suum, ut spiritum nostrum levaret post ipsum, Christus ascendit corpore, nos ascendamus mente. Ascensio illius fuit corporalis, nostra autem sit spiritualis" (PL 196:889D = ed. Ribaillier, p. 82).

[90] Achard's sermons have been edited by Jean Châtillon: *Achard de Saint-Victor. Sermons inédits* (Paris, 1970). On Achard, see Jean Châtillon, *Théologie, spiritualité et métaphysique dans l' oeuvre oratoire d' Achard de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1969) and Sicard and Poirel, "Figure vittorine". Dating from Châtillon, *Théologie*, p. 142.

childbirth to the Son of God, to the Wisdom of God, to the contemplation of God," the purified mind does the same.[91] Achard discerns three steps of this process: first the mind conceives the Son of God by the Spirit of God, then goes into labor, and finally gives birth to contemplation. The conception is a purely affective phase: the soul begins to desire to see the face of God, and while burning in love it becomes enraptured, leaving behind the body. In the second phase, laboring, the soul is set "in the light of contemplation" and strives to break through to contemplation—which is to the vision of the face of God and deification. The third step is the fulfillment of these efforts, as the soul is taken into the third heaven, "following Paul."[92] Achard concludes with two allegorical variants on the rapture theme: first he equates the first heaven with conceiving, the second with laboring, and the third with giving birth to contemplation; then he connects the three heavens with humans, angels and the Trinity and their feasts.[93]

There are considerable similarities between Achard's and Richard's approach to the rapture narrative. Achard used tropological interpretation of Biblical narratives (the birth of the Son of God by the Virgin and Paul's rapture); the various narratives convey the same doctrine, and the doctrine exposed through the tropological reading is a theory of contemplation, divided into three phases. An almost identical scheme of contemplation can be found in Richard's *De IV gradibus* (1162–1173), using the rapture narrative in the same way as Achard's sermon did. In both cases, Paul's rapture is considered not as a famous case but as the pattern of contemplation, the term "contemplation" meaning an immediate, ecstatic and deifying cognition of God, conceived as a vision of God.

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[91] Achard, *Sermon 14*, 7, 22: "Hic itaque ei occurrit virginum Virgo, munditia munditiarum, puritas puritatum, id est munditia et puritas cordis secundum hujus vite possibilitatem consummata atque perfecta. Hec est et mater Dei; hec parit Filium Dei, sapientiam Dei, contemplationem Dei; hec enim facit videre regem in decore suo, Deum contemplari in seipso." Ed. Châtillon, p. 194.

[92] Achard, *Sermon 14*, 7, 22: "Tunc autem ex Spiritu sancto mens munda fecundatur ut ab ea vere et fructuose Filius Dei concipiatur [...] cum ad faciem Dei videndam estu ineffabilis amoris divini tota inflammatur et quasi mole deposita carnis, vi caritatis et attractu interne dulcedinis tota raptatur, dilatatur atque sublevatur. Parturit vero quotiens [...] tota nititur in contemplationem ipsam erumpere et quasi in Deum tota transire. Parit autem cum id consequitur ad quod nititur [...] cum, Paulum consequens, in tertium celum rapitur. In primo namque celo est cum concipit, in secundo cum parturit, in tertio cum parit." Ibid.

[93] Achard, *Sermon 14*, 7, 22: "post primum celum hominum et secundum angelorum, hic ad tertium, videlicet Trinitatis, pervenit et ingreditur celum. Hic post humanum atque angelicum, prorsus divinum celebrat festum." Ibid.

4. *Conclusion*

In western theology, the biblical account of Paul's rapture (2 Cor 12:1–4), describing someone's elevation into the third heaven and to the Paradise, had several possible interpretations until the thirteenth century. Augustine gave the key interpretation of the text: he established an unambiguous reading of the obscure text by equating the third heaven with the Paradise and the ultimate heaven, and introduced the notion that Paul in his rapture had seen God's ultimate reality. Augustine's doctrines on Paul's rapture were elaborated in three major works and each gave a different profile to the event. Book 12 of the *De Genesi ad litteram* gave a detailed exegesis of the passage, reading it as an epistemological allegory referring to ecstatic intellectual vision of God; *Letter 147* contrasted Paul's assumed vision to the Old Testament theophanies and declared its superiority. Paul's rapture in both works had a miraculous and extraordinary character. The *Enarrationes* set Paul's rapture into a different light, giving details on the process of ecstasy.

The attitudes of medieval authors toward the Augustinian heritage partly depended on their institutional background. Until the later twelfth century, Augustine's interpretation of Paul's rapture was one possible interpretation and the biblical text was open to uses and new interpretations, which might freely disregard or correct Augustine's theories. For six centuries, Paul's rapture could have had various theological meanings and uses. Gregory the Great interpreted it as a mediated vision of God, while Eriugena as a return to the prelapsarian condition and as a reduction to the primordial causes. Twelfth-century authors approached the narrative in even more ways: exegetes conceived it as a rapture to the *empyreum* heaven, or to the cognition of the Godhead, or to the highest hierarchy of the angels; spiritual authors saw in Paul's rapture an experience similar or identical to the experience of ecstatic contemplation; others furnished the biblical account with more details or used the rapture as an allegorical scheme to express issues involving development and ascent.

These remarkably free and original interpretations stand in direct contrast to what may be called the scholastic interpretation of the rapture narrative. This interpretation started to develop in the later twelfth century in the urban schools of theology of Paris and continued at the University. This interpretation is directly connected to the classroom teaching practice, using particular textbooks to interpret the text of the Pauline letters. Peter Lombard's *Collectanea in 2 Cor.*, the textbook used by them, gave to the rapture narrative Augustine's explanation (extracted from the

De Genesi ad litteram and *Letter 147*) together with three, less important modern explanations. Since the Lombard's selection was based on texts which emphasized the extraordinary character and the unique nature of Paul's rapture and since this text was used generation by generation as a textbook, scholastic theology gradually elaborated an adequate theological concept to circumscribe Paul's rapture: the *raptus.* After the intensive developments in the 1230s, the meaning of *raptus* became solidified in the 1240s: it referred to a special and supernatural cognitive act, possible only through grace, by which the human mind can see God immediately, face to face (1 Cor 13:12), in his essence, by a so-called intellectual vision, in the same way as the glorified souls do.

The non-scholastic and the scholastic interpretations of Paul's rapture have two separate and parallel histories. From a chronological aspect, Peter Lombard's *Collectanea* (1158) is contemporaneous with the works of Achard of Saint-Victor (1155–1161); the beginning of the teaching career of Simon of Tournai at the Notre-Dame (1165) and the first appearance of a *visio mediastina* in the *Ps.-Poitiers Gloss* to the *Sentences*, 1160–65) are contemporaneous with the works of Richard of Saint-Victor (1159–1173)—but these theories had no influence on each other.

5. *Excursus*—Raptus Pauli*: The Scholastic Interpretation of the Rapture Narrative*

5.1. *The Making of* Raptus

The scholastic theological interpretation of Paul's rapture—Paul's *raptus*—received much attention in the past decades.[94] The intention of the following survey is only to give a short summary on the development of the scholastic doctrine, emphasizing the points which made the theories on *raptus* substantially different from the non-scholastic interpretations of rapture.

In the later twelfth century, theological education in the non-monastic schools was based on textbooks. Students met the issue of Paul's rapture in their courses on the Pauline letters, as their masters lectured on and discussed the *Collectanea* of Peter Lombard (the issue has not been important enough to be a subject by itself in books of sentences). Their textbook

[94] For the edition of the most important sources see the Bibliographical note attached.

gave four interpretations, of which the Augustinian one—substantial extracts from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram XII* and *Letter 147*—had real theological weight. The fact that the Pauline commentaries of two masters of Notre-Dame, Peter the Chanter (teaching c.1170–1196) and Stephen Langton (teaching 1180–1206) were glosses to the *Collectanea* and not to the Pauline letters may indicate the role of Peter Lombard's work. Thirteenth-century scholastic exegesis of the rapture narrative has not surpassed in originality the *Collectanea*—instead of new interpretations, commentaries (*postillae*) usually repeat the material of the *Collectanea* (or the *Glossa*), sometimes regrouped under new headings, sometimes with the addition of new elements;[95] the theological investigation concerning *raptus* found its place in theological *quaestiones* and *summae*.

The insufficiency of the inherited Augustinian doctrines became visible in the 1160s. Although Augustine's doctrines on Paul's rapture became theological commonplaces, they gave no answer to the questions of a modern, systematic theology. Paul's case interfered with the dichotomy of *via / patria* and *viator / comprehensor*: between c.1160 and c.1195 it was an accepted position that Paul in his rapture, like the prelapsarian Adam, was neither in *via* nor in *patria*.[96] It was also a widely accepted doctrine that Paul's vision was a third kind, a "middle" vision (*visio mediastina*) between the vision of *via* and *patria* (held by some as late as the 1220s).[97]

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[95] See the Dominican *postillae* of the 1230s: Godefroid de Bléneau, *Postilla in 2Cor*. (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine lat. 180 fol. 74r, paraphrasing the *Collectanea* and giving his model for spiritual ascent); Guerric of Saint-Quentin, *Postilla in 2Cor*. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15604 fol. 60v, based on the *Glossa*); Hugh of Saint-Cher, *Postilla in 2Cor*. (*Hugonis de S. Caro opera omnia in universum Vetus et Novum Testamentum* vol. VII. Coloniae Agrippinae [Cologne], 1621, fol. 142va, a one-sentence reference to the *Glossa*); cf. Thomas Aquinas, Lectura super 2 Cor (another reprise of the *Collectanea*).

[96] See Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiae* II, ix, 33 (c.1167–1170): "Adam tunc non erat in via, neque in patria." *Sententiae Petri Pictaviensis liber II*, Philip S. Moore, Marthe Dulong and J. N. Garvin eds (Notre Dame, Ind., 1950), p. 55 = PL 211:970B; Magister Martinus, *Summa* (c.1195): "[Paulus] Nec tunc erat viator nec civis, nec in via nec in patria erat secundum eorum responsum." "Alia est [visio] enigmatica, quam habent viatores, alia presentaria, quam habent cives in patria, alia mediastina, quam habuerunt Adam et Apostolus." Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14526 fol. 113vb and 113va = Paris, BN lat. 14556 fol. 334 va and 334rb.

[97] For the short outline of the history of *visio mediastina* see Wicki, *Die Lehre*. To Wicki's testimonies given there must be added the *Ps.-Peter of Poitiers Gloss* to *Sent.* IV dist. 1 from 1160–1165, antedating all examples of Wicki: "*Ante peccatum videbat homo deum*, id est quadam visione mediastina ut Paulus raptus ad tertium celum." Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale BN VII C 14 fol. 47ra, London, British Library Royal 7 F XIII fol. 39rb. (Dating based on Landgraf, *Introduction*, 137). Peter the Chanter's commentary on 2 Cor also interprets Paul's rapture as "media quaedam visio inter viam et patriam" (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine lat. 176 fols. 195rb–va).

The late-twelfth theories on *raptus* (the term is already present in the *quaestiones* of Stephen Langton and in the *disputationes* of Simon of Tournai) were limited in many ways. Founded on the exegesis of 2 Cor 2–4, these theories discussed the concrete case of Paul, *raptus Pauli* and not *raptus* as such. Unlike monastic theologians, the masters never read 2 Cor as an account of *excessus mentis*, as a possible spiritual experience. References to the *contemplativi* appear in this context only in the 1220s, in order to clarify that such experience is not and cannot be *raptus*.

The early scholastic accounts on rapture are also limited by their content and sources. Before the *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre, Paul's *raptus* was primarily and mostly a theoretical problem of classification, for Paul's extraordinary case (as conceived after Augustine) was to be integrated into the larger framework of scholastic theology. As school products, some of these accounts border on dialectical musings. The best example is Stephen Langton's *Quaestiones* (1200–1206), being unredacted records of school disputes. It shows that the theoretical background of Langton's students is only a general theological education and the text of the *Collectanea* (and perhaps the *Glossa*). Their questions are largely oriented by the textbook; for example: Was Paul caught up in body or out of body? Why is Paul said only to be "caught up" (*raptus*) instead of "assumpted" like the Virgin Mary? Was his vision an imaginary or intellectual vision? If the soul was not caught up locally, why was Paul said to have been raptured into the third order of the angels instead of the first? One of the questions even argues sophistically that Paul was lying and he did know whether he was taken up in body or outside the body.[98]

With The *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre (1215–1220), the discussion of *raptus* reached a much higher level than before. William treated the subject more thoroughly and extensively in well-structured scholastic *quaestiones*. By inclusion he repeated the four explanations of the *Collectanea*; he confirmed that there are only two visions, a mediated vision of *via* and immediate vision of *patria*, and discarded the concept of a *visio mediastina* as a third form of vision of God. He seems to be the first who supported this position with the authority of 1 Cor 13:12—this argument becomes paradigmatic later.[99] William was also the first who introduced epistemology into the discussion of rapture. According to the epistemology

[98] Examples taken from Ms Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16385 fol. 91rb and lat. 14556 fol. 184vb.

[99] William, *Summa aurea* III, tract. 37 cap. 2 [sc]: "Set contra. Aut videbat per speculum, aut non: si per speculum, ergo ad modum viatoris; si non per speculum, ergo facie

of the day, vision demands a *medium*, so Paul must have seen God through a *medium*. William defines *medium* as an image (a likeness) which is identical with its object. The concept is unusual but a later text by Alexander of Hales, sharing the same position, makes it understandable as a compromise: seeing through an image in rapture is a Gregorian element, while the identical representation in the soul (seen by intellectual vision) is an Augustinian one.[100] Later scholastic theology kept the epistemological model of a cognition through a *medium* but redefined what *medium* is in *raptus*. In his *Summa* (1230s), Roland of Cremona rejects the (identical) image as *medium*, and introduces a new concept: seeing God by the mediation of a created light which permeates the mind and makes it able to see God.[101] Later in the early 1240s, Albertus Magnus presents a similar solution to the beatific vision,[102] and the concept (under the name *lumen gloriae*) becomes paradigmatic. The *Summa aurea* became a reference work for the next decades.

Following the *Summa aurea*, in the 1220s and 1230s a wave of theological works discussed the *raptus*: several *De raptu* questions (by Alexander of Hales, Hugh of Saint-Cher and anonymous authors of the manuscript Douai BM 434) and the *summa* of Roland of Cremona, the first Dominican *magister regens* in Paris (1229–1230). Certain issues on *raptus* appear first in this period such as the reflection on the long-time customary term "raptus" (debating whether and in which sense the word *raptus* involves violence),[103] the systematic mapping and conceptual separation of all possible forms of the cognition of God (clarifying the difference between the

ad faciem; ergo ad modum comprehensoris; non ergo medio modo videbat, cum nihil sit medium" (ed. Ribaillier, p. 701).

[100] Alexander, qu. 68, [membr. 5], *Quaestiones disputatae 'antequam esset frater' magistri Alexandri Halensis* (3 vols. Quaracchi and Florence, 1960), vol. 3, pp. 1353–1356.

[101] Roland, *Summa* III, [qu.] CCCXL, 23: "Dicimus quod Paulus vidit illa secreta celestia sine ymaginibus, sed mediante luce qua fuit suus intellectus perfusus. Et illa lux fuit creata. Et cum illa luce fuerunt impressa quaedam stigmata visibilium archanorum." *Rolandi Cremonensis OP liber tercius, editio princeps, curante Aloys. Cortesi* (Bergamo, 1962), p. 996.

[102] On Albert's doctrine, inspired by his reading of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* and the concept of *theophania*, see Wicki, *Die Lehre*, pp. 154–157 and Bernard McGinn, "Visio Dei. Seeing God in medieval theology and mysticism," in Jan S. Emerson and Hugh Feiss eds, *Imaging Heaven in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 2000), pp. 15–33, here 22–24.

[103] See Alexander, qu. 68 [memb. 1], 5 (ed. Quaracchi, p. 1346); Ms Douai BM 434, qu. 230/260 and qu. 454; Roland of Cremona, *Summa* III, [qu.] CCCXXXVII, 2 (ed. Cortesi, p. 984); cf. Thomas Aquinas, *De veritate* qu. 13 art. 1. Outside the schools, "raptus" meant abduction, rape and kidnapping; its application to Paul's rapture is a distinctively scholastic trait (present already at Simon of Tournai and Stephen Langton); monastic authors spoke about *Paulus raptus* or circumscribed the event.

"visions" of Paul, the prophets, contemplatives, philosophers, believers, angels, glorified souls, and Adam),[104] and the definition of the difference between Adam's *extasis* (or sleep, see Gn 2:21), St. John's *visio* (narrated in the Apocalypse) and Paul's *raptus*, cases earlier considered as ecstasies.[105] Roland's *Summa* introduces another significant change to the doctrine by discarding the Augustinian concept of the impediment of body. Roland argues that since Paul in his *raptus* had not used the body as an instrument, his spirit was as free as the separated souls (another element paradigmatic later).[106]

The changes in the interpretation of the rapture narrative finally led to the assimilation of the *raptus* to the beatific vision in the 1240s: as the Blessed see God's essence, Paul saw it too. The conceptual development of the scholastic *raptus* preserved most elements of the Augustinian interpretation of Paul's rapture as it was presented in the *De Genesi ad litteram*: Paul's *raptus* had a miraculous, extraordinary and supernatural character, involving a direct vision of God (although without the impediment of the body). The monastic interpretations (which perceived Paul's rapture as something familiar) faded into oblivion, and the scholastic one, conceiving Paul's rapture as *raptus* and something substantially alien, became the authoritative doctrine of the Latin world, without alternative.

5.2. Raptus, *Contemplation, and Mystical Union*

The doctrinal developments of scholastic theology defined the limits and the possible place of spirituality (or "mysticism") with a new clarity and exactitude in a negative way. Seeing God face to face is impossible in this life (as it will be the reward of the Blessed); the *raptus*, which is still a face to face vision of God in this life, is not a real possibility. Contemplating God is a possible way of cognition—but contemplation means a mediated vision only. Those thirteenth-century theologians who were insisting on the possibility of an immediate cognition of God in this life had to accommodate their theories to these already given principles. It was a difficult

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[104] Such catalogues can be found in Ms Douai BM 434 qu. 338, qu. 434, qu. 454 and qu. 480 (Hugh of Saint-Cher) and qu. 68 of Alexander of Hales.

[105] The problem is discussed in qu. 230 of Ms Douai 434, Alexander's qu. 68; cf. Thomas Aquinas' *De veritate* qu. 13 art. 2 arg. 9 and ad 9.

[106] Roland, *Summa* III, [qu.] CCCXL, 32: "tunc ad horam illam non agravabat corpus illud spiritum Apostoli, nec corrumpebat, quoniam nullo modo tunc utebatur spiritus Apostoli illo corpore tamquam instrumento, sed liber erat spiritus, ac si esset extra corpus. Et quis est ausus qui dicat quod istud non potuerit facere Deus?" (ed. Cortesi, p. 999).

task: the immediate vision of God in this life was theoretically possible only in *raptus*, but *raptus* was conceived then as an extraordinary, miraculous event, which therefore could not be a pattern.

The problem was resolved by finding a new authority on the issue—the *Mystical Theology* of Dionysius the Areopagite. The central notion of the treatise is the "mystical union": an ecstatic and supra-intellectual union with God, a cognition by unknowing, portrayed as an attainable goal in this life. This notion admirably fit into the frame scholastic theology left for an immediate cognition of God: it granted immediacy (by the union itself); it infringed not the face to face vision of God (being conceived as non-vision), nor the ultimate intellectual cognition of God promised to the Blessed (being conceived as a cognition by unknowing). This model entered Latin theology in various forms: Thomas Gallus (d. 1246) in his pioneering Areopagitic works (written 1224 to 1244) conceived it as a union by an affective and cognitive faculty independent from the intellect (called *synderesis* or *apex affectus*); later, in the 1240s, Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) elaborated an intellectual and non-affective interpretation of it.[107] From the second half of the century, the Areopagitic mystical union became a legitimate and even self-evident paradigm of spirituality. This development also confirmed the separation of *raptus* and the possible spiritual experiences. While *raptus* was considered as ecstatic, extraordinary and miraculous (exemplified ever with Paul's rapture) and contemplation was regarded as something ordinary and limited, the mystical union offered an accessible alternative—an ecstatic and immediate cognition of God, possible and desirable in this life.[108] The conceptual refinement also affected the spiritual language and imagery: being "enraptured like Paul" or "caught up into the third heaven" now could refer only to *raptus* and became inadequate expressions for ecstatic cognition of God in this life,

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[107] For Thomas Gallus, see Jeanne Barbet's introduction in *Thomas Gallus. Commentaires de Cantique des Cantiques*, ed. J. Barbet (Paris, 1967), her article "Thomas Gallus" in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 15, 800–816 (1991) and Sicard and Poirel, "Figure vittorine." For Thomas' glosses (and Grosseteste's commentary) see James McEvoy's edition: *Mystical Theology: The Glosses by Thomas Gallus and the Commentary of Robert Grosseteste on "De mystica theologia"* (Paris-Leuven-Dudley MA, 2003). On Albertus, see William J. Hoye, "Mystische Theologie nach Albert dem Grossen." In *Albertus Magnus. Zum Gedenken nach 800 Jahren*, ed. Walther Senner (Berlin, 2001), 586–603.

[108] See Bonaventure on the mystical union, *In II Sent*. dist. 23 art. 2 qu. 3 [ad] 6: "Haec enim [cognitio] est in qua mirabiliter inflammatur affectio [. . .]. Hunc modum cognoscendi arbitror cuilibet viro justo in via ista esse quaerendum; quodsi Deus aliquid ultra faciet, hoc privilegium est speciale, non legis communis." *Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae S.R.E. episcopi cardinalis Opera omnia*, tom. 2 (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi], 1885), p. 546.

while expressions like "entering the shining cloud" or "darkness" (*caligo*) like Moses (taken from the *Mystical Theology*) became common ones.

5.3. *Bibliographical Note*

An outline of the history of Paul's rapture from the twelfth century to the 1240s, with in-depth study of the manuscript material can be find in Wicki's *Die Lehre* ("Die Möglichkeit der Gottesschau auf Erden," 161–174); Hans Urs von Balthasar's commentary to the *raptus* question of the *Summa* II-II of Aquinas gives, besides the historical-doctrinal commentary of the text, also a short annotated list of the sources, see the chapter "Die Entrückung (Fr. 175)," in *Thomas von Aquin. Besondere Gnadengaben und die zwei Wege menschlichen Lebens, kommentiert von Urs von Balthasar. II–II, 171–182* (Heidelberg—Munich—Graz et al., 1954) (Die Deutsche Thomas-Ausgabe 23), 372–410, here pp. 380–381; most recently the studies and editions of Barbara Faes de Mottoni (see below) add to our knowledge about this issue. The more significant sources are already edited; these are the following ones (in chronological order): a) William of Auxerre, *De raptu in Deum* in his *Summa aurea* (1215–1220) in critical edition as *Summa aurea* III tract. xxxviii (in earlier editions as *Summa aurea*, tract. xiv): *Magistri Guillelmi Altissiodorensis Summa Aurea*, ed. Jean Ribaillier, vol. 3, part 2 (Rome and Paris, 1986), 698–712; b) William of Auvergne, *De anima* (1230): *Guilielmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis* [...] *Opera omnia*, ed. Blaise le Feron (2 vols. Aureliae [Orléans], 1674; reprinted Frankfurt am Main, 1963), vol. 2, Supplementum, pp. 65–228; see also Barbara Faes de Mottoni, "Guglielmo d'Alvernia e l'anima rapta," in Franco Morenzoni and Jean-Yves Tilliette, eds, *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne* (*+1249*) (Turnhout, 2005), 55–74; c) Alexander of Hales OFM, (*Quaestio*) *De raptu Pauli* (c.1220–1236), edited as *Quaestio LXVIII* in *Quaestiones disputatae 'antequam esset frater' magistri Alexandri Halensis* (3 vols. Quaracchi and Florence, 1960), vol. 3: 1344–1363. The manuscript Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM) 434 contains several questions on *raptus* (qu. 230/260, qu. 338, qu. 454, qu. 480; see Wicki, *Die Lehre*, passim) written c.1225 to c.1237, of which edited are d) Hugh of Saint-Cher OP, (*Quaestio*) *De raptu Pauli* (qu. 480) by Barbara Faes de Mottoni, "Il ms. Douai, BM 434/II e la questione 480 De raptu," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 73 (2006): 165–201, and e) Magister G, (*Quaestio*) *De raptu Pauli* (qu. 230 and qu. 260) by Faes de Mottoni, "Il ms. Douai, BM 434/I e le questioni 230 e 260 De raptu," in Stefano Caroti, Ruedi Imbach et al. eds, *Ad Ingenii Acuitionem. Studies in Honour of Alfonso Maierù* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006), 103–125; f) the questions

of Roland of Cremona OP on *raptus* form practically a topical commentary on the similar section of the *Summa aurea* of William of Auvergne in his *Summa* III, [qu.] CCCXXXVII–CCCXLII, edited in *Summae Magistri Rolandi Cremonensis OP liber tercius, editio princeps, curante Aloys. Cortesi* (Bergamo, 1962), pp. 983–1004 (Roland's *Summa* is dated both prior to 1234 and after 1233). To a later period belong the *Quaestio de raptu* of Albertus Magnus OP (c.1246–1252), edited in *Alberti Magni Quaestiones*, ed. A. Fries, W. Kübel and H. Anzulewicz [= *Alberti Magni Opera Omnia.* Ed. Colon. XXV/2] (Munster, 1993) and the *Quaestio de raptu* of Thomas Aquinas OP as qu. 13 in the collection (*Quaestiones disputatae*) *De veritate* (1256–59). For the manuscripts of the inedited works of the late-twelfth century see Artur M. Landgraf, *Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature théologique de la scolastique naissante*, trans. Louis B. Geiger (Montreal and Paris, 1973).

PAUL IN ART, PREACHING, AND LITERATURE

THE EPITOME OF PAULINE ICONOGRAPHY: BNF FRANÇAIS 50, THE *MIROIR HISTORIAL* OF JEAN DE VIGNAY

Lisa Fagin Davis

The life of St. Paul, as pieced together from the Epistles, Acts, and various apocrypha, showed him to be a model Christian: a convert, he preached the Word and brought others to the Christian faith, finally dying a martyr's death. As the Epistler, his words were heard every day by regular church-goers as part of the Bible and liturgy. His image was meant to inspire contemplation and devotion. In the art of the Middle Ages, images of St. Paul are found in numerous contexts and media from the earliest Christian period. In a monumental church context, in windows, frescoes, altarpieces, stone lintels and capitals, and ivory reliquaries, he stands holding his standard attributes of book and sword. In later manuscript Bibles, the historiated initials that typically begin the Pauline Epistles are almost always historiated with images of the Saint writing (composing the Epistle that the viewer is reading), delivering the Epistle to the addressee, or preaching. In liturgical manuscripts, he shares a feast-day with St. Peter (29 June), and their portraits often historiate together the initials that begin the lection, mass or office. For the church-going populace, the depictions of St. Paul found in the church itself stood as a constant reminder of the example he set in life; in illuminated manuscripts, depictions of Paul emphasized the inestimable impact of his words and life on the Christian faith. From the earliest post-apostolic era images though the apex of manuscript illumination in the fifteenth century, the development of the iconography and narrative images of St. Paul reflects the constantly evolving interpretation of the importance of Paul's life and writings to a constantly evolving Church.

The depictions of St. Paul in Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms français 50 (hereafter fr. 50), a masterpiece of mid-fifteenth-century manuscript illumination, represent the culmination of a thousand years of iconographic development. The text is Jean de Vignay's *Miroir Historial* (MH), a fourteenth-century French translation of the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. As such, the manuscript, dated 1463, is encyclopedic in scope, copiously and masterfully illustrated throughout in stunning detail with several hundred miniatures executed by the workshop of

the great Parisian illuminator, Maître François.[1] St. Paul appears in seventeen miniatures; although the cycle in fr. 50 by no means represents every visual Pauline motif, it is comprehensive enough to allow for a relatively complete survey of Pauline iconography while also demonstrating how particular elements of that iconographic tradition were so deeply ingrained in the artistic milieu that no textual referent was required to facilitate interpretation.

Paul is among a handful of saints immediately recognizable in medieval art not only by his clothing or hand-held attributes but by his physical features. From the tenth century onward, he is universally depicted as bald, or mostly so, with a long pointed beard. It was once thought by scholars that this standard physical type—Paul as bald and bearded—somehow reflected reality, that the reason Paul was depicted in such a consistent manner was because that is how he truly appeared in life. This idea was initially supported by the detailed description of Paul given by the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (part of the *Acta Pauli*, *APT* hereafter):

> A man small of stature, with a bald head and crooked legs, in a good state of body. With eyebrows meeting and nose somewhat hooked, full of friendliness; for now he appeared like a man, and now he had the face of an angel.[2]

Nineteenth-century scholars argued that because the *APT* was thought to have been written during the apostolic era at the end of the first century C.E., it was quite plausible that this was an accurate description of the apostle himself. This argument was supported by the description of Paul provided by the Greek historian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus in his *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, written in the fourteenth century but ostensibly with reference to ancient documents, now lost:

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[1] See *Catalogue des Manuscrits Français*, vol. I, Ancien Fonds (Paris, 1868), p. 3. See also <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/switch.jsp?division=Mix&filtreImage=0&cote=Fran%E7ais+50&folio=&r_at=1&r_leg=1&auteurTitre=&legende=&titreUsage=&idDesc=&desc=&nomPays=&idDesc2=&desc2=&origine=&idDesc3=&desc3=&date=&dateAvJC=0&r_edesc=1&r_art=1&e_desc=&artiste=&resultatsParPage=20&x=26&y=15> [accessed 15 March 2009]. For Maître François, see Eleanor Spencer, *The Maître François and his Atelier* (Radcliffe College Thesis, 1931); Margaret Manion, *The Wharncliffe hours: a fifteenth-century illuminated prayerbook in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Australia* (London, c1981); *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Küstler* (Leipzig, 1916), XII:367–368.

[2] János Bollók, "The Description of Paul in the Acta Pauli" in Jan N. Bremmer, ed., *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul* (Kampen, 1996), pp. 1–15. See p. 1.

> Paul was small and slightly round . . . He had a pale complexion; he was bald and appeared aged, but his face was very charming. He had a long, slightly pointed beard, much mingled with white hair.[3]

This description is somewhat self-referential, of course, since by Nicephorus' time the iconography of St. Paul was well-established. But Nicephorus claimed to have access to apostolic-era documents that included an eye-witness description of St. Paul that was quite similar to that given in the *APT*.

By the early twentieth century, however, the *APT* had been more accurately dated to the second half of the second century and the idea that the description in *APT* represented an eye-witness account began to lose ground. In addition, art historical research showed that early artistic representations of Paul were not homogenous at all, and showed a great variety of physical features that did not conform to the description in the *APT*.[4] Once the date of the *APT* had been pushed beyond the apostolic era, scholars then began to use other approaches to understand the origins of the description of Paul found therein. Some argued that the description, and by extension the artistic typology, were grounded in "ethnic stereo-types," that is, that the description of Paul was of what was thought to be a "typical Jew." Others looked for parallels in character portraits in literature of the time, while a third school, including the relatively recent study by János Bollók, examined legal documents of the era for standardized descriptions of slaves and contractual parties, concluding that the description of Paul in the *APT* was formulaic at best.[5]

Emile Mâle, in his 1956 study, *Les Saint Compagnons du Christ*, begins his art-historical survey of St. Paul with a small bronze medallion found in the catacombs of St. Calixtus in Rome (now preserved in the Christian Museum at the Vatican) that depicts St. Peter and St. Paul and is thought to date from the second or early-third Christian century, making it perhaps the earliest known depiction of these apostles. Northcote and Brownlow, in their collaborative study of the Roman catacombs, reference Giovanni Battista de Rossi, the great archaeologist of Rome whose work they translate, and introduce the medallion as follows:

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[3] Translated from the French given by Emile Mâle, *Les Saints Compagnons de Christ* (Paris, 1956), p. 88, himself translating from the Greek. See also Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae, Patrologia Graeca* CXLV:854.

[4] Bollók, pp. 2–3. See also C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli* (Hamburg, 1965), pp. xvii–xix.

[5] See Bollók and Schmidt for a summary of this research.

> A question here naturally arises as to the representations of the Apostles, how far they may be considered to be real likenesses, or whether they were purely conventional, invented and perpetuated merely by Christian art. We have seen the testimony of Eusebius that he had 'seen representations of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and of Christ Himself, still preserved in paintings.'[6] St. Augustine says that people 'in many places used to see them (Peter and Paul) represented in pictures with Christ. For Rome, in a specially honourable and solemn manner commends the merits of Peter and Paul on account of their having suffered on the same day.'[7] St. Ambrose, in his account of the vision which he had of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, adds that there appeared 'another third person, who seemed to be like Blessed Paul the Apostle, whose countenance I had learned from pictures.' Moreover, it cannot be denied that there is a certain uniformity of type about the figures of these Apostles . . . that they might often be distinguished, even if there were no legends over their heads.
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> The oldest representation of them now extant is probably that on a bronze plate preserved in the Vatican Library.[8] This medallion is about three inches in diameter; it is cut with a die or with a hammer, and finished with a chisel. De Rossi says: 'It is certainly a work of a classical type, and of a style rather Greek than Roman . . . it is enough to say that to every eye, practiced in the study of the monuments of Pagan and Christian art in the third century, it is evident that this bronze is not more modern than about the time of Alexander Severus.'[9] . . . The portraits on this bronze are very lifelike and natural, bearing a strong impress of individual character. One of the heads is covered with short curly hair [i.e. St. Peter], the beard clipped short and also curled, the features somewhat rough and common place. The features of the other [i.e. St. Paul] are more noble, graceful, and strongly marked ; the head is bald, and the beard is thick and long. This valuable medal confirms

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[6] Eusebius of Caesaria, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* VII:xviii (*Patrologia Graeca* XX:679).

[7] Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* I:x (*Patrologia Latina* XXXIV:1049).

[8] J. S. Northcote and W. R. Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea or An Account of the Roman Catacombs* (London, 1879), plate XXI.1. See also Luba Eleen, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1982), fig. 5.

[9] i.e. the early third Christian century. See Giovanni Battista de Rossi, "Frammenti d'un vetro cemeteriale adorno delle immagini degli apostoli Pietre e Paulo," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (November 1864), pp. 81–87, and Herbert Thurston, "Devotional Medals," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol. 10 (New York, 1911) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10111b.htm> [Accessed 20 Feb. 2009]. This early date has by no means been universally accepted, having been challenged by at least one scholar; in 1893, Churchill Babington argued that "Notwithstanding these high but somewhat discordant authorities, the writer ventures to express his own strong suspicion that the style of the medal bespeaks the age of the Renaissance: it is most probably of the 15th century or thereabouts." (Babington, "Glass," in William Smith and Samuel Cheetham, eds. *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (London, 1893), p. 733, note.) In general, however, this medallion has been acknowledged by modern scholarship as among the earliest known depictions of St. Paul.

> the tradition preserved by Nicophorus of the personal appearance of the two Apostles . . .[10]

This particular medallion conforms to the type later universally adopted in visualizing St. Paul, as do the slightly later examples given by Ernst Dassmann in his 1981 study, *Paulus in frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit und Kunst*: an ivory relief at the British Museum from the early fifth century; a fifth-century relief in Armenia; and the Codex Vat. Graec. 699, from the second half of the ninth century, where Paul is shown bald and bearded.[11] Other examples are not so stereotypical, however—a sixth-century fresco in the Egyptian necropolis at Bagawat, for example, shows a youthful Paul with a full head of hair.[12] In fr. 50, Paul is depicted in the standard form throughout (with one exception, noted below), and is therefore immediately recognizable every time he appears: bald at the pate but with long grey hair down his back and a small tuft just above his forehead, with a bushy, slightly forked beard.

Regardless of its source or relationship to the actual appearance of Paul, the fact remains that the typical appearance of St. Paul was well-established by the tenth century and ubiquitous by the eleventh. The vast majority of images of St. Paul, whether in manuscript, glass, bronze or ivory, are a simple standing portrait (Figure 1). He is bald, with a long pointed beard, and holds a book or scroll, identifying him as the writer of the epistles. He often holds a sword (increasingly common from the thirteenth century),[13] either in place of or in addition to the book or scroll. The written word represents his life works; the sword, his martyrdom.

A less common and more localized iconographic tradition—noteworthy albeit not illustrated in fr. 50—shows Paul holding the "mystic mill," a metaphor innovated in a mid-twelfth-century stained glass window in the choir ambulatory of the abbey of St.-Dénis, christened by E. Panofsky "The Anagogical Window" and described by Abbot Suger in his description of the renovations undertaken during his abbacy, *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*:

> . . . One of these [windows], urging us onward from the material to the immaterial, represents the Apostle Paul turning a mill, and the Prophets carrying sacks to the mill. The verses of this subject are these:

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[10] Northcote and Brownlow, pp. 309–312.

[11] Ernst Dassmann, *Paulus in frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit und Kunst* (Düsseldorf, 1981), plates 7, 5, and 4.

[12] Dassmann, plate 9.

[13] Gaston Suchaux-Duchet, *The Bible and the Saints* (New York, 1994), pp. 267–270.

Figure 1. St. Paul and St. Peter, s. XIII^{inc}
(Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 144, f. 93v)

> By working the mill, thou, Paul, takest the flour out of the bran.
> Thou makest known the inmost meaning of the Law of Moses.
> From so many grains is made the true bread without bran,
> Ours and the angels' perpetual food.[14]

The Prophets bring the raw metaphorical material; it is Paul who refines it and makes it palatable. This image of St. Paul and the Mystic Mill is rare, but notable. The most well-known example is preserved in a Romanesque capital at Vézélay cathedral, where the image is made more symmetrical by the inclusion of only one prophet (sometimes identified as Moses) pouring out the grain for St. Paul to grind.[15] The capital is oriented such that the Old Testament figure stands in the shadows, while St. Paul stands in the direct light of spiritual and literal illumination.

Although the vast majority of images of St. Paul are portraits of Paul standing, writing, delivering an epistle, or preaching, without a discernable narrative context, specific scenes from his *vita* are often depicted as well. The ca. 1210 "Paul Window" at Chartres gives a complete cycle

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[14] Mâle, p. 114. See also Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1979), *De Administratione* XXXIV.

[15] See<http://vrcoll.fa.pitt.edu/medart/image/france/france-t-to-z/vezelay/capitals-nave/veznave20b.jpg> [accessed 23 March 2009].

of scenes from Paul's life;[16] the exquisite Breviary of Martin d'Aragon, a fifteenth-century manuscript from Spain now housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BnF Roth. 2529) also includes various scenes from Paul's life in the Calendar and elsewhere. And a minor tradition in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Bibles illustrates several different narrative cycles of the life of Paul in historiated letter [P]s that begin each Epistle.[17] The *vita* of St. Paul is also woven into Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, which was in part inspired by the great *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais; fr. 50, a French translation of the *Speculum*, includes a complete cycle of miniatures for the life of St. Paul, each exemplifying in its own way the contemporary interpretation of an ancient iconographic tradition.

In the *Miroir Historial*, Paul's story begins before his conversion. As Saul of Tarsus, persecutor of Christians, his most infamous and most often depicted act was the incitement of an angry mob to stone St. Stephen Protomartyr: "And Saul was there, giving approval to [Stephen's] death" (Acts 8:1). In the upper register of f. 240v is a small scene depicting the stoning of St. Stephen (Figure 2).[18] Stephen, nimbed and tonsured, in the robes of a monk, kneels in prayer in the center of the scene, surrounded by three angry men in tunics, leggings and high boots. Each holds two handfuls of rocks, their right arms raised at the ready to hurl them at the martyr. God stares down from a heavenly aperture at the upper left, depicting Stephen's words "Look, I see Heaven open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56). Young Saul sits at the right wearing robes and a pointed cap, pointing towards the martyr and inciting the crowd. Robes are piled at his feet—according to the scripture, the attackers removed their robes and laid them at Saul's feet before the stoning (Acts 7:58). The MH explains further, "... et osterent leurs vestemens que ilz ne les honnissent de la touchement de celluy et les misrent iouxte les piedz de lenfant Saulus" (MH VIII:lxxi) ("And they took off their robes

[16] Eleen, fig. 36. See also <http://vrcoll.fa.pitt.edu/medart/image/France/Chartres/Chartres-Cathedral/Windows/Choir-windows/004A-Paul/chartres-04Paul-main.html> [accessed 18 March 2009].

[17] See Eleen, pp. 72–152, Appendices, and Figures 128–217.

[18] The lower register shows Stephen before the Sanhedrin. Throughout the manuscript, the artist delineates narrative space using architectural or natural motifs—walls, arches, hills or doorways separate and define registers, scenes and narrative elements within individual miniatures.

Figure 2. *Miroir Historial* VIII:lxxi, (T-B): The Lapidation of St. Stephen; the Martyrdom of St. Stephen (fr. 50, f. 240v)

lest they be shamed by touching [Stephen], and laid them at the feet of the young Saul").[19]

While there are no surviving early medieval depictions of this scene, there probably once were. St. Augustine refers to the scene in one of his sermons: "... there are most beautiful pictures, where you see Stephen stoned, [and] you see Saul giving the clothing of the stoners."[20] Even so, the presence of Saul at the stoning of St. Stephen did not become a standard part of the Pauline iconographic tradition until somewhat later, when the scene is understood as a necessary prelude to Paul's incipient conversion. In a late thirteenth-century antiphonal illuminated in Verona by the Master of Genoa, for example, Saul sits on a pile of robes in the upper right corner of an historiated initial [S], pointing at Stephen who is being stoned by two men representing the angry mob.[21] In Fra Angelico's 1447–49 fresco *The Stoning of St. Stephen*,[22] Saul stands in the lower left corner watching the crowd's fury, holding a piece of clothing given to him by the mob. Even as a young man, Saul is recognizable: bald with a pointed (albeit shortened) beard. In a coeval fresco in the Prato Duomo by Paolo Uccello, Paul is instantly recognizable in the center of the scene, but does not hold the robes of the mob. Other examples include the right-hand register of Bernardo Daddi's 1324 fresco of the martyrdom of St. Stephen in Santa Croce church in Florence, where a youthful (yet bald and bearded) Saul stands at the left of the crowd holding a draped robe, with a pile of robes before him.

More common, and more ancient, among these narrative scenes is what can be considered the most dramatic moment of Paul's life in the Acts of the Apostles—his conversion (Acts 9:1–9). The MH paraphrases and expands the Biblical text:

> Saulus encores souspirant des menaces de loccision des disciples nostre seigneur alla au prince des prestres aux synagogues qui estoit a Damas et

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[19] Vincent of Beauvais, *Miroir Hystorial*, trans. Jean de Vignay (Paris, 1531) [Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ 515.31.869 F (hereafter MH 1531)], I:215v. Below, references to the text of the *Miroir Historial* are given in two formats: to the text, as Book:Chapter, and to the 1531 edition, as MH 1531 Volume:Folio.

[20] Augustine, Sermon 315, *Patrologia Latina* XXXVIII:1434: "Dulcissima pictura est haec ubi videtis sanctum Stephanum lapidari, videtis Saulum lapidantium vestimenta servantem."

[21] Los Angeles, The Getty Museum, MS Ludwig VI 6, f. 193. This is the first responsory of Matins for the Office of St. Stephen. See <http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/images/l/00187301.jpg> [accessed 15 March 2009].

[22] In the Cappella Niccolina, Palazzi Pontifici, Vatican.

> request lettres de luy si qui par son auctorite se il trouvoit en celle voye de Damas homes ou femmes chrestiens il les emmanast lyez en hierusalem. Et si comme il approcha de Damas une lumiere du ciel environna soubainement icelluy. Et luy cheant a terre ouyt une voix qui dist. Saule saule pourqouy me poursuys tu de mes membres? Cest assavoir es bons chrestiens qui sont membres de christ . . . Et les hommes qui estoient en sa compaginie estoient esbahys qui oyoient a voix de luy et ne scavoient qui a luy parloit et se leva de terre et est fait aveugle par corps qui avoit este aveugle par pensee et le menoient par les mains aussi comme aveugle et le mirsrent en Damas cest assavoir ceulx qui avec luy estoient. Et la fut trois iours que il ne veit ne ne mangea ne ne beut. (MH VIII:lxxiv)[23]
>
> Saul was still breathing out death threats against the disciples of our Lord. He went to the prince of the synagogues' priests, who was in Damascus, and asked for letters from him with which, by his authority, if he found Christian men or women on the way to Damascus, he could take them bound to Jerusalem. And as he approached Damascus, a light from the sky suddenly surrounded him. And falling to the ground he heard a voice that said, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me through my members?"[24] That is to say, the good Christians who are Christ's members. . . . And the men in his company who heard his voice were stunned and did not know who spoke to him. And he lifted himself from the ground, and he was made physically blind who had been mentally blind. And they took him by the hands like a blind man and they led him to Damascus, that is to say, those who were with him. And for three days he did not see or eat or drink.

In fr. 50, this scene is part of a montage of three scenes on folio 242 (Figure 3). In the upper left register, Christ appears in a heavenly aperture above and holds a banderole asking "Saule Saule quid me persequeris?" ("Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?") In the foreground, Saul, dressed as a knight, his right hand raised to shield his eyes, falls stricken from his tumbling horse. The walled city of Damascus is visible in the background. It is worth noting that the earliest depictions of this scene do not include a horse, as there is none mentioned in the Biblical text.[25] The addition of the horse from which Saul falls is an iconographic detail Eleen describes as an innovation of the mid-twelfth century, with the earliest identified version found in the Admont Bible of ca. 1130–1160.[26] From then on, the horse is ubiquitous, as is Saul's tumble from its back; this image of Saul the Persecutor falling to the ground in response to a vision of Christ may

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[23] MH 1531, I:216.
[24] I.e. arms and legs.
[25] For example, the Vivien Bible of ca. 845 (BnF lat. 1), f. 386v (Eleen, fig. 6).
[26] Eleen, p. 39 and fig. 42.

Figure 3. *Miroir Historial* VIII:lxxiv (L-R, T-B): The Conversion of Saul; The Healing and Baptism of St. Paul; St. Paul Preaching in Damascus (fr. 50, f. 242)

be related to the allegorical tradition depicting Superbia falling from her horse.[27] This becomes the standard typology—Saul falling or fallen from his horse, shielding his eyes from the blinding light. There is no horse

[27] Eleen, p. 40 and fig. 43. See also Ernst von Dobschütz, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 50 (1929), pp. 87–111, see pp. 108–11.

mentioned in the *Miroir Historial*—the typology was so well-established that Paul was naturally visualized on horseback.

In Acts 9:8, Saul is struck blind by the vision of Christ, and is led by his companions to Damascus. There he is healed and baptized by a Christian named Ananias:

> Et en Damas estoit ung chrestien qui avoit nom Ananias et nostre seigneur luy dist en advision. Va en la rue qui est appellee droicte et quiers Saulus car il y est et ore . . . Et Ananias alla la et entra avec luy et luy mist la main sur luy. Et tantost il cheit de ses yeulx aussi comme es chardes et il recouvra sa veue et est baptize. Et tantost il est entre par les synagogues et preschoit et confondoit les Juifz affermant que celluy quil preschoit est christ vray filz de dieu. (MH VIII:lxxiv)[28]

> And in Damascus there was a Christian who was named Ananias, and Our Lord said to him in a vision, "Go to the street that is called Straight and seek Saul where he is praying. . . . And Ananias went there and went in with him and laid his hand on him. And then something like scales fell from his eyes, and he recovered his sight and was baptized. And then he went throughout the synagogues and preached and confounded the Jews, affirming that he about whom he preached is Christ, the true son of God.

The Bible does not specify by whom Paul was baptized, but tradition attributes the act to Ananias. In fr. 50, the healing and baptism are conflated in a single scene in the montage on folio 242. In the upper register, to the right of the Conversion scene, Paul (youthful and bearded, with a full head of hair) kneels before Ananias, who baptizes him by pouring water over his head from a small bowl. Two small white discs at Paul's feet represent the "scales" that fell from his eyes. There exists a well-established tradition by the fifteenth-century of these three scenes—Paul's Conversion, Healing, and Baptism—as a continuous narrative sequence, so it is not surprising to see them conflated in fr. 50. In the Roman frescoes of San Paolo fuori le mura, tentatively dated to the fifth century but destroyed by fire in 1823, Saul receives letters authorizing him to persecute Christians, falls blind, and is led to Damascus to be healed by a contemplative, dreaming Ananias, in a continuous sequence read from right to left.[29] In the Carolingian era, exemplified by the great Viven Bible written for King Charles the Bald in ca. 845, the scenes are shown as a continuous sequence as well

[28] MH 1531 I:216r.

[29] The frescoes survive only in sketches made for Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1634, now Rome, Vatican Library, MS Barb. Lat. 4406, f. 89. See Eleen, fig. 16.

(BnF Lat. 1, f. 386v), and there exist numerous examples in various media that follow the same template.[30]

Before Paul's success as a preacher, he was met with suspicion and distrust:

> **23:** After many days had gone by, the Jews conspired to kill him, **24:** but Saul learned of their plan. Day and night they kept close watch on the city gates in order to kill him. **25:** But his followers took him by night and lowered him in a basket through an opening in the wall. (Acts 9:23–25)

The depiction of Paul escaping from Damascus and the conspiring Jews by being let down over the wall in a basket is another narrative scene that is often illustrated as part of the Conversion sequence, and also makes its way into the illustration of the Epistles in French and English Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[31] In the text of the MH, however, Paul is merely helped over the wall by his disciples, without mention of the basket.[32] The escape from Damascus is not illustrated in fr. 50. The artist has chosen instead to emphasize Paul's preaching over his flight from the angry crowd, showing him as a triumphant preacher with an enrapt audience in the lower register of folio 242.

The image of Saul, former persecutor of Christians, preaching the Word as Paul was a powerful one, much repeated both within a narrative context and without. In fr. 50, Paul is twice shown preaching—once as a young man, then, in a climactic composition, as a mature, wizened cleric. In the lower register of f. 242, in front of a low wall that divides the upper and lower registers, a nimbed Paul preaches at Damascus. He stands at the right behind a lectern holding a banderole with the words "Hic est Christus" ("This is Christ", Acts 9:22), facing an enrapt audience of nobly-dressed men and women. The next depiction of Paul, preaching to the Areopagus on folio 297, shows him as the fully-recognizable type (Figure 4)—white-haired, balding, bearded. He stands in the center of a sacred space (in appearance, a medieval church, but in context, the meeting of the Areopagus in Athens), facing straight towards the reader. With

[30] Eleen, figs. 6, 7, 13, 18, for example. There is sometimes disagreement at this point in the narrative about whether to label the saintly figure "Saul" or "Paul"; In fr. 50, this confusion is reflected in the opening words of the section introduced by this miniature—the penwork illuminated initial is a [P], anticipating [Paulus], but the first word of the section is [Saulus], resulting in the somewhat ambiguous [Psaulus].

[31] See Eleen, figs. 19 and 25 for early examples, and figs. 163–167 for later Bibles.

[32] "Et les disciples le misrent hors par nuyct par dessus le mur" ("And the disciples took him by night over the wall," MH 1531 I:126v).

Figure 4. *Miroir Historial* IX:xcix: St. Paul Preaching in Athens (fr. 50, f. 297)

his right hand, he points toward the vision of God that appears in the heavenly aperture at the upper left-hand corner of the scene. His left hand points at an unmarked altar on the opposite side, presumably the altar "to an unknown god" to which he refers in Acts 17:23 and in MH:

> Adonc Paul estant au meillieu de lariopage dist Hommes atheniaulx par toutes choses ie vous iuge supersticieulx et folz car passant iay veu ung autel duquel la superscription estoit. Cest au dieu incongneu car en tous les autelz il y avoit ung tiltre escript et mis au hault demonstrant a qui les

> autelz estoient dedyez. Pourtant dist sainct Paul. Je vous annonce de dieu incongneu . . . (MH IX:xcviii)[33]
>
> Then Paul, standing in the middle of the Areopagus, said, "Athenian men, I judge you to be superstitious and foolish in all things, for in passing I saw an altar on which the inscription read, 'This is to the Unknown God,' for on all of the altars there is a title inscribed and placed at the top showing to whom the altars are dedicated." Then St. Paul said, "I will tell you of this unknown god . . ."

As a mature preacher, he has drawn a significantly larger crowd than in the previous image, and the auditors sit completely at attention. With Paul occupying a central position, facing straight out, and the entire image framed by side columns and an elaborate upper archway, the reader feels a part of the scene, almost as if listening in from the back of the room. Paul's power as a preacher and apostle is palpable.

The miniature on folio 297 precedes the chapter on St. Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted to Christianity in Athens by the preaching of St. Paul (Acts 17:34). Paul sometimes appears as an ancillary character in scenes from the lives of his other disciples and companions, such as Sts. Peter, Timothy, Luke, Barnabas and Thecla. In addition to the consistent pairing throughout the history of Christian art of Paul and Peter in standing portraits, Paul often appears in scenes from the life of Peter. On folio 313 of fr. 50, Paul appears among the crowd of onlookers to two healing miracles at Peter's hand. Timothy often accompanies Paul in illustrating the epistles, and Paul, for his part, often appears in images of Timothy's life, for example in the late eleventh-century fresco of the baptism of Timothy at the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome. In fr. 50, on folio 296, Paul mitres Timothy in the scene in the upper left corner. The figure of St. Paul is unlabeled but clearly recognizable on folio 365v, an illustration accompanying the chapter on the life of St. Timothy. In the upper register, on the far side of the masonry wall and tower that divide the scene, Timothy, clothed as a Bishop, kneels before St. Paul and receives his blessing. Timothy is mitred and holds a tau-shaped crosier, while Paul is nimbed and holds a clasped book in his left hand. On folio 340, Luke sits at Paul's feet as he preaches to a seated crowd from behind a lectern, declaring "Lucas est mecum solus" ("Only Luke is with me"—2 Timothy 4:11). Taken out of context, the banderole would seem to imply that only Luke is supporting Paul– in context, however, the text declares

[33] MH 1531 II:29.

that Luke is the only apostle physically with Paul at that time. Paul also appears prominently in the miniature devoted to St. Barnabas, in the upper register of f. 339v, where Paul and Barnabas are shown embracing beneath a floating angel. The miniature on folio 328 verso tells the story of the conversion and martyrdom of Sts. Processus and Martinian, who, according to the *Miroir*, were wardens of Peter and Paul in the Mamertine prison who converted, freed the prisoners, and were martyred (MH X:54). In this scene, which focuses on the gruesome torture and martyrdom of the converts, Peter and Paul are seen peering out of their prison window in the upper left corner, and leaving Rome in the upper right.[34] In a chronologically much later scene, the vision of St. Martin on folio 299, Paul appears among the heavenly saints in Martin's dream. Paul even appears, unlabeled but clearly identifiable, in two miniatures depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary—at Pentecost (f. 238v) and at the Funeral of the Virgin (f. 243). Paul's appearance as an ancillary character in these images serves to strengthen the reputation of the principle figures as their lives intersect Paul's, while at the same time demonstrating the power of Paul's central role as mentor and leader of the early Christian movement.

The miniature depicting the Trials of St. Thecla in fr. 50 is of particular interest for its rarity. Thecla was a disciple of St. Paul from Iconium who traveled with him to Antioch and became a Christian leader in her own right. Because St. Thecla's cult was not widespread in the West, she is rarely found in the art of the European Middle Ages. In Asia Minor and Egypt, however, images of her are found in churches dating back to the fifth century, and her cult was widespread.[35] Medieval examples include a fresco in the eleventh-century Russian Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Chernihiv.[36] St. Thecla's story is first recorded in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, but is retold in the *Miroir Historial*, where it receives two full chapters (X:47–48). The story begins in Athens:

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[34] The prisoners have also been interpreted as Processus and Martinien, who were incarcerated before their martyrdom, but the figures are somewhat ambiguous. See <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/ConsulterElementNum?O=IFN-8100039&E=JPEG&Deb=155&Fin=155&Param=C> [accessed 6 August 2012].

[35] See Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of St. Thecla: a Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2001).

[36] <http://www.svyatayarus.ru/data/paints/24_fekla/index.php?lang=en> [accessed 6 August 2012].

> . . . Pol preschast tousiours de la vertu de tous ses freres. Tecle vierge espouse de Thamire seante a une fenestre escouta tousiours Pol preschant. Et de la parolle de luy quelle ne congnoissoit pas de face fut si ioyeuse quelle ne partit de trois iours de la fenestre. Et donc Theodia sa mere envoya a thamire et ploroi sa fille qui estoit deceue et accusa sainct Pol tresgriefvement. . . . Ilz firent prendre Pol et mettre en chartre et Tecle le suyvit. Et quant les autres virent que elle avoit affection a Pol ilz firent tirer Pol et Tecle hors et mener devant le iuge et laccuserent. Et donc fut Pol batu et boute hors de la cite et Tecle fut iugee a ardre et de son gre elle saillit au feu et tantost terre trembla et pleut si fort que la pluye destaint le feu . . . . (MH X:xlvii)[37]
>
> Paul preached every day [there] about the virtue of all of his brethren. Thecla, the virgin wife of Thamire, sat at a window every day listening to Paul preaching. And she was made so joyous by the words of him whose face she did not know that she did not leave the window for three days. And so Theodia her mother sent to Thamire and mourned her daughter who had been deceived and accused St. Paul most grievously. . . . They captured Paul and took him to prison, and Thecla followed him. And when the others saw that she had affection for Paul, they had Paul and Thecla taken out and brought before the judge, and they accused them. And then Paul was beaten and expelled from the city, and Thecla was sentenced to be burned. And she spontaneously leapt into the flames, and just then the earth trembled, and it rained so hard that the rain extinguished the fire . . . .

The first Trial of St. Thecla is illustrated in fr. 50 on folio 326v, in the lower register (Figure 5). Paul, elderly, bald and bearded, naked but for a loincloth and covered in welts, is tied to a stake and beaten, alongside a topless Thecla, who is tied to a stake as well. Townsfolk beat Paul and stoke Thecla's flames, but miraculous rain that falls on her alone saves her, putting out the fire. In the *APT*, there is no mention of Paul being tied to a stake and beaten alongside Thecla, but the *Miroir Historial* clearly states "Et donc fut Pol batu" ("And then Paul was beaten").

After her miraculous escape from the flames, Thecla accompanies Paul to Antioch, where her situation becomes even more dire:

> Et donc Alexandre le premier des anthiochiens couvoita la beaulte de Tecle et promist moult de choses a Pol se il luy bailloit a son delict. Et quant Pol louyt il luy respondit que il ne scauroit. Et celluy la commenca a accoller devant tous et elle ne vouluy souffrir liniure . . . et fut condampnee estre donnee aux beste a devorer. . . . et Tecle fut gettee aux bestes. Et addonc une lyonnesse courut a ses piedz et puis estrangla ung ours qui venoit contre elle. Et de rechef ung lyon trescruel qui estoit a Alexandre vint contre la lyonnesse et quant ilz se furent combatuz grant piece lung et lautre

[37] MH 1531 II:42.

Figure 5. *Miroir Historial* X:xlvii: The Trials of St. Thecla (fr. 50, f. 326v)

mourent. Et donc les femmes commencerent a plorer pource que la lyonnesse estoit morte qui aydoit a Tecle. . . . Adonc Alexandre yre du commandement du iuge amenda deux thoreaulx tresfors que il avoit et mist pieces de fer chauldes es creins des thoreaulx et puis lya a eulx Tecle par mains et par piedz. Et tantost la flambe ardit les cordes et les thoreaulx sen fuyrent et Tecle desmoura desluee. (X:xlvii and xlviii)[38]

[38] MH 1531 II:62r/v.

> And then Alexander, the greatest among Antiochans, coveted Thecla's beauty and promised many things to Paul if he would give her over to his desire. And when Paul heard it, he told [Alexander] that he would never know her. And [Alexander] began to seize her in front of them all, and she would not suffer him to injure her . . . and she was condemned to be given to beasts to be devoured. . . . And Thecla was thrown to the beasts. And then a lioness ran on her feet and strangled a bear who came against her. And a second time, a very cruel lion who belonged to Alexander went against the lioness and when they had fought for a while, one and the other died. And then the women began to weep because the lioness who had aided Thecla was dead. . . . Then Alexander, made fervent by the commandment of the Judge, took two strong bulls that he had and attached pieces of hot iron to the manes of the bulls and then tied Thecla to them by [her] hands and feet. And then flames burned the ropes and the bulls fled and Thecla was freed.

In the upper right corner of Figure 5, Thecla stands in the lions' den, defended by a lioness who fights off a lion. At the upper left, Thecla lies suspended between two bulls by her hands and feet, as heavenly streams of fire sever her bonds. An empty road behind her leads to a walled city in the background. Every detail of this image comes from the text—the story of St. Thecla was not well-known enough to have developed an independent iconography.

While Paul's significance as an icon and subject of art centers around his conversion, preaching, writing, disciples, and martyrdom, there does exist a minor tradition of depicting his miracles, both in life and postmortem. In addition to his miraculous healing at the hands of Ananias, Paul himself was responsible for healing the sick, raising the dead, averting a storm at sea, and surviving an adder strike (Acts 28:1–6), among other miracles. These are rarely depicted, usually found only in illustrative cycles of his life. In fr. 50, folio 310v (Figure 6) shows the shipwreck (Acts 27), and landing at Malta (Acts 28:1–10). At the right, Paul and his companions are shown onboard ship en route to Rome. There are two episodes depicted concurrently on the ship—on the right side of the deck, Paul stands among his companions. Immediately to the left, still on deck, Paul gazes at the angel who guides the ship through the storm. A small lifeboat is attached to the front of the cracked ship. At the left, on land, Paul preaches to the citizens of Malta, one of whom is identified as lame and to be healed by the walking stick he leans on. These episodes are not mentioned in the text, but were by this time an integral part of the iconography of St. Paul.

The miracle depicted on folio 314 verso (Figure 7) is from the apocryphal *Acts of Paul*, but is also included in the *Miroir Historial* (X:16). In

Figure 6. *Miroir Historial* X:v: Miracles of St. Paul (R-L): St. Paul en route to Rome; St. Paul Survives the Shipwreck; St. Paul Healing the Lame on Malta (fr. 50, f. 310v)

the upper register of folio 314v, Paul preaches from behind a lectern to a seated audience. At the back of the room, a man falls head-first to his death from an open window. In the lower register, on the right, Paul raises the dead man with the words "Praecario [sic.] tibi in nomine Christi ut spiras et dicas quem vidisti" ("I pray for you, in the name of Christ, that you breathe and that you say whom you saw"). At the left, the resurrected man is presented to the enthroned and crowned Emperor Nero by Paul. This story bears a striking similarity to Paul's raising of Eutychus (Acts 20:7), an episode that is also often depicted among the corpus of Paul's miracles, but the *Miroir Historial* identifies the beneficiary of Paul's grace as Patroclus, a favorite servant of Emperor Nero:

Figure 7. *Miroir Historial* X:xvi: The Healing of Patroclus (clockwise from top): The Death of Patroclus; The Raising of Patroclus; Patroclus presented to Nero (fr. 50, f. 314v)

Ung iour ainsi comme Pol environ vespres enseignast les compaignies des gens au plus hault estre Patroclus le bouteiller Neron sen alla au lieu ou Pol habitoit pour ouyr les enseignemens de vie pardurable et en avoit este admonneste de ses compaignons qui ensuivoyent debonnairement la compagnie de Pol. Et si comme il vint la il ne peut aller a Pol pour la multitude des gens. Mais se assist derriere Pol a la plus haulte fenestre du cenacle pour ouys mieulx la parolle de dieu. Et si comme Pol eust commence ung long sermon le ieune homme sendormit et en sommeillant cheut de la fenestre et sen alla lesperit laquelle chose Pol sceut tantost en esperit et dist au peuple quilz luy apportassent le iouvencel delicieux de Cesar qui gisoit la hors tout mort. Et quant ilz leurent fait il dist Ie priez a dieu en bonne foy quil

> restablisse la vie a la charongne de ce iouvencel et que il vive mieulx quil na vescu. Et comme ilz fussent tous acoutez en oraison Pol dist. Enfant lieve toy et racompte que dieu ta fait. Et a ceste voix il se leva aussi comme se il sesveilast de dormit et glorifia dieu. Et si comme Neron plorast Patrocle et eust tresgrant tristesse pour luy ceulx [f. 42v] dentour luy dirent quil estoit vif et estoit a la porte dehors. Et quant il louyt il eut paour aucueur et refusoit quil nentrast dedance et ne venist devant luy mais ses amys luy admonnesterent tant quil commanda quil venist. Et quant il le vint vivant et sans signe de mort il sesbahit et dist. Patrocle qui ta fait vivre et il luy respondit a cueur loyeulx et embrase de chaleur de foy. Nostre sire iesuchrist roy de tous les siecles. (MH X:xvi)[39]
>
> One day around Vespers when Paul was teaching a group of people, Patroclus, Nero's sommelier, was above. He came to the place where Paul lived to hear the teachings of eternal life, and he had been encouraged by his companions who faithfully followed the company of Paul. And when he came there, he could not go to Paul because of the crowd of people. But he sat himself in the highest window of the hall to better hear the word of God. And when Paul had begun a long sermon, the young man fell asleep, and while sleeping he fell from the window and gave up the ghost. Paul knew about it in his heart, and asked the people to bring him Caesar's delightful youth who lay dead outside. And when they had done it, he said, "I pray to God in good faith that he re-establish life in the corpse of this youth and that he live better than he had ever lived before." And when they had all listened to the prayer, Paul said, "Child, rise and tell what God did for you." And at the sound of his voice, [Patroclus] rose as if waking from sleep, and he glorified God. And as Nero wept for Patroclus and had a very great sadness for him, those who surrounded him told him that he was alive and was outside the door. And when he heard it, he was afraid in his heart and refused to let him enter within or come before him, but his friends convinced him so that he commanded him to come. And when he arrived alive and without any sign of death, [Nero] was stunned and said, "Patroclus, who made you live?" And he responded with a loyal heart and embracing the fervor of faith, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, King of all existence."

Paul's words in the banderole in the lower right corner are somewhat garbled, and seem to be a mistaken reading of the Latin text. According to the text, Paul commanded Patroclus to speak and "tell what God did for you." In the banderole, he is commanded to say whom he saw; The intent may have been "say who made you live."

The left-hand register of fr. 50, folio 309 (Figure 8) is a conflation of several events, with Paul testifying before Nero (an apocryphal event),

[39] MH 1531 II:42r/v.

Figure 8. *Miroir Historial* X (L-R): St. Paul before Nero, Herod, and Festus; The Martyrdom of St. James the Just (fr. 50, f. 309)

Herod Agrippa (Acts 25:13 ff.), and Festus (Acts 25:1–12). He is often depicted before Nero, defending his faith in a similar fashion, in particular in historiated Bible initials and other narrative cycles. In this case, several moments have been conflated into a single scene. Paul stands in the center of a chamber with his back to the reader, his robes held by two kneeling soldiers. He faces three enthroned men—Nero, Herod, and Festus—who gesture furiously at each other while Paul speaks. To the right, through a doorway to an exterior setting, James the Just is shown being thrown from the roof of the Temple in the background, and, in the foreground, being beaten, as described in the text (MH X:4). These episodes, seemingly unrelated, take place within the first four chapters of Book X, and thus are combined in one miniature at the beginning of the Book, accompanying the list of chapter titles.

Although it is known that Paul was imprisoned in Rome for several years after his conversion and then released, the circumstances of his later life and his death are not known with any certainty. Clement, later Pope Clement I, writes in his letter to Corinth: "By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After

that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance."[40] It has been suggested that the passage implies that Paul was martyred in Rome ("the reward of his faith").[41] Tertullian, in his second-century *On the Prescription of Heretics*, implies that Paul was beheaded: "What a happy Church is that whereon the Apostles poured out their whole doctrine together with their blood . . . where Paul is crowned with the death of John."[42] Eusebius of Caesaria, several centuries after the fact, lays the unambiguous groundwork for St. Paul's iconography of martyrdom, stating explicitly that Paul was beheaded at the command of Emperor Nero: "Paul is therefore said to have been beheaded at Rome, and Peter to have been crucified under [Nero]."[43] This patristic tradition quickly came to be accepted as fact and was universally adopted in the iconography of the martyrdom of St. Paul.

Tradition places Paul's martyrdom at the ancient Roman site of the spring known as Aquae Salviae, about two miles from the St. Paul basilica where he is said to be buried. Legend has it that at his execution, his severed head bounced three times before coming to rest, and that a fountain sprang up at each spot where his head hit the ground. The place is known as Tre Fontane, at the abbey of Sts. Vincent and Anastasius. Pseudo-Marcellus, in the fifth-century Greek *Acts of Peter and Paul*, first locates Paul's martyrdom specifically at Aquae Salviae, but without mentioning the three fountains.[44] Even though the martyrdom of St. Paul was thus associated with the site as early as the fifth century, and the

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[40] Clement, "The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," 5:5–6, in Joseph Barber Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: A Revised Text with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations* (New York, 1973), p. 274.

[41] Raymond Edward Brown and John Paul Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York, 1983), p. 124.

[42] I.e., beheaded, dying in the same manner as John the Baptist. See Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, Chapter 36 (trans. T. Herbert Bindley, *On the Prescription of Heretics* (London, 1914), p. 84).

[43] "Ac Paulus quidem Romae capite truncatus, Petrus veru cruci suffixus fuisse . . ." Eusebius of Caesaria, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* II:xxv (*Patrologia Graeca* XX:207). The apocryphal *Acts of Paul*, which declare that Paul was beheaded, cannot be dated with any great certainty, and the earliest manuscript dates from the sixth century.

[44] Constantine Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1851), p. 35.

abbey was founded by Pope Honorius I in 626, the legend of the three fountains is not documented until somewhat later.[45] The twelfth-century Roman pilgrims' guide *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* mentions the site, but it is not until the fourteenth-century that a reference to the fountains is added, and then only in one known manuscript. This appears to be the earliest textual reference to the episode (the section in italics): "Aquae Salvia ad sanctum Anastasium, ubi decollatus fuit sanctus Paulus. *Ibi dixit capud tres* [sic.] *Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, saltando, ubi adhuc tres fontes emanant diversi in sapore*" ("The Aquae Salvia at Saint Anastasius, where Saint Paul was beheaded. *Here the head said 'Jesus Jesus Jesus' three times as it bounced, and where there are still three fountains which spring up, diverse in taste*").[46] By the sixteenth century, the legend was solidly associated with the site; Cardinal Paolo Emilio, in his *Acti Sancti Pauli*, mentions the three fountains "from which the religious drink even today" ("... quam religionis ergo hodie potamus").[47]

The martyrdom of St. Paul is depicted early on in the corpus of Christian art, for example a fourth-century sarcophagus from San Sebastiano in Rome, but in the earliest depictions Paul is shown only at the moment before the execution, standing or kneeling beneath the executioner's sword.[48] The scene is often paired with the martyrdom of Peter, as in BnF gr. 1528 (f. 62v), an eleventh-century menology, and BnF lat. 9428 (f. 86), a ninth century sacramentary.[49] As the iconography of the scene developed, the scene expanded to include the decapitation itself, and, at its most mature, includes the moments after the execution and several

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[45] See de Rossi, "Recenti scoperte nella chiesa alle Acque Salvie dedicata alla memoria del martiro dell'apostolo Paolo," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (February 1869), pp. 83–92; Matilda Webb, The *Churches and Catacombs of Early Christian Rome* (Brighton, 2001), pp. 217–219; Joan Barclay Lloyd, *Ss. Vincenzo e Anastasio at Tre Fontane near Rome* (Richmond, Virginia, 2006), pp. 5–7.

[46] Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vatic. 4265 [this is the shelfmark given in Parthey, but because he does not give a complete Vatican Library shelfmark, it is unclear which specific manuscript is intended]. See Gustavus Parthey, *Mirabilia Romae e codicibus Vaticanis emendata* (Berlin, 1869), xiii and 12. Also Francis Morgan Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome or a Picture of the Golden City* (London, 1889), p. 30, and Étienne Ursine Bouzique, *The History of Christianity* (London, 1875), II:207.

[47] *Acta Sanctorum*, June vol. VII:33C (Antwerp, 1717). The three fountains at the site, originally open-air, were capped in 1950 when it was discovered that pollutants in the water made it unpalatable.

[48] See Eleen, p. 9 and figs. 14 and 29.

[49] <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=o8100619&E=6&I=100292&M=imageseule> and <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore&O=07839429&E=1&I=68071&M=imageseule> [accessed 23 March 2009].

post-mortem apparitions. The imagery of the three fountains begins to appear in depictions of Paul's martyrdom in the early fourteenth century. Giotto di Bondone's Stefaneschi Triptych (ca. 1320) at the Vatican depicts the martyrdom with what appear to be three springs rising beneath Paul's severed head, and may predate the textual reference in the Vatican manuscript.[50] The image appears in a fourteenth-century manuscript devoted to St. Dionysius, and several liturgical manuscripts use the motif in combination with the martyrdom of St. Peter in historiated initials beginning the liturgy for Sts. Peter and Paul.[51] A painting by Hans Suess von Kulmbach, painted in 1514/16 and now hanging in the Uffizi in Florence, shows the scene as well.[52] Several seventeenth-century printed illustrations of the abbey include depictions of the martyrdom, complete with the three fountains.[53] In each case, Paul kneels beneath the executioner's sword, while his severed head lies some distance away. The three springs or fountains flow between, at each spot where his head touched the ground.

In fr. 50 (f. 315v, Figure 9), the martyrdom of St. Paul is explicitly detailed. Nero stands on a hillside at the upper right, holding his sword and imperial orb, followed by a group of Romans. The executioner sheaths his sword in the center of the scene, with Paul's headless body in the foreground, his hands clasped as in prayer. The nimbed and blindfolded head lies to the right, with three small pools between, indentations left by Paul's head as it struck the ground. Each pool is labeled with a banderole reading "ibus," which makes little sense. The MH records that as it fell, Paul's head spoke the name of Jesus. There is a macron over the word "ibus" in each banderole, implying that the word is an abbreviation. It seems likely therefore that the intent is "Ih[es]us"—in this Gothic script, [h] closely resembles [b], and if the artist were working from a similar exemplar, he could easily have misread the word on his exemplar's banderole. In addition, the MH records that milk and blood issued from the Saint's body, illustrated here by streams of white and red pouring from his neck. The *Miroir Historial* does not describe the legend of the three fountains—

[50] <http://mv.vatican.va/3_EN/pages/x-Schede/PINs/PINs_Sala02_03_02_010.html> [accessed 25 March 2009].

[51] BnF Fr. 2091, f. 64v; Avignon, Bibl. Municipale Ms 138 (f. 245, a fourteenth-century missal); Clermont-Ferrant, Bibl. Municipale Ms 69 (f. 478v, a fifteenth-century Roman breviary). See also Mâle, p. 116.

[52] <http://www.virtualuffizi.com/uffizi1/Uffizi_Pictures.asp?Contatore=186> [accessed 25 March 2009].

[53] Lloyd, figs. 71 and 76.

Figure 9. *Miroir Historial* X:xix: The Martyrdom of St. Paul; St. Paul appearing to Nero (upper left) (fr. 50, f. 315v)

the martyrdom of Paul in the text centers instead on the Veil of Plautilla, a story only vaguely referenced in the miniature:

> Si comme ilz sen alloient a la porte de la cite une tresnoble matrosne luy vint a lencontre qui avoit nom Plantille et honnoroit la religion de dieu et aymoit fermementes apostres et commenca a ploret et soy commandes es prieres de lapostre A la quelle Pol dist Vaten Plantille fille de salut pardurable. Preste moy le drap dequoy tu te coeuvres ton chef et ta teste ung petit. Et me attendz icy tant que ie retourne a toy et que ie te rende ce que tu me prestes. Je lyeray mes yeulx en maniere de suaire pour toy . . . Ces choses

> dictes il vint au lieu de sa passion et sestendit longuement devers orient les mains au ciel a grans pleurs et adora en hebreu et rendit graces a dieu et apres salua ses freres et les beneist et se lya les yeulx du drap Plantille et sagenouilla en terre et estendit le col et le martyreut leva son bras et fecit a grant vertu et couppa le col et puis quil fut couppe il nomma en hebreu le nom de Jesuchrist a clere voix et tantost yssit de son corps endes de laict et sang apres. (MH X:xix)[54]
>
> As they were going to the gate of the city, a very noble matron encountered them who was named Plautilla, and she honored the religion of God and greatly loved the apostles. And she began to weep and ask for the prayers of the apostle. To which Paul replied, "Go, Plautilla, daughter of eternal well-being. Loan me the veil with which you cover your hair and your head for a while. And wait for me here until I return to you and give back to you that which you loaned me. I will cover my eyes in the manner of a shroud for you . . ." These things having been said, he went to the place of his passion and extended his hands to the East towards the sky for a long time with great weeping, and prayed in Hebrew and gave grace to God. And afterwards he saluted his brothers and blessed them and covered his eyes with the veil of Plautilla and kneeled on the ground and extended his neck. And he was martyred raising his arms and did it with great virtue. And he cut his neck, and when it was cut [Paul] named the name of Jesus Christ in Hebrew in a clear voice, and then afterwards milk and blood issued from his body.

The image of the three fountains was so closely associated with the martyrdom of Paul by this time that the miniaturist employed it without reference to the text he was illustrating. Even so, the veil does make a quiet appearance in the miniature on folio 315v, wrapped around Paul's eyes.

At the upper left, in a final scene, St. Paul appears to Nero in his post-mortem glory, holding a sword, his attribute, for the first time. Here he is the fully-developed soldier-apostle, appearing to Nero, the great persecutor of Christians, who also brandishes a sword:

> . . . Pol vint environ lheure de nonneles portes closes et sarrest devant Cesar et dist. Cesar veez moy cy Pol chevalier du roy pardurable qui oncques nest vaincu. Je ne suis pas mort, mais vif avecques mon dieu. Et a toy chetif il te adviendrada mal sans nombre pour ce que entre les autres choses en autres mauvaistiez tu as espanda moult du sang des iustes a fort. Et ce dit il se disparut soubdainement. (X:xx)[55]
>
> Paul came around the hour of nones when the gates close and stopped before Caesar and said, "Caesar, look at me, I am Paul, the knight of the eternal God who will never be vanquished. I am not dead, but I live with

[54] MH 1531 II:43.
[55] MH 1531 II:43v.

> my God. And evils without number will come to you, feeble one, because among other thing, among other wicked deeds, you have spilled much blood of the just." And having said this, he suddenly disappeared.

The sword, originally put in his hands as a symbol of his execution, here identifies Paul as a soldier of God. The text makes no mention of a sword, but Paul's use of the term "knight" to describe himself clearly warrants his visualization as an armed soldier of God. From the thirteenth century, the association of a sword with Pauline imagery led to an affiliation of Paul with crusaders, knights, and the militant arm of the Church, a connection that is made explicitly when this miniature is "read" along with the text it accompanies. As Eugen Rosenstock-Huessey argues, "the papacy popularized Paul's militancy to symbolize its policy of combining secular and spiritual power," a contrast made all the more evident by the common juxtaposition of Paul's martial sword with Peter's spiritual key.[56]

In seventeen miniatures scattered non-sequentially throughout the manuscript, the artist of BnF Français 50 has unintentionally created a near-complete cycle of the life and works of St. Paul. The narrative imagery preserved in these miniatures demonstrates the internalization of an iconographic typology developed over the course of a millennium. While some elements, such as the beating of St. Paul alongside Thecla, were drawn from the text they illustrate rather than the original textual source, others were so deeply ingrained in the tradition that they were included without reference to the text they illustrate. St. Paul's horse, the miracle at sea, the Three Fountains, and Paul armed with a sword at his appearance to Nero, all represent iconographic traditions that appear in the manuscript independently of the text. Whether incorporated from the artist's own familiarity with other sources or inherited from artistic exemplars, they are heir to the same lengthy tradition that demanded the standardized appearance of St. Paul, whose bearded face and bald pate identify him in the fifteenth century as readily as they did a thousand years before.

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[56] Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. *Out of Revolution* (New York, 1938), pp. 535–7. See also Eleen, p. 39 and Mâle, p. 113.

THE APOSTLE PAUL IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN

Valerie Heuchan

The Apostle Paul has always been an important figure for Christians, seemingly from Christianity's earliest days in the first century AD. The preservation, imitation and canonization of his epistles show that he quickly became a central figure in the movement. Following Paul's canonical letters, apocryphal writings emerged relating his life and death, which further contributed to the popularity and mystique of the figure of the Apostle Paul in subsequent centuries. In Anglo-Saxon England, as in other medieval cultures, the Apostle Paul and his writings, as well as apocryphal sources about him, formed an important source for Christian doctrine and Paul as a Christian figure functioned as an inspiration in many ways. This paper examines some of the various references in Anglo-Saxon literature (both Latin and Old English) to Paul himself, his letters, and apocryphal sources concerning him, seeking to understand in what ways the Apostle Paul figured in the minds and imaginations of Anglo-Saxon writers and how he and his works may have influenced Anglo-Saxon writing and thinking.

There is a surprisingly small amount of secondary work available on the figure of Paul and his writings in Anglo-Saxon England and works of a general nature on the subject are nonexistent. Two volumes, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* by Beryl Smalley,[1] and a collection of essays entitled *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*,[2] address the study of the Bible in the medieval period in a general way; however, they do not address the study of Pauline works directly. In addition, there are two books pertaining to Anglo-Saxon England, *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials* by Minnie Cate Morrell and Albert S. Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*.[3] Morrell's work describes manuscripts, editions and glosses of the Old Testament, the Psalms and the Gospels in

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[1] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1983).

[2] Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards, *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, Medieval Church Studies 3 (Turnhout, 2003).

[3] Minnie Cate Morrell, *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials* (Knoxville, 1965); Albert S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (London, 1898).

some detail but includes nothing on the Pauline letters, since they were not translated into Old English, except incidentally when individual verses or verse fragments were quoted within another text. For these fragmentary translations, Cook's *Biblical Quotations* is a good resource, for it gathers all of the Old English translations of biblical quotations organized by Old English authors. It is, however, quite out of date and cannot therefore be relied on as either definitive or complete.[4] The few studies which do discuss the use of works by or about Paul in Anglo-Saxon literature typically deal with isolated references and examine them only incidentally. As a consequence, this study will consist largely in an examination of various primary authors, addressing any secondary sources as they become relevant.

References to the Apostle Paul or his letters appear in all varieties of Anglo-Saxon writing, including homilies, saints' lives, poetry, philosophical works, letters, laws, charters, charms, prayers, litanies and hymns. Because of the wide range of the sources as well as their volume, I have focused on certain authors and texts which, based on my reading and interests, I believe to be the most fruitful and intriguing.

First, Anglo-Saxon authors, as virtually all medieval authors, relied on the Pauline letters as a source of proof texts for their writings. *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* lists uses of all the Pauline letters, and they are found in the works of a long list of Anglo-Saxon authors, including Ælfric, Æthelbald, Alcuin, Alfred, Asser, Bede, Boniface, Byrhtferth, Byrhthelm, Cynewulf, Goscelin, Lull, Stephen of Ripon, Waerferth and Wulfstan of York.[5] While medieval biblical commentary was largely allegorical in nature, the Pauline epistles, as Smalley notes, practical, circumstantial and exhortational in their original intent, lent themselves more to straightforward theological teaching than did most other books of the Bible.[6] Thus homiletic works in particular frequently utilize a Pauline quotation to buttress their points, often quoting Paul by name. The author seldom cites the exact location of the source for his quotation, though, and it is frequently unclear whether he is quoting it from memory or has the work in front of him. It is often very difficult to tell whether a text contains a direct biblical quotation, a biblical allusion or merely biblically-flavored language, and this is further complicated by not knowing which version

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[4] J.E. Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon: on Sources and Disseminations," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 58 (1972), 94.

[5] http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/.

[6] Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 18.

of the Bible an author might have been using, the Vulgate or an Old Latin version. Frequently, the Anglo-Saxon author was working not directly from the Bible itself, but from a Latin source, another commentator or homilist, in whose work the quotation was embedded. Instances in which the Anglo-Saxon author likely adapted his source or added a new reference to Paul are particularly useful in understanding how Paul and his works were viewed. On the other hand, it is extremely important not to draw any significant conclusions when the author is simply quoting from his source; unfortunately it is often very difficult to tell which case one is dealing with. Even in cases where we do not have an apparent source for a particular reference, the medieval author may have. The discussion of these quotations is therefore fraught with difficulties and potential for misinterpretation. We must do our best, however, with the extant sources, to sift through the material in an attempt to understand the various ways in which the Apostle Paul appeared in Anglo-Saxon literature.

1. *Paul and his Epistles in Anglo-Saxon Literature*

The seventh- and eighth-century monk and writer Bede's *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* and his *Homilies on the Gospels* may serve as examples of an author using individual verses from the Pauline epistles as proof texts. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst's two volume translation of Bede's *Homilies on the Gospels* lists a total of 229 references to Paul's letters, with each letter represented at least once, and 1 Corinthians as many as forty-nine times.[7] Martin's translation of Bede's *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* lists sixty-one references to Paul's letters.[8] In Bede's homily 1.15, for example, Bede writes, quoting Rom. 5:5:

> The Lord baptizes in the Holy Spirit when, through the inspiration of the same Spirit, he enkindles the hearts of his faithful ones with the fervour of his charity or of fraternal charity. For it says, "the charity of God is poured out in your hearts through the Holy Spirit who has been given to us".[9]

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[7] Bede the Venerable, *Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols., Cistercian Studies 110 and 111, trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst (Kalamazoo, 1991), pp. 287–89.

[8] Bede the Venerable, *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, CS 117, trans. Lawrence T. Martin (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 204–06.

[9] (*Baptizat quoque dominus in spiritu sancto cum per adflationem eiusdem spiritus corda fidelium suorum feruore suae siue fraternae caritatis accendit; caritas enim, inquit, "Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis,"*), Bede the Venerable, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Opera Homiletica*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 122, Part 3, ed. D. Hurst (Turnhout, 1955), p. 108.

As well as utilizing Paul's letters for proof texts so extensively, Bede devotes one of his homilies, 2.22, to Peter and Paul; however, the majority of the homily is about Peter until the very end, when Bede adds a paragraph on Paul which largely focuses on his tribulations for Christ, and mentions that he wrote fourteen letters.[10] Bede also compiled a commentary on Paul's letters, composed of the sixth-century abbot Eugippius's extracts from Augustine's writings on Paul with additions of his own.[11]

Although these sorts of quotations are not necessarily very illuminating in themselves about how Anglo-Saxons viewed the Apostle Paul other than showing how important his letters were for backing up their arguments and instruction, one of the more interesting aspects of these quotations is the epithets and images they use to cite Paul as their source. These labels often indicate something about the way the author viewed Paul. Bede generally refers to Paul as the *apostolus*, and on one occasion, in homily 2.15, he speaks of him as the "excellent preacher".[12] A hymn dedicated to Peter and Paul in Bede's *Liber Hymnorum* refers to Paul as the "nurturing teacher of the nations" (*doctor almus gentium*) and the "high teacher of the nations" (*magister altus gentium*).[13] While the titles *doctor gentium* and *magister gentium* were common ones for Paul, the addition of *almus* and *altus* appears to be unique to this hymn, and demonstrates the degree to which Bede venerated the Apostle Paul.[14]

As one might expect, Aldhelm (d. 709 or 710), abbot of Malmesbury, bishop of Sherborne and famed for his very learned and complicated style of Latin writing, has several imaginative epithets for Paul. He, too, calls Paul the excellent preacher, as well as the "vessel of choice" (*vas electionis*), a title given to Paul in Acts 9.15–6 and hence another common label for him.[15] Aldhelm also calls him the "excellent competitor and teacher of the holy word" when he quotes 1 Cor 9:24 ("all run but only one receives

[10] Ibid., pp. 347–48; Bede, *Homilies*, ed. Martin, pp. 226–27.

[11] Bede the Venerable, *Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine on the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul*, Cistercian Studies 183, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, 1999).

[12] *egregius praedicator*, Bede the Venerable, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Opera Homiletica*, CCSL 122, p. 289.

[13] Hymn 9, Bede the Venerable, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Opera Homiletica* CCSL 122, Part 4, ed. J. Fraipont, pp. 428–29.

[14] According to a search on the Patrologia Latina database, http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/.

[15] Aldhelm, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Rudolf Ehwald (Berlin, 1919), p. 245. Also see *Aldhelm: The Prose Work*, eds. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren (Cambridge, 1979), p. 72 and p. 194, n. 6.

the prize");[16] the famous competitor in the spiritual arena;[17] the most celebrated proponent of the name of Christ;[18] and the apostolic trumpet.[19] Paul and his letters actually play a fairly important role in Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate*, for the orthodox teaching on virginity came from 1 Cor 7 and this text formed the basis for Aldhelm's doctrine on the subject.[20] Aldhelm develops Paul's image of the champion of Christ to apply to the nuns at Barking, whom he likens to talented athletes. Paul is also cited amongst Aldhelm's model virgins. In the citation, Aldhelm refers, alluding to 2 Cor 11.25, to Paul having "spent twenty-four hours unharmed on the deep bottom of the sea and received on five occasions forty stripes save one,"[21] as well as to his traversing of the third heaven, referring to 2 Cor 12.2–4. Here, too, he places his famous condemnation of the *Revelatio Pauli*, saying that it is forbidden because it is outside of the canon.[22] Aldhelm's *Carmen De Virginitate*, too, cites Paul as an exemplary virgin, this time focusing on his former life as a persecutor of Christians, his conversion, his blindness and subsequent illumination, and his transformation to become "the famous instructor of the world and teacher converting the barbarian masses to the sacred doctrines".[23]

While for Aldhelm Paul was an exemplary virgin and spiritual athlete, the Boniface Correspondence shows that the seventh- and eighth-century missionary to Germany Boniface identified his own role as a missionary with that of the Apostle Paul. First, of course, they were both missionaries who had left their homeland to convert "pagans". Pope Gregory II commissioned Boniface to preach in imitation of the Apostles so that, "you may be able to say with the apostle, 'I have struggled, I have run the course, I have preserved the faith'" quoting 2 Tim. 4.7.[24] Paul's image became additionally appealing to Boniface because Paul's letters are filled with references to his own trials at sea, a favorite theme of Boniface's. In letter number 34 in Tangl's edition (Tangl 34), for example, Boniface

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[16] (*egregius agonista et divini sermonis dogmatista*), Aldhelm, *Opera*, p. 230.
[17] (*famosus spiritalis palestrae agonitheta*), ibid., p. 75.
[18] (*celeberrimus ille nominis Christi gerulus*), ibid., p. 231.
[19] (*apostolica buccina*), ibid., p. 482.
[20] Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm, The Prose Works*, p. 53.
[21] Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, p. 81 and p. 195, n. 13.
[22] Aldhelm, *Opera*, p. 256.
[23] (*egregius doctor mundique magister barbara convertens doctrinis agmina sacris*), ibid., p. 374.
[24] (*Possis cum apostolo dicere, 'certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi'*), M. Tangl, ed. *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Selectae 1 (Berlin, 1916), p. 42.

writes to Abbot Duddo, a friend and former student, requesting support for "an old man worn out by the German sea's battering tempests all around".[25] The particular support he requests is another book of the Apostle Paul to supplement the one he already has on 1 Corinthians and Romans. He writes to Bishop Daniel of Winchester seeking comfort because he is experiencing, "fighting without and fears within, but even fighting within at the same time as fears",[26] referring to 2 Cor 7:5. In their own trials, Boniface and his correspondents seem to have found comfort by bringing to mind their identification with Paul in his role as a missionary and letter-writer, encouraging and supporting one another through letters and prayer requests in the words of the Apostle Paul. According to Tangl's edition, Paul's letters were quoted at least sixty times in the Boniface Correspondence, and Andy Orchard notes that they were Boniface's favorite mine for composing prayer requests in his evangelizing mission.[27] Two of his favorite quotations were Ephesians 6:19, "Pray . . . for me that utterance may be given me in opening my mouth" (Tangl 30, 31 and 76), and 1 Timothy 2:4, "God . . . desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (Tangl 38, 46, and 65). In several of his letters, especially the more personal ones, Boniface uses a formula in his prayer requests which consists of the request for prayer (e.g. "I beseech that you deign to pray for me")[28] followed by a description of his trials, often using sea imagery (e.g. because of my sins I am shaken by the driving storms of a perilous sea)[29] and then specifies the content of the requested prayer (usually to pray for the success of his mission) often using a Pauline quotation. In letter 30 to Eadburga, for example, he requests her to pray that God would reveal the "word in the opening of my mouth", quoting Eph. 6:19 and adds "so that the gospel of the glory of Christ may run and be made famous among the Gentiles" (2 Thes 3:1), another favorite verse of Boniface's.[30] He uses a similar prayer formula ending with a Pauline citation in Tangl 31, 32, 38, 46, 65 and 67. This pattern demonstrates to what

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[25] (*senis Germanici maris tempestatibus undique quassantibus fatigati*), M. Tangl, ed. ibid., pp. 58–59.

[26] (*foris pugne et intus timores, sed etiam intus pugnae simul cum timore*), M. Tangl, ed., ibid., p. 129.

[27] Andy Orchard. "Old Sources, New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface." *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001), 22.

[28] (*obsecro ut pro me orare digneris*), M. Tangl, ed. *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, p. 54.

[29] (*quia peccatis meis exigentibus periculosi maris tempestatibus quatior*), ibid., p. 54.

[30] (*verbum in apertione oris mei, ut currat et clarificetur inter gentes evangelium gloriae Christi*), ibid., p. 54.

extent Boniface viewed himself as a second Paul, and how he seemed to derive comfort and encouragement from Paul's letters. In Tangl 9 Boniface writes to young Nithard:[31]

> For finally, what is more sensibly possessed by elderly men than a knowledge of the holy scriptures? Which, governing the ship of our soul, without any shipwreck in a dangerous storm, leads it away to the shores of the most pleasant paradise and to the perpetual joys of the supernal angels.

This comparison of the soul to a vessel led by scripture brings to mind a classical theme, that of a composition as a nautical voyage. Curtius points out that this theme was used by Virgil and Horace and it was widely taken up by medieval authors, such as Fortunatus and Aldhelm.[32] Miranda Wilcox also refers to the nautical theme in patristic theology, pointing out that Ambrose, for example, compared the soul of the Christian to a ship voyaging toward spiritual illumination.[33] Boniface may have had this metaphor in mind when composing the letter to Nithard, for he viewed himself as a sailor, in danger on the German sea, and at the same time he is in fact engaged in the act of composition. Knowledge of the Scriptures, compositions in themselves, functions for Boniface as a guide for the vessel of his soul. Boniface's identification with Paul as a missionary and his knowledge of Paul's letters in particular seemed to help him navigate what he viewed as the perilous sea of his mission.

The late ninth-century king of Wessex, Alfred, although perhaps best known for his political and legal achievements, is also renowned for his educational initiatives and translations of Latin texts into Old English. One of these is his version of Augustine's *Soliloquies*. His translation of this text provides yet another example of an author who was in part inspired by the Pauline epistles and the figure of the Apostle Paul.[34] In Book One of the *Soliloquies*, following a metaphorical addition to Augustine's text in which Alfred compares faith, hope and charity, (*geleafa, tohopa* and

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[31] (*Quid a senibus demum sobrius possidetur quam scientia sanctarum scripturarum? Que sine ullo naufragio periculose tempestatis navem anime nostrae gubernans deducet ad amoenissimi litus paradisi et ad perpetua supernorum gaudia angelorum*), ibid., p. 6.

[32] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask, (Princeton, 1953) pp. 128–9.

[33] Miranda Wilcox, "Alfred's epistemological metaphors: *eagan modes* and *scip modes*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006), 184.

[34] For a more detailed discussion of Alfred and Paul see Valerie Heuchan, "God's Co-Workers and Powerful Tools: A Study of the Sources of Alfred's Building Metaphor in his Old English Translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*," *Notes and Queries*, 54 (2007), 1–11.

lufu) (1. Cor 13:13) to anchors which sustain the ship of the mind,[35] Alfred writes that God, "works with us just as with powerful tools"[36] and then quotes part of 1 Corinthians 3:9, "just as it is written that God is a fellow-worker with each one doing good.[37] The remainder of 1 Corinthians 3:9 refers to Christians not only as coworkers with God, but also as God's field and his building, and verses 9–14 go on to develop a building metaphor, in which Paul is a "wise architect" (*sapiens architectus*) who has laid a foundation upon which others must build. Alfred introduced his translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies* with a preface in which he develops a striking building metaphor[38] which exhibits a number of parallels with 1 Corinthians 3. Alfred opens the Preface by comparing himself to a builder capable of working with many different tools, calling to mind the powerful tools (*gewealdnum tolum*) with which God works in Alfred's reference to 1 Corinthians 3:9. Alfred is describing a skilled builder who not only gathers the materials and the tools, but knows how to design the building and construct it, reminiscent of Paul's description of himself as a wise architect (1 Cor 3:10). Paul follows his description of himself as a wise architect by saying that others will build upon his foundation, and warns, "But let each person take care how he builds upon [the foundation]".[39] Similarly, Alfred advises each person who has many wagons (in other words each person who is capable of doing so) to follow his example by gathering the best building materials and "to weave many an elegant wall, and to set up many a splendid house and to build a fair town".[40] Paul proceeds in 1 Corinthians 3:12–13 to advise each builder that his work will be dependent on the type of building material he has chosen. The work of those who choose the best materials (gold, silver and precious stones) will survive a test of fire, representing the test of fire at Judgment Day. Likewise, Alfred describes the care with which he chose the finest wood (*wlitegostan treowo*) and advises others to collect fine lengths (*fergum gerdum*) for building. Paul says that those who have built with the best materials and

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[35] Alfred, *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, ed. Thomas A Carnicelli (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 67–68.

[36] ([*wyrcð*] *myd us swa swa myd sumum gewealdnum tolum*), ibid., pp. 68–69.

[37] (*swa swa hyt awriten ys þæt ælcum welwyrcendum god myd beo mydwyrhta*), ibid., p. 69.

[38] Ibid., p. 47.

[39] (*unusquisque autem videat quomodo superaedificet* [the foundation]) 1 Cor 3.10, Robert Weber, ed., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 1772.

[40] (*windan manigne smicerne wah, and manig ænlic hus settan and fegerne tun timbrian*), Alfred, *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, p. 47.

whose structures therefore survive at Judgment Day, will receive a reward (*mercedem*) (1 Cor 3:14). Alfred, likewise, goes on to explain that, having gathered the best wood (the teachings of the Fathers) he will be able to use the "buildings" constructed from these writings to illuminate his eyes so that he can see the road to the eternal home, the eternal glory and the eternal rest; in other words, so that he can receive the promised reward.[41] 1 Corinthians 3.9–14 and Alfred's Preface both describe a skilled builder who collects the best materials and builds carefully, advising others to do the same, so that their work will endure and earn for them an eternal reward. These parallels, along with Alfred's reference to Paul's words from 1 Corinthians 3:9, suggest that 1 Corinthians 3:9–14 was a source for Alfred's building metaphor in his Preface to the Old English *Soliloquies*.

While for Aldhelm Paul functioned as an exemplary virgin and competitor for Christ, Boniface looked to Paul as an exemplary missionary and exile, and Alfred was inspired by Paul as a *sapiens architectus*, Ælfric's favorite role for Paul seems to have been the "teacher of the nations" (*ðeoda lareow*). Ælfric, the late tenth-century monk, priest and eventually abbot of Eynsham who has been called "his country's foremost teacher",[42] is thought to have been a teacher of Old English and Latin, instructing boys in the monastery. His writings show that his conception of the role of a teacher both for himself and for others was broader than we generally conceive of it. Clemoes comments that Ælfric was carrying out a "plan to provide the means of religious education in the vernacular".[43] Outside of Ælfric's grammatical works, almost every occurrence of the term *lareow* (teacher) in his writings refers not to a teacher of boys in school, but what we would call in modern English a preacher, teaching Christian doctrine. The list of teachers Ælfric names comprises many famous figures in Christian history, beginning with Christ himself. The idea of Christ as a teacher is, of course, drawn from the Gospels, where the disciples (from *discipulus*, student) call Jesus *Rabbi*, or in Greek *didaskalos*, both of which titles we would translate as teacher, and which are commonly rendered as *magister* in Latin.[44] Christ in turn chose his disciples, "and afterwards

[41] Ibid., pp. 47–48.

[42] Peter Clemoes, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), p. 246.

[43] Clemoes, "Chronology", p. 213.

[44] For example, Matt. 22:36 and John 20:16.

taught them and established them as teachers".[45] The apostles are also named as teachers, who were "chosen and established as teachers for all mankind".[46] Paul is the *ðeoda lareow*, the "teacher of the gentiles",[47] a title Ælfric uses to refer to Paul sixteen times in his writings and *lareow* on its own at least ten more times.[48] As a *lareow*, a teacher whose duty it is to preach the Christian doctrine to his nation, a figure such as the Apostle Paul, "the teacher of the nations" was an important role model for Ælfric. Paul's duty was to spread Christian teaching to all people in the earliest days of the Church. Ælfric intends to make his own teaching accessible to all, just as Paul did by preaching to all nations. Ælfric wants to make sure that no one has the opportunity to say that Christian teaching was not available to them, as he makes clear in the preface to the first series of his homilies when he declares:[49]

> Our Lord commanded his disciples that they must instruct and teach all those things which he himself taught; but of those there are now too few who will teach well and set a good example. Because of such commands it seemed to me that I should not be innocent before God if I would not make known to others either through speech or writing the truth of the gospel which he himself taught, and afterwards the holy teachers revealed.

Paul is called a *lareow* or *ðeoda lareow* in Ælfric's writings, far more than any other individually named teacher. Of course, Ælfric's name for Paul is based on biblical tradition since this title is the way in which Paul referred to himself, for example in 2 Tm 1:11 where he identified himself as a teacher of the nations (*magister gentium*). Just like the Latin word *gens*, the Old English word *ðeod* can mean people, nation or more specifically gentiles. It is possible that in his identification with Paul, Ælfric is thinking of the word *ðeod* in the more general sense of "nations" or "people". Just as Paul is the teacher of the nations, so Ælfric is the teacher of his nation, of

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[45] (*and hi siþþan gelærde and to lareowum gesette*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, Vol. 1, p. 130.

[46] (*gecorene and gesette lareowas eallum mancynne*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the Second Series Text*, ed. Malcolm Godden (Oxford, 1979), p. 24.

[47] Ibid., p. 35.

[48] Antonette diPaolo Healey, ed., *Dictionary of Old English* Web Corpus, www.doe.utoronto.ca.

[49] (*Ure Drihten bebead his discipulum þæt hi sceoldon læran and tæcan eallum þa ðing þe he sylf him tæhte; ac þæra is nu to lyt ðe wile wel tæcan and wel bysnian . . . For swylcum bebodum wearð me geðuht ðæt ic nære unscyldig wið God, gif ic nolde oðrum mannum cyðan, oððe þurh tungan oððe þurh gewritu, þa godspellican soþfæstnysse þe he sylf gecwæð, and eft helgum lareowum onwreah Ælfric*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series Text*, ed. Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Series s.s. 17 (Oxford, 1997), p. 176.

his people. Paul's teachings, addressed to gentiles trying to adopt a Christian lifestyle, are the examples for Ælfric's laymen, just as Paul is a model teacher for Ælfric. As Paul is the teacher of the nations, so Ælfric is the teacher of his nation, of his people. Thus when Ælfric addresses "lay men" (*læwede menn*) in his second series Rogationtide Monday homily,[50] he bases his exhortations to the different segments of society on Paul's teachings to the same groups of people. Ælfric's address to fathers and children, for example, is drawn from Ephesians 6:1–4, and is introduced by "the teacher of the nations taught the children of men . . ."[51] His instructions for the rich are similarly introduced and here the teaching is drawn from 1 Tm 6:7–19. Ælfric refers to Paul's teaching six times in this homily, each time giving instruction to a different segment of lay society. Paul's teachings, addressed to the gentiles trying to adopt a Christian lifestyle, are the examples for Ælfric's laymen, just as Paul is a model teacher for Ælfric. Ælfric's imitation of Paul could also have accounted in part for his inspiration to use the vernacular for preaching, for just as Paul "translated", in the literal sense of carrying across, the Jewish religion of Christianity to the Gentiles, thus crossing the cultural divide, so Ælfric translated Christian teaching from the remote and obscure Latin language to Old English for his nation. Ælfric remarks in several places that he will be held accountable before God if he, who has the ability, does not teach the laity and instruct other teachers in the faith.

This mandate is especially apparent in his homily *De Populo Israhel*. In this homily recounting the biblical journey of the Jews in the wilderness, Ælfric uses the example of Moses' and Aaron's roles as God's representatives on earth to reiterate that in Anglo-Saxon England bishops and priests are the ministers of God and are appointed as teachers to instruct the people of God. It is the duty of the teacher to tell the people the laws of God and the duty of the people to respect and obey the bishops and priests without reproaching them. Like the murmuring Jews who were consumed by fire for their disobedience and disrespect, "it will be very ill for him who contemptibly reproaches bishops and priests, who are the ministers of God, and who are appointed as teachers for instructing the people of God".[52] Ælfric concludes the homily by again stressing that the story of the

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[50] Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the Second Series Text*, pp. 180–89.

[51] (*Se ðeoda lareow lærde manna bearn*), ibid., p. 186.

[52] (*hit bið swyðe harmlic þam ðe huxlice tælð bisceopas and sacerdas ðe syndon Godes bydelas, and to lareowum gesette to lærenne Godes folc*), John R. Black, "Ælfric's *De Populo, Israhel*," *Allegorica* 20 (1999), p. 112.

Jews' murmuring is an example for "our bettering" (*ure beterunge*), for, he says, there are now many who say that they "do not want to listen to God's teaching lest they shall have more punishment if they know that teaching and if they do not desire to do just as the Lord commands".[53] Paraphrasing Paul's argument in Romans 1, Ælfric points out that not knowing the teaching of God is no excuse for disobedience, for the nature of God is visible to all through His creation. This warning applies to the unlearned who wish to avoid God's teaching, but Ælfric reveals that for him it also provides the justification for his own need to preach to his nation the teaching of God when he comments, "the one who has sufficient learning in his nation and can hear it without real effort, and desires not to hear it, nor to obey God, has no excuse in the eyes of the dear Lord".[54] Ælfric, of all Englishmen alive at his time, is the one with "sufficient learning in his nation." If he does not obey God and transmit his learning by teaching the laity and urging the clergy to learn and pass on the teaching as well, he will have no excuse before God. Like the Apostle Paul whose letters address particular issues troubling a certain congregation, Ælfric has been prompted by the lack of Christian teaching in his nation and by the excuses some were making so that they could ignore what little teaching there was, to become a *lareow* and to encourage other priests and bishops to do the same. Ælfric makes it his mission to provide to all the true teaching so they can have no excuse by saying that they cannot understand the "gewrit" (Scripture).[55] In order to make teaching available to all he had to preach and use the vernacular, so that no one could make the excuse that they did not know Latin. Not only did he write in the vernacular, but he deliberately chose a brief and uncomplicated style to relate his message. Ælfric states in the Latin preface to the first series of Catholic Homilies that his writing is "for the edification of the simple . . . and therefore we have not used obscure words but simple English".[56] In the second series Latin preface he writes:[57]

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[53] (*nellað Godes lare gehyran, ðelæste hi sceolon habban maran wita gif he witon ða lare and gif hi nellað don swa swa Drihten bebyt*), ibid., p. 118.

[54] *Se man þe hæfð lare on his leodscype genoge, and mæg ða gehyran butan micclum geswince, and nele hi gehyran, ne Gode gehyrsumian, næfð he nane beladunge wið ðone leofan Drihten*), ibid., p. 118.

[55] Ibid., 118.

[56] (*ob aedificationem simplicium . . . ideoque nec obscura posuimus verba, sed simplicem Anglicam*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the First Series Text*, Latin preface, p. 173.

[57] (*festinavimus hunc sequentem librum . . . interpretare, non garrula verbositate, aut ignotis sermonibus, sed puris et apertis verbis linguae huius gentis, cupientes plus prodesse auditoribus simplici locutione quam laudari artificiosi sermonis compositione, quam*

> We have hurried to translate the following book, not with garrulous verbosity, or with unknown speeches, but with pure and clear words of the language of this people, desiring rather to be useful to the hearers than to be praised in the composition of an artificial speech, which our simplicity has not at all learned.

Nichols points out that here Ælfric is using technical rhetorical terms (*utilitatem, garrula verbositate, obscura verba, ignotis sermonibus, puris et apertis verbis*) to explain the style he has chosen to use.[58] His goal is not to impress the reader with his own intellectual and rhetorical capabilities, but to make the teaching of God clear and understandable to all. Although this sounds eminently sensible and obvious to modern ears, it was a radical departure from the Anglo-Latin hermeneutic style popularized especially by Aldhelm, which was the style Ælfric would likely have been trained in while at Æthelwold's school at Winchester. Ælfric, however, extended the need for clarity to his Latin writings as well, perhaps because of his sense of mission as a teacher who was sensitive to the poor state of Latin learning in his nation.[59] If he hoped to reach bishops and priests as well as the laity, he needed to write in a style they could understand. His *Letter to the monks of Eynsham*, for example, written in Latin, is addressed to monks who would probably not have been experts in the hermeneutic style.[60] Bullough points out that Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Colloquy* reflect a genuine concern for his pupils and a desire that they acquire a real fluency in Latin and that this concern "reflects his own unease with Latin, which he always felt to be an alien language, mastered only with difficulty and anguish."[61] This seems surprising in one renowned as a grammarian and teacher, but underlines just how difficult it would have been for Anglo-Saxons to write or even to understand Latin and why Ælfric felt it was so important for him to write in the vernacular if he was to fulfill his mission as a teacher for his nation.

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nequauqam didicit nostra simplicitas), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, The Second Series Text*, p. 1.

[58] Ann Eljenholm Nichols, "Ælfric and the Brief Style," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 70:1 (1971), 3.

[59] See for example the Old English preface to Ælfric's Grammar in Ælfric, *Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Julius Zupitza (Berlin, 1880), p. 3.

[60] Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, CSASE 24, (Cambridge, 1998), p. 111.

[61] D. A. Bullough, "The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *utriusque linguae*," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo*, 19 (1972), 493.

Ælfric's high opinion of Paul is also demonstrated by his homily dedicated to the Apostle Paul, Catholic Homily 1.27. The homily consists largely of an outline of Paul's conversion and ministry. According to Godden the sources of the homily are elusive, but it is clear that it is distinctly hagiographic in content and tone[62] and Ælfric takes pains to stress that although Paul was involved in persecuting Christians prior to his conversion, he never killed anyone himself; he persecuted Christians not with hate, as the Jews did, but in order to defend the old law. This defense has no known parallel and is in fact contrary to Augustine's portrayal of Paul as particularly savage prior to his conversion.[63] Ælfric also calls Paul the chosen champion[64] and the champion of God,[65] labels Ælfric typically applied to the heroes of his saints' lives.

From his writings a picture emerges of Ælfric as a teacher whose goal was to teach Christian knowledge and action to the laity and to increase Latin knowledge for the clergy. The clergy would then be able to impart their increased knowledge to their own congregations for the salvation of the souls of all. Ælfric's homilies show that as a *lareow*, a teacher imparting Christian doctrine, one of Ælfric's role models was the Apostle Paul, whom he is consciously imitating in his role as a teacher.

2. *Pauline Apocryphal Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*

In addition to uses of the Pauline epistles in Anglo-Saxon literature, an important area of consideration about Paul in Anglo-Saxon England is apocryphal sources and traditions. A survey of the references to Paul in Anglo-Saxon literature reveals that outside of quotations from Paul's letters, he appears most frequently together with Peter: Peter and Paul, "the ultimate Roman saints."[66] Their pairing reflects the popularity of the tradition that Peter and Paul had been martyred on the same day in Rome under Nero. The most detailed account of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul comes from the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*

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[62] Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, Early English Text Society ss.18. (Oxford, 2000), pp. 221–22.

[63] Ibid., p. 224.

[64] (*gecorenan cempan*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the First Series Text*, p. 401.

[65] (*Godes cempan*), ibid., p. 401.

[66] Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, (New York, 2001), p. 172.

(*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, [henceforth *BHL*] 6657)[67] which describes at length Peter and Paul's confrontation with Simon Magus before the Emperor Nero at Rome, culminating first in Simon's death, and then in the martyrdom of Peter and Paul on the same day. The story also appears in other Latin versions, namely, using Lipsius and Bonnet's titles, the Latin *Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (brevior, *BHL* 6667), the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (*BHL* 6656), and the *Rescriptum Marcelli* (*BHL* 6060). The traditions surrounding Peter and Paul's martyrdom seem to have been popular among Anglo-Saxon authors. Unlike the canonical letters, none of which were translated as a unit into Old English, translations of often sizeable passages of the passion of Peter and Paul appear in several Anglo-Saxon texts, both in Latin and Old English.

Aideen O'Leary argues that *BHL* 6657 had arrived in Anglo-Saxon England as part of a collection of apostolic apocrypha by about the year 700. She argues that in his *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*, Bede displays his familiarity with such a collection when he writes, "he who wrote the aforementioned passions of the apostles most certainly has revealed that he has written uncertain and false things".[68] She points out that Aldhelm, too, made use of apostolic *passiones* in his fourth *Carmen Ecclesiasticum* and *De Virginitate*.[69] In particular, the poem on Peter in his *Carmen Ecclesiasticum IV.1* refers to Peter's conquest of Simon Magus.[70] O'Leary suggests that Bede's hymn on Peter and Paul, along with his hymns for Andrew and John the Baptist, also used details from a collection of apostolic *passiones*.[71] It is clear that both Aldhelm and Bede were aware of the traditions about Peter and Simon Magus (although not necessarily involving Paul), suggesting that these traditions were circulating in some form, whether oral or written, by 700 AD.

The Old English Martyrology (approximately ninth-century) includes an entry for Peter and Paul for June 29, which states that they were both killed by Nero in Rome, Peter on the cross and Paul by the sword. Again,

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[67] R . A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, eds, *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. 1 (Darmstadt, 1959), pp. 119–77.

[68] (*ille qui praefatas apostolorum passiones scripsit ipse se certissime incerta et falsa scripsisse prodiderit*), M. L. W. Laistner, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939), *Retractio* I.13, p. 96.

O'Leary, Aideen. "Apostolic *Passiones* in Early Anglo-Saxon England." In *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg, (Cambridge, 2003), p. 105.

[69] O'Leary, "Apostolic Passiones," pp. 105 and 107.

[70] Aldhelm, *Opera*, p. 20.

[71] O'Leary, "Apostolic Passiones," p. 114.

there is no mention of Simon Magus.[72] The lack of details in the reference, however, does not necessitate the use of an apocryphal passion account. It is quite possible that the author was merely relating a commonly known oral tradition about Peter and Paul, gleaned, perhaps, from Jerome's or Isidore's accounts of the apostles.[73]

Peter and Paul are also paired in Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles*. O'Leary comments that Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles* provides "surprisingly meaty" narratives about the Apostles,[74] although for Paul and Peter it only says that they were deprived of life by Nero in Rome. Again Peter and Paul are a team; Paul does not appear alone. Cross has argued that Cynewulf gained his information for the poem from full accounts of the apostles,[75] although as yet it seems that no one has been able to identify the particular collection which he used.[76] Although the details are so slim for Peter and Paul, Cross argues that the pairing of the two apostles hints at the use of a Marcellus account (e.g. *BHL* 6657).[77] This suggestion denies, however, the possibility that there was enough of an oral tradition in Anglo-Saxon England in Cynewulf's time to make their pairing and simultaneous martyrdom common knowledge.

While it is difficult if not impossible to identify the sources and origin of the tradition of Peter and Paul's martyrdom at Rome and their dealings with Simon Magus, it is important to note that traditions pairing them and describing their martyrdom were known in Anglo-Saxon England by the seventh century and seemed to be quite popular. While we cannot be sure about the sources for the earlier texts about Peter and Paul, there are several tenth- and eleventh-century texts for which we can be fairly certain that the ultimate source was indeed *BHL* 6657 either in entirety or in an abbreviated or derivative version. These include Blickling Homily 15; two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, namely 1.26 and 2.19; a small section of Ælfric's *De Auguriis*; an interpolation into Wulfstan's homily *De*

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[72] George Herzfeld, ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, Early English Text Society 116, (London, 1900), p. 109.

[73] O'Leary, "Apostolic Passiones," pp. 108–09.

[74] O'Leary, "Apostolic Passiones," p. 119.

[75] J. E. Cross, "Cynewulf's Traditions About the Apostles in *Fates of the Apostles*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979), 163–75.

[76] J. M. McCulloh, "Did Cynewulf Use a Martyrology? Reconsidering the Sources of *The Fates of the Apostles*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000), pp. 82–3.

[77] Cross, "Cynewulf's Traditions," p. 170.

Temporibus Antichristi; and the early ninth-century Book of Cerne, which includes Peter's prayer from *BHL* 6657.[78]

Ælfric's *De Auguriis* makes the shortest reference of the six to *BHL* 6657:[79]

> Many things said the magicians through the devil's art,
> Jamnes and Jambres, even as Moses wrote,
> And they seduced Pharaoh with their deceits,
> Until he was drowned in the deep sea.
> So likewise Simon, the wily sorceror,
> Strove so long with Saint Peter, until he was cast down,
> When he desired to fly to heaven, so that he burst into four parts,
> And so that impious man departed in torment to hell.
> Many others have perished who followed sorcery,
> Even as we read in books, but their story is tedious.

Ælfric's citation of Jamnes and Mambres as examples of magicians working through the devil's art is a line from Paul's speech (in *BHL* 6657) in response to Nero's query as to why Paul has nothing to say for himself. In the Latin version, Paul cites Jamnes and Mambres as examples of evil sorcerers who caused Pharaoh to be drowned in the sea, just as Simon will cause Nero's downfall if Nero listens to him. Ælfric's inclusion of the detail that when Simon was cast down he burst into four parts is also found in *BHL* 6657.[80] It would appear as though when composing this passage, Ælfric was familiar with *BHL* 6657 or a version based on it.

The Wulfstan interpolation, as Lionarons points out, is a shortened version of the Latin, with abbreviations and differences in diction and sentence structure; some parts are omitted entirely, for example Paul's role and his teaching section. Peter and Paul's martyrdom are also not mentioned. When Simon falls, he "bursts apart", rather than breaking into four parts, as in *BHL* 6657. Lionarons also notes that the interpolation is introduced by a reference to the "magicians in the land of Egypt" who

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[78] *The Prayer Book of Ætheluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, ed. Arthur Benedict Kuypers (Cambridge, 1902), p. 158.

[79] (*Fela sædon þa dry-men þurh deofles cræft. Iamnes and mambres swa swa moyses awrat. and hi pharao forlærdon mid heora lotwrencum.oððæt he adranc on ðaere deopan sæ. Eall swa eac symon se swicola dryswa lange he wan wið petre oð þæt he wearð afylledða þa he wolde fleon to heofonum þæt he on feower tobærst and swa ferde waelhreow mid wite to helle. Fela oðre forferdon þe folgodon dry-cræfte swa swa we on bocum rædað ac heora racu is langsum*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed., W. W. Skeat (London, 1881–1900), repr. in 2 vols. 1966, Vol. 1, p. 373.

[80] Lipsius, ed., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* p. 149 and p. 167.

led many astray, presumably referring again to Jamnes and Mambres.[81] Ælfric's *De Auguriis*, too, immediately precedes the reference to Simon Magus with mention of Jamnes and Mambres and their role in leading the Egyptians astray. A close comparison of these two texts suggests the likelihood that both Aelfric in *De Auguriis* and the Wulfstan interpolator were working from the same source, perhaps even that the Wulfstan interpolator was dependent in part on *De Auguriis* here. Three elements of Aelfric's account, the comparison with Jamnes and Mambres, the death of Simon, and the information that others perished through witchcraft but their tales are too long to tell, all appear in *De Temporibus Antichristi*, and in the same order, with additional material interposed in Wulfstan. Moreover, not only is the content similar, but much of the vocabulary (seventeen elements in the ten lines of *De Auguriis* in question) is shared, indicating that the two authors were working from a common Old English, not Latin, source or, more likely, that the Wulfstan interpolator was using Ælfric's *De Auguriis* as his source for this portion of his account. Malcolm Godden lists eighteen texts by Ælfric used in Wulfstan's writings,[82] and it is arguable that this passage should be added to the list. The reference to a longer tale being read in books tells us that there was a longer version written down and available to the composer of the condensed version, and also hints at the possibility that the shared Old English source was intended to be presented orally, for example in a homily.

Ælfric's Catholic Homily 1.26,[83] dedicated to Peter and Paul, and Blickling's Homily 15[84] both contain relatively full versions of *BHL* 6657. Ælfric begins his account of the passions of Peter and Paul by commenting that he will relate their lives and deaths with a "shorter account, because their passion is set forth fully in the English language everywhere."[85] It is possible that he is referring to the version of the story in Blickling 15, for it is a much fuller account than Ælfric's, which is somewhat abbreviated. Both Blickling 15 and Ælfric's accounts omit the introductory section of

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[81] Lionarons, Joyce Tally. "Another Old English Text of the 'Passio Petri et Pauli." *Notes and Queries* n.s. 45:1 (1998), 12–14. For the Wulfstan interpolation see http://webpages.ursinus.edu/jlionarons/wulfstan/.

[82] Malcolm Godden, "The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: A Reassessment," *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, (Turnhout, 2004), p. 363.

[83] Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series Text*, ed. Clemoes, pp. 391–399.

[84] R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies with a Translation and Index of Words together with The Blickling Glosses*, Early English Text Society OS 58, 63, 73, (London, 1967), pp. 171–93.

[85] (*scortre race, for þan ðe heora þrowung is gehwær on engliscum gereorde fullice geendebyrd*), Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series Text*, ed. Clemoes, p. 391.

the *passio*, in which Paul debates the issue of circumcision with a group of Jews in Rome. Robert Faerber suggests that this is an indication that both were working from an unknown Latin source of *BHL* 6657 which omitted the first nine paragraphs of the version found in the Lipsius edition.[86] Blickling 15 includes but Ælfric leaves out a section in which Peter and Paul explain Christianity in response to Nero's rather lame but convenient question, "What is the Christ?" (*Hwaet is se Crist*?). Importantly for the topic of this paper, both accounts include a section in which Nero asks Paul, who has seemingly been standing silently and idly by while Peter has been busily engaged in verbal and magical combat with Simon, "Why do you not speak, Paul?" (*Forhwon ne sprecst þu Paulus?*). In the Latin Paul answers first with the warning to Nero that if he listens to Simon, he will be like Pharoah led astray by the magicians Jamnes and Mambres, the same line which Ælfric included in his *De Auguriis*. Interestingly, Ælfric leaves it out here. Blickling 15 includes the warning but does not mention Jamnes and Mambres by name. Both Blickling and Ælfric follow the Latin fairly closely for the rest of Paul's speech, which consists of an outline of his social teaching towards various segments of society: the rich, middle-class, poor, children, husbands, wives, slaves and masters. Each address appears to be based, albeit in some cases rather loosely, on a reference to one of Paul's letters.[87] The social teaching seems oddly out of place in the context of a battle of magical powers, but seems to be trying to reflect the prototypical image of Paul as a teacher of Christian behavior, including Pauline social teaching.

We can tell that Ælfric saw didactic value in the passage outlining Paul's teaching, for, as discussed above, he used it again in Catholic Homily 2.19,[88] the Rogationtide homily in which he addresses various segments of society. That he structured his homily around Paul's speech in *BHL* 6657 was first discovered by Cross.[89] A comparison of the wording Ælfric used in his two versions of the speech, Catholic Homily 1.26 and Catholic Homily 2.19, shows some lexical similarity, but often only for one or two words. In Catholic Homily 2.19, Ælfric expands on the teaching for each person and adds

[86] R. Faerber, "Les *Acta Apocrypha Apostolorum* dans le Corpus Homilétique Vieil-Anglais (X–XI S.) Ælfric: *De Passione Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* et *Cathedra Petri*," *Apocrypha* 15 (2004), 277.

[87] For a detailed listing of the sources see Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 520–29 and Cross, "Literate Anglo-Saxon", pp. 26–8, 33–6.

[88] Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series Text*, ed. M. R. Godden, Early English Text Society s.s. 5. (Oxford, 1979), pp. 180–89.

[89] Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon," pp. 26–8, 33–6.

addresses to kings, bishops and mass-priests. He adjures the bishops and mass-priests to learn long and to instruct their people with book-learning, a favorite theme of Ælfric's as mentioned above. He also comments that he knows his moralizing is wearisome to hear and he would have avoided it if he had dared, but as he said of priests and bishops, he has a duty to teach his people. Although there has been much attention given to the issue of the audience of Anglo-Saxon homilies and no solid conclusions have been made, the wide range of members of society addressed in this homily suggests a mixed audience, both lay and clerical.

While it is tempting to argue that both Blickling 15 and Ælfric were using the same Old English translation, or even that Ælfric was using Blickling 15 as his source, a hypothesis suggested in part by his own comment that the passion was already fully set forth in Old English, a closer inspection of the two accounts may suggest otherwise. At times both seem to be translating verbatim from the Latin, but use different Old English vocabulary. In a section in which Peter outwits Simon by making Simon's attack dogs disappear, for instance, where the Latin has, "suddenly they were visible nowhere" (*subito nusquam conparuerunt*),[90] Blickling has, *sona onweg gewitan and nahwær æteowdon* "suddenly they went away and were nowhere to be seen"[91] whereas Ælfric writes, *hi ðærrihte of heora gesihðe fordwinon*, "they immediately departed from their sight".[92] Both Old English versions are accurate translations of the Latin but use different lexical items. Similarly Nero's question, *Tu Paule, quare nihil loqueris* ("You Paul, why do you say nothing?")[93] appears as *forhwon ne sprecst ðu* in Blickling[94] and *hwi ne cwest ðu nan word* in Ælfric,[95] which both mean essentially the same thing and translate the Latin accurately, but use different Old English vocabulary to do so. These sorts of differences suggest the possibility either that Ælfric and the author of the Blickling homily were each translating directly from the Latin source or that they were working from two different Old English translations. The fact, however, that the apocryphal tale of the passion of Peter and Paul appears in so many different Old English texts, demonstrates its wide use in Anglo-Saxon

[90] Lipsius, ed., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 143.
[91] Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 181.
[92] Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series Text*, p. 395.
[93] Lipsius, ed., *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 149.
[94] Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies*, p. 183.
[95] Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series Text*, p. 395.

England and in a variety of religious contexts, including prayers, saints lives and as a teaching text in homilies.

A second important apocryphal text in Anglo-Saxon England is the *Visio Sancti Pauli* (*VSP*). This originally Greek, third-century text, subsequently translated into Latin in various versions, describing Paul's descent into Hell and ascent into Heaven to see the punishments and rewards various sorts of sinners and saints received, was immediately popular.[96] It was presumably inspired by Paul's statement in 2 Cor 12:2–4 that a man (referring, it would seem, to himself) was caught up into the third heaven and heard things that cannot be told. In summaries of Paul's life (e.g. Isidore, Aldhelm and Bede) this event is one which is frequently highlighted, along with his conversion and shipwreck. Silverstein comments, "the importance of [the vision of] *Paul* increased from the eighth century, so that it became one of the chief formative elements in the development of the later legends of Heaven and Hell", culminating in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.[97] Its popularity in Anglo-Saxon England was especially strong as evidenced by the fact that of the forty-seven extant manuscripts of the Redactions of the *VSP*, twenty-one are English.[98] Antonette diPaolo Healey's discussion of the impact of the *VSP* on Old English literature proves its extensive influence.[99]

In spite of its popularity (or perhaps because of it), two of the writers whom we have looked at already, Aldhelm and Ælfric, did not approve of it. Aldhelm, in his account of Paul for the prose *De Virginitate* highlights Paul's traversing of the third heaven, exploring ineffable mysteries, but says that the so-called *Revelatio Pauli* says foolishly that he came to the delights of flowering Paradise in a golden ship. These sorts of absurdities, he says, are not sanctioned by the orthodox fathers in decretal writings and are forbidden by divine law to followers of the catholic faith.[100] Ælfric also rejects the text, and gives his explanation as a preface to Catholic Homily 2.20. He begins by quoting 2 Cor 12:2–4 and then comments, "How can some people read the false composition which they call the Vision of Paul when he himself says that he heard secret words which no

[96] Antonette diPaolo Healey, *The Old English Vision of St. Paul* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 19.
[97] Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, (London, 1935), p. 3.
[98] Ibid., p. 10.
[99] Healey, pp. 41–57.
[100] Aldhelm, *Opera*, p. 256. Translation from Lapidge and Herren, p. 81.

earthly person can speak?"[101] Ælfric's argument is a good one, if somewhat nasty. Nonetheless, judging by the appearance of the *VSP* in other Anglo-Saxon texts, it was very popular, despite Aldhelm's and Ælfric's objections. A full translation of it appears in Junius 85–6, edited by Healey, along with a collection of homilies, one of which includes a portion of the *VSP* combined with Caesarius of Arles' homily on tithing. Healey points out that the collection may be regarded as "a compilation in some way associated with preaching to the laity."[102] Blickling Homily 4 is another copy of the tithing homily in Junius 86, although an independent one from the same origin, according to Willard.[103] Of special interest for this paper is the fact that the homily refers several times to the *æþela lareow* (noble teacher), as discussed above, a title commonly attributed to Paul. Morris in his translation of Blickling 4 assumed the title referred to Paul, and went so far as to add Paul's name to his translation.[104] Here, however, the quotes introduced by this label are actually from Caesarius of Arles, so in this case Caesarius is the noble teacher.

The stories about the martyrdom of Peter and Paul and the *Visio Sancti Pauli* were two quite different apocryphal traditions about Paul which became very popular in late Anglo-Saxon England. O'Leary suggests that the popularity of such apostolic passions was fueled by political influences, such as church dedications,[105] and we know that there were several churches dedicated to Peter and to Paul in Anglo-Saxon England, for example the church at Jarrow. Their appeal would seem to be especially strong for the laity, and the Benedictine Reform emphasis on lay instruction may be another reason behind their popularity. Concern for the perceived approach of the end times may also have influenced the popularity of such traditions. Lionarons sees the interpolation of the Simon Magus episode into Wulstan's *De Temporibus Antichristi* as a sign that Christians felt a need to learn how to deal with the arrival of false prophets as the time of the apocalypse approached.[106] Ælfric's statement that the *passio*

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[101] *Humeta rædað sume men ða leasan gesetnysse ðe hi hatað paulus gesihðe nu he sylf sæde þæt he ða digelan word gehyrde þe nan eroðlic mann sprecan ne mot.*; Ælfric, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series Text*, p. 190.

[102] Healey, *The Old English Vision of St. Paul*, p. 15.

[103] Rudolf Willard, "The Blickling-JuniusTithing Homily and Caesarius of Arles," *Philologica: The Malone Annivesary Studies*, eds.Thomas A. Kirby and Henry Bosley Woolf (Baltimore, 1949), p. 66.

[104] Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, pp. 39, 41.

[105] O'Leary, "Apostolic Passiones," p. 119.

[106] Lionarons, "Another Old English Text of the 'Passio Petri et Pauli,'" p. 13.

of Peter and Paul is everywhere set forth in English, suggests that apocryphal traditions about Paul were widespread in Anglo-Saxon England in written form, but one might also infer that they were common knowledge, hinting at the existence of a strong oral tradition which might also have influenced writers' versions of Peter and Paul accounts.

The Apostle Paul appears in many forms in Anglo-Saxon literature: as an exemplary virgin and athlete for Aldhelm, a suffering missionary for Boniface, a *sapiens architectus* for Alfred, a teacher for Ælfric and as a martyr with Peter in the apostolic *passiones*. His epistles, eminently practical and quotable, could be drawn upon to support almost any argument a theologian made. Paul was indeed "all things to all men" (1 Cor 9.22), as this partial survey of Anglo-Saxon writers shows.

PAUL IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

James H. Morey

The Bible is well represented in many forms in medieval English, from the "Cædmonian" poems in the Junius 11 manuscript (late tenth century) to the full-scale translations produced by the Wycliffites in the fourteenth. References to Pauline material are ubiquitous in medieval English literature, as one would expect, given Paul's role as the apostle who (whether he knew it or not) laid the foundation of how the incarnate Christ is manifest in the individual Christian and in the body of the Church. It must be said, however, that Paul is not well represented in Old or in Middle English, though the amount of material that survives, especially from the later period, is difficult to categorize. Three reasons for the somewhat sparse and idiosyncratic presence of Pauline material can be posited. The first reason applies to the knowledge of Paul in the Modern period just as well as to the Medieval: his epistles concern matters of theological sophistication and abstraction that are not easily summarized or excerpted.[1] The second reason relates to the first in that the human brain tends to retain and recollect material in the context of a narrative; obviously, the epistles are primarily not narratives. The Book of Acts provides the most detailed—and memorable—stories concerning Paul's activity, and they find their way in multiple media into medieval English: his conversion on the road to Damascus, being let down from the walls of Jerusalem in a basket, and his shipwreck. The third reason is that Paul the man was a more congenial figure to the medieval English imagination than Paul the epistle writer. As a man, he assumes the roles of convert, celestial traveler, preacher, healer, saint, and prophet of the eschaton. These roles are specific

[1] An exception is Walter Hilton, who in his *Scale of Perfection* combines mystical meditations with biblical, and especially Pauline, material. "Hilton reflects more extensively on passages from the Pauline epistles than he does on any other portion of Scripture, with the result that the psychology and style of these reflections exhibit marked assimilation to the thought and expression of the original. Hilton is especially drawn to introspective and self-scrutinizing passages, and he adopts as his own their sharp flesh-spirit dichotomy, their emphasis on the constants in human nature which make it possible to generalize from the self to all humankind, and their equally sharp dichotomy between sin and grace." Janel M. Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style 1380–1580* (Chicago, 1984), p. 62.

to the genre of the text in question, and often Paul and quotations in his voice feature in very complex productions. The following chapter will attempt to outline where Paul can be found in Old and Middle English and to define the Paul that we find in the dominant medieval English genres: homilies, biblical paraphrase, catechesis, allegorical dream vision, drama, and saint's life.

1. *Paul in Old English (800–1100)*

Though there are Old English translations of the Gospels and poetic treatments of a number of Old Testament books, there is no extant Old English translation of Paul's letters.[2] For reasons related to what Nicholas Howe calls "migration and mythmaking" the stories of the Old Testament spoke powerfully to the Anglo-Saxon poetic imagination.[3] Events in the life of Christ also find poetic expression, but New Testament material, including quotations from the epistles, is most commonly found in religious prose. The knowledge of Pauline material must have come primarily from the Latin Vulgate, but of course all kinds of biblical material in the Middle Ages traveled with its gloss in a variety of commentaries, sermons, and *pastoralia*. Thus it is often impossible to determine the proximate source for almost any biblical quotation. Pauline quotations appear most often in sermons (though usually not as the pericope) by the great Anglo-Saxon preachers: Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling homilist.[4] Albert Cook's dated but still useful *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (1898) includes a dozen pages listing Pauline quotations that appear in Ælfric, mostly in the first and second series of his *Catholic Homilies*, and in addition he documents a comparable number of citations in King Alfred's

[2] See R. M. Liuzza, *The Old English Version of the Gospels*. 2 vols. EETS os 304, 314 (London, 1994–2000). Minnie Cate Morrell's *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials* (Knoxville, 1965) is a useful guide, but notably there is no entry for any of the epistolary books.

[3] *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, 1989).

[4] The following verses are the pericope for the Latin sermons in Oxford, Bodley 343: 1 Cor 13:4 (Quinquagesima), 2 Cor 6:1 (Quadragesima), 1 Cor 5:7 (Easter Sunday), 1 Cor 6:10 (10th Sunday after Pentecost). Bodley 343 is a twelfth-century English manuscript that contains some vernacular material, including homilies by Wulfstan. See Aidan Conti, "The Circulation of the Old English Homily in the Twelfth Century: New Evidence from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout, 2007) pp. 365–402, here pp. 400–02. On p. 390 Conti notes the unusual rubrication of this manuscript, in that the epistle and Gospel are sometimes separated as two sermons for the same feast day.

translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*.[5] Paul appears only incidentally in Alfred's translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and not at all in the two other major prose works cataloged by Cook: the Laws of King Alfred and his translation of Orosius's history. Even though Ælfric provides the most dense overall treatment of Paul in Old English, references to a variety of Old Testament books and of course to the Gospels vastly outnumber the Pauline quotations.

The biblical contents and themes of any given Old English homily are not predictable, and one useful guide is Robert DiNapoli's *Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*.[6] Assorted highlights from Paul's life are cited, mostly from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and from the Blickling Homilies: his persecution of Christians and his conversion, his labors and afflictions, and his conversion of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34). Minor apocryphal details appear, such as Paul being converted by a prayer of St. Stephen and his presence at Mary's assumption. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* include sets of sermons on individual saints, including Paul. In addition to the usual biographical highlights, Ælfric's account takes pains to exculpate Paul from any direct blame in the martyrdom of Stephen. Whereas Augustine stresses that Paul was the greatest of persecutors, Ælfric notes that there is no biblical record of his having killed anyone. He also omits the episode in Acts 9:21, 26 where the disciples suspect the *bona fides* of Paul's conversion.[7] Here we see a more sympathetic Paul, the confessor saint who was never beyond redemption, as opposed to the almost demonic portrayal that does, however, strengthen the drama of his divine conversion. In other words, the locus of the conversion shifts from an external intervention to an interior change of heart, from miracle to motivation.

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[5] *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, ed. Albert S. Cook (London, 1898), pp. 239–51. John C. Pope provides an index to Latin and Old English references to Paul in his edition: *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*. 2 vols. EETS os 259, 260 (Oxford, 1967–68), p. 176. For Ælfric's Catholic Homilies see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series*, ed. Peter Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997) and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979).

[6] Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices* (Hockwold cum Wilton, Eng., 1995), p. 109.

[7] See *Catholic Homilies* I.xxvii, and Malcolm Godden, "Experiments in Genre: The Saints' Lives in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*," in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), pp. 261–87, especially pp. 269–72.

Wulfstan adapted Ælfric's sermons for several of his own; Andy Orchard documents how one set of eschatological themes based on 2 Timothy 3:1–5 (the debased characters of men in the last days) appears in some manuscripts of sermons by both authors.[8] The coming of Antichrist—the "ille iniquus" of 2 Thessalonians 2:8 who will be killed by the spirit of Jesus's mouth ("spiritu oris sui")—figures in Lynne Grundy's chapter on Last Judgment themes in Ælfric and also in a fascinating discussion by Thomas D. Hill of exsufflation—exorcism by blowing—in a Vercelli Homily and in *Piers Plowman*.[9] The heavenly rebellion and demonic struggles were persistent Anglo-Saxon themes, and of course Doomsday resonated more than ever in the medieval imagination circa 1000 AD. Ælfric and Wulfstan were also writing during the second great wave of Viking invasions at the end of the first millennium, and they construed the sufferings inflicted by them as divine retribution for the sins committed by the weak and profligate Anglo-Saxons.

Paul appears in dramatic fashion as a companion to Saint Peter in one Blickling homily, "The Passion of Peter and Paul," associated with their feast day, June 29. Here Peter is the first apostle and the "cyricean hyrde to Cristes handa" ("shepherd of the church at Christ's hand [i.e. on his behalf]"), and Paul is the last apostle and "hire lareow" ("her [the church's] teacher").[10] Brief mention is made of Paul's "myccle scipbrocu" ("great shipwreck") on his journey to Rome, his subsequent imprisonment, and his role as a Christian persecutor before his conversion, but the bulk of the homily recounts Peter and Paul's interrogation before Nero and Agrippa and their contest with Simon the sorcerer to prove who truly acts in the name of God.[11] Paul successfully converts members of the royal household by means of his preaching and he delivers a lengthy summary of his apostolic work: love thy neighbor, trust in God not in riches, obey parents, pay taxes, love and respect one's spouse, and so on.[12] In the lattermost case the homily specifies the full import of the mutual obligations imposed by

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[8] Andy Orchard, "Wulfstan as Reader, Writer, and Rewriter, in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 311–41, here pp. 332–39.

[9] *Books and Grace: Aelfric's Theology* (London, 1991), pp. 250–251, and see all of chapter 5. Thomas D. Hill, "When God Blew Satan Out of Heaven: The Motif of Exsufflation in *Vercelli Homily XIX* and Later English Literature" *Leeds Studies in English* 16 (1985), 132–41.

[10] See Richard J. Kelly, *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation* (London, 2003), p. 120. Ælfric also has a sermon on Peter and Paul (*Catholic Homilies* I.xxvi).

[11] Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 122–28.

[12] Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 128.

1 Corinthians 7:3–4 and Ephesians 5:22–25 as opposed to the more common selective quotations found in the anti-feminist tradition that favor the husband (see below on how Chaucer reverses the field on this tradition in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*). This speech before Nero constitutes one of the most complete summaries of Pauline teaching in Old English. On multiple occasions, including the end, the homily notes their respective martyrdoms: Peter by inverted crucifixion, Paul by beheading on the Ostensian Way. Throughout the homily Peter is the more active questioner and actor and Paul is the more passive preacher and responder. In what will become a feature of Middle English representations of Paul, the source of his knowledge is not from men but from an unmediated connection to God himself: "Ond þeos lár me wæs seald næs na for mannum, ac þurh God sylfne" ("And this teaching was not given to me by any man, but by God himself").[13] Paul thus becomes the somewhat more detached, and almost oracular, repository of wisdom.

Pauline themes from 1 Corinthians 6:9–10 and 1 Timothy 1:9–10 have also been detected in Old English poetry, in particular the Exeter Book poem *Christ III*, lines 1609–12 which describes the fate of sinners on Doomsday.

> Dær sceolan þeofas ond þeodsceaþan,
> lease ond forlegene, lifes ne wenan,
> ond mansworan morþorleon seon,
> heard ond heorogrim.[14]
>
> There shall [go] thieves and criminals,
> liars and fornicators, [with] no hope of life,
> and perjurers see retribution for sin,
> hard and savage.

Fulminations against sinners who are responsible for the general downfall of society are common enough, but the categories of sin map fairly well onto the Pauline verses. Whereas the synoptic apocalypse and Revelation describe what will happen at the end of time, Paul's connection of the consequences to specific behaviors may have appealed to the *Christ*-poet. The eschatological Paul will persist into Middle English.

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[13] Kelly, *Blickling Homilies*, p. 128.

[14] *The Exeter Book*, eds. George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie. Anglo Saxon Poetic Records III (New York, 1936). Translation is my own. See Frederick M. Biggs, *The Sources of 'Christ III': A Revision of Cook's Notes*. Old English Newsletter Subsidia 12 (Binghamton, 1986), p. 38. Biggs notes how similar language appears in 1 Cor 5:9–10, Rom 1:29, Gal 5:19, Col 3:9, 1Thes 4:3. The use of the verb "wenan" (to hope) may recollect Rom 8:24, 15:4, 1 Cor 9:10, 13:13, Gal 5:5, Col 1:23 and 27, 1 Tm 1:1,Titus 2:13.

Pauline echoes have been detected in Hrothgar's "sermon" in *Beowulf*, delivered in Heorot after the slaying of the Grendelkin. The sixty-line speech concerns the providential sway of God in this world and the fates of men whose pride makes them susceptible to the power of the devil. One passage in particular has been linked to the famous "armor of God" passage from Ephesians 6:10–17.

> oð þæt him on innan oferhygda dæl
> weaxeð ond wridað; Þonne se weard swefeð,
> sawele hyrde; bið se slæp to fæst.
> bisgum gebunden, bona swiðe neah,
> se þe of flanbogan fyrenum sceoteð.
> þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepen
> biteran stræle—him bebeorgan ne con—
> wom wundorbebodum wergan gastes. (1740–1747)[15]
>
> At last his portion of pride within him
> grows and flourishes, while the guardian sleeps,
> the soul's shepherd—that sleep is too sound,
> bound with cares, the slayer too close
> who, sinful and wicked, shoots from his bow.
> Then he is struck in his heart, under his helmet
> with a bitter dart—he knows no defense—
> the strange, dark demands of evil spirits.

The imagery of armed men succumbing to hostile foes should not be unexpected in a Germanic heroic poem, but the style of much of the speech is homiletic. The larger shift from external flesh and blood monsters to internal, psychological ones also signals a change in tone. The monitory context, the references to God, and the specific image of the arrow recollect the passage in Ephesians but the absence of any direct quotation from Paul—or indeed from any New Testament book—complicates the possibility of his influence on *Beowulf*.[16]

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[15] Quoted from *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, eds. R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, John D. Niles. 4th ed. (Toronto, 2009). Translation by R. M. Liuzza, *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation* (Peterborough, Ont., 2000). The criticism on Hrothgar's sermon is prodigious. The notes to these lines in *Klaeber's Beowulf* list some of those who have suggested a Pauline connection.

[16] Mary Swan notes a brief item (in Old English) in Cotton Vespasian A.xxii based on Ephesians 6:11 ("Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil"). "Preaching Past the Conquest: Lambeth Palace 487 and Cotton Vespasian A.xxii," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 403–23, here pp. 416–17.

One of the most dramatic and enigmatic features of the epistles is Paul's claim in 2 Corinthians 12:2–4 that a man—presumably himself—was rapt to the third heaven. The story gave rise to a Greek apocryphon dating from the third century. At some later point a preface was added to explain that the *Vision* was found under the foundation of Paul's house in Tarsus. Various Latin versions carried the story into the Middle Ages, and an Old English translation was made sometime prior to the eleventh century.[17] The Old English translation appears as one item in a collection that has Pauline themes, notably charity and the struggle with the devil at the point of death. The editor notes how "A collection of homilies in English, stressing charity and judgment, depicting vigorous scenes which dramatize the fates of souls, and treating in two of them matters of interest to the laity [an Ælfrician homily and a Blickling homily], may be regarded as a compilation in some way associated with preaching to the laity."[18] The vision recounts Paul's experiences on his celestial travels, as he witnesses the judgment and fate of good and bad souls. The tone is worthy of Wulfstan in the lament over the evils of the times, but there is little that comes directly from the canonical Paul. Both Aldhelm and Ælfric dismissed the text as false, but their objections testify to the currency of the story in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, several prominent motifs, including the body-soul debate, the Sunday respite of the damned, the inexpressibility of the torments of hell even by men with tongues of iron, and the northwest location of Lucifer's throne can be found in many other Anglo-Saxon texts.[19]

2. *Paul in Middle English (1100–1500)*

Paris was the major site of biblical studies and manuscript production in the twelfth-century. A widespread source for biblical material in the European vernaculars, including English, was the *Historia Scholastica*, a work produced in that city by Peter Comestor, the twelfth-century *magister historiarum* and teacher at the University of Paris. It is, by design,

[17] *The Old English Vision of St. Paul*, ed. Antonette di Paolo Healey (Cambridge, MA, 1978), pp. 15–20.

[18] Healey, *Old English Vision*, p. 15.

[19] Healey, *Old English Vision*, pp. 42–57. Malcolm Godden also discusses the status of this apocryphal material: "Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition," in *The Old English Homily & Its Backgrounds*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, 1978), pp. 99–117.

a book of *stories* that deals primarily with the Pentateuch, Kings, and Maccabees because of the high percentage of narrative in these books.[20] The prophets are sparsely represented; the Gospels appear in the form of a harmony, and Acts was added circa 1180 by Comestor's successor in the theology chair at Paris, Peter of Poitiers. Nothing from Paul or any of the epistles is included in the *Historia Scholastica*. Thus the existence of Pauline material in Middle English poses something of a challenge since he is not represented in one of the most common resources for biblical material in England for some three hundred years. But of course Paul was known by means of the Vulgate, and there were multiple translations of the Vulgate, including Pauline material, in Middle English.

The Wycliffite Bible, produced in the late fourteenth century in an early and a late version, is one obvious resource. It survives today in approximately 250 manuscripts, and thus it must have been as widely read as any other work in Middle English. Not all of the manuscripts were complete by any means, but some two-thirds of extant manuscripts contain only New Testament books. Today one must consult the hard to find four-volume folio edition by Forshall and Madden from 1850, where both the earlier and later versions are printed in parallel. These are the texts that appear in the Chadwyck-Healy "Bible in English" database, and there is also a single manuscript edition by Conrad Lindberg published in four volumes between 1999 and 2004.[21] The number of Pauline epistles ranges from eleven to fourteen, depending on the manuscript (1–2 Corinthians, 1–2 Thessalonians and 1–2 Timothy are sometimes counted as one). The Epistle to the Laodiceans is translated but the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible notes that it is not part of common Latin texts (i.e., the Vulgate).[22]

Forty of Wyclif's sermons are on Pauline themes, and he considers Paul to be an authority equal to the evangelists: "And . . . not oonly thes foure

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[20] See James H. Morey, "Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible," *Speculum* 68 (1993), 6–35.

[21] Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, eds. *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books in the Earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*. 4 vols. in folio (Oxford, 1850; repr. AMS, 1982). The Pauline Epistles appear in volume 4. Conrad Lindberg edits *King Henry's Bible: MS Bodley 277: the Revised Version of the Wyclif Bible*. Stockholm Studies in English 89, 94, 98, 100 (Stockholm, 1999–2004). There is a modern spelling edition by W. R. Cooper, *The Wycliffe New Testament (1388)* (London, 2002). See also Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: the Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge, Eng., 2007), who provides a comprehensive discussion with manuscript information.

[22] See Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 95, note 53.

gospels, but epistilis of Poul and of othere apostlis ben cleped evangiles."[23] "And al3if the Holi Goost spekith ech word of holi writt, netheles Crist spake in Poul more plenteously and sutilli. And this moveth sum men to telle in Englishe Poulis pistelis, for sum men may betere wite herbi what God meneth bi Poul."[24] It is impossible to know exactly which English translations Wyclif has in mind here, but there are two translations of Paul's epistles that are independent of, and earlier than, the Wycliffite project. One is in a single manuscript that supplies Latin verses and sometimes whole chapters and then translates them into English with a few glosses and amplifications. It may have been produced for personal use or for a lay community. A commentary on Matthew, Mark and Luke appears earlier in the manuscript, so it may have some pretensions as a "New Testament."[25] There is another set of five manuscripts that contain various translated excerpts from the Gospels and Acts, followed by complete translations of several Catholic epistles, and finally digests of the Pauline epistles (Paul's letter to Philemon is not represented). Two of those five have brief summaries of high points from Genesis and Exodus, and even from Leviticus, and despite the disordered state of the contents, at least in canonical terms, they have some pretensions as "Bibles." The most interesting feature is a prologue in which a learned brother debates another brother and sister on the propriety of biblical translation. The absence of any Latin, and the free treatment of the biblical material, may perhaps account for his unease. Clearly the manuscripts represent a work in progress. After the translation of Jude, the last of the Catholic epistles, the learned brother says that he may not translate all of Paul's epistles, but he promises that, "3ef it be Goddus wylle, þou schalt habbe hem heraftur."[26] We do not know if he ever fulfilled this intention, and it is impossible to tell how many such biblical miscellanies were produced for private use or for members of a religious house, but it is safe to say that their readership was limited.

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[23] *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, 3 vols. ed. Thomas Arnold (Oxford, 1869–1871), 2:339.

[24] Arnold, *Select English Works*, 2:221.

[25] *The Pauline Epistles Contained in MS. Parker 32 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ed. Margaret Joyce Powell. EETS es 116 (London, 1916). For the Gospel commentaries, see James Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana, 2000), pp. 332–33.

[26] *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, ed. Anna C. Paues (Cambridge, Eng., 1904), p. 47. This edition is hard to find, and there is a 1902 edition, also from Cambridge, with an inconsistent table of contents. See Morey, *Book and Verse*, p. 346, note 5.

One can find miscellaneous extracts of Paul in numerous places, and of course the quotation of individual verses is ubiquitous. The largest single extract is known as the "Sixteen Conditions of Charity" based on the first eight verses from 1 Corinthians 13 ("If I speak with tongues of men, and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal . . ."). These verses appear independently in both verse and prose versions. There are thirty-three manuscripts of a prose version, and three of a poetic version. They are copied with other catechetical material such as the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes (Mt 5:3–16) and the Seven Works of Mercy (Mt 25:35–40).[27]

This set of verses traveled as a unit in a variety of contexts, but equally famous verses, such as the ones that immediately follow 1 Corinthians 13:8 ("When I was child, I spoke as a child . . . We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face . . .) are not included. In the *Book to a Mother*, for example, a homiletic treatise addressed to the author's widowed mother, we find the most extensive medley of Pauline verses outside of any of the complete translations, but the only material to appear from 1 Corinthians 13 is the first eight verses.[28] These verses are the only such verses to travel together in Middle English; all other Pauline quotation is of an individual verse, or at most two or three verses.[29]

Even though Paul is quoted frequently, he is quoted selectively, seemingly randomly, and even not at all. The *Northern Homily Cycle* (circa 1300) is, at over 21,000 lines, one of the most complete such cycles in Middle English, but Paul is not cited.[30] In the *Ormulum* (ante 1200), nearly 20,000 lines, Paul appears a grand total of one time, and interestingly enough it is verse 11 from 1 Corinthians:

> Forr Latin boc us se33þ full wel
> Þatt tatt mann iss forrwarr3ed
> Þatt iss an hunndredd winnterr ald,
> 7 foll3heþþ childess gæress.
> 7 off þiss illke se33de þuss
> Þe postell Sannte Pawell;

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[27] See Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 309–10.

[28] *Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary*, ed. Adrian James McCarthy. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies vol. 92 (Salzburg, 1981). See Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 231–33 for an index to the biblical material.

[29] The first four words of 1 Cor 13:1 are quoted in *Piers Plowman*, B.17.259, but it is hard to see how they fit the context of ineffectual human penances. One of Wyclif's sermons concentrates on 1 Cor 13:7–8 (see Arnold, *Select English Works*, 2:139–40).

[30] See Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 323–30.

A33 whil þatt I wass litell child
Icc held o childess þæwess
7 son summ icc wass waxenn mann,
Þa flæh I childess costess. (8047–56)[31]

The Latin book tells us very well
That that man is cursed
Who is one hundred winters old
And follows childish years [behavior].
And of this same [matter] said thus
The Apostle Saint Paul:
When that I was a little child
I held to childish customs,
And as soon as I was a grown man
Then fled I childish habits.

The context is a homily on the Slaughter of the Innocents (Mt 2:16), and Orm construes childish customs negatively, in that those who follow them are subject to Herod, that is, the power of the devil. This is in keeping with the Platonic reading of the passage that takes the mature view to be the more enlightened one, but it does reflect oddly, and negatively, on the innocents slain by Herod. The reference to the "Latin book" may give a clue as to why only this isolated verse appears, shorn of its larger Pauline context. Biblical material most often traveled in commentaries and *distinctiones*, sets of abstracted biblical verses that would be commented upon and then connected to other, often widely disparate, verses, in free-associative fashion. Here, for example, we see the Gospel story melded with 1 Corinthians and Isaiah 65:20 ("for the child shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner being a hundred years old shall be accursed"). These kinds of texts are the product of the university classroom, or they may be the commonplace book of an individual. Thus the "Latin book" is almost certainly not a Bible, but a *florilegium* of biblical verses that Orm would draw upon for material and inspiration.

The non-narrative character of most of the Pauline material is reflected in the paucity of drama based on Paul and his writings. He does not appear in any of the four major mystery play cycles (York, Chester, Wakefield, and N-town), though a play on his conversion appears in the Digby Plays. This late-medieval play (circa 1525), the *Conversion of Paul*, preserves some features of a medieval drama, such as buffoonery among Paul's horse boys

[31] *The Ormulum: with the Notes and Glossary of Dr. R. M. White*, ed. Robert Holt. 2 vols. (Oxford, 1878). Translation is my own.

and his sermon on the Seven Deadly Sins. The principal biblical portions concern his conversion on the road to Damascus ("Saule, Saule! Why dost þou me pursue? / Yt ys hard to pryke agayns þe spore!" [lines 183–84]), his blinding and cure, and his escape over the wall.[32] In the following rhyme royal stanza (an unusual stanza form for a play) God reassures Ananias of Paul's bona fides and sums up his identity:

> Be nothyng a-drad! He ys a chosen wessell,
> To me assyngned by my Godly eleccyon.
> He shall bere my name before the kyngys and chylder of Israell,
> By many sharpe shourys sufferyng correccyon;
> A gret doctor of benyngne conpleccyon,
> The trwe precher of the hye deuynete,
> A very pynacle of þe fayth, I ensure the. (lines 234–40)

Accounts of Paul's life can also be found in several Middle English saints lives, such as the *South English Legendary*, the *Scottish Legendary*, John Mirk's *Festial*, the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, and versions of William Caxton's *Gilte Legend*.[33] They cover the usual biographical high points, though sometimes with additional stories, such as when the *South English Legendary* includes Paul's raising of Eutychus after falling from a window (Acts 20:7–12).

We may conclude, therefore, with what is the case in many other instances of how biblical material traveled in Middle English: vernacular authors (with the significant exception of the Wycliffites) did not make independent consultation of the Vulgate to make their translations, but consulted various Latin digests, commentaries, and compendia. More to the point, vernacular authors imitated the convention of producing the same kind of set piece that they had seen or heard produced elsewhere. We have a closed system in which discrete subsets of materials are recycled, but I want to emphasize not the uniformity of the vocabulary and syntax, which often varies considerably, but the practice of packaging delimited quantities of biblical material in the conventional form. Thus we are left either with complete translations, or substantive paraphrase, or—and this is the dominant mode—medleys of miscellaneous verses that are mixed with material from many other biblical books.

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[32] *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, ed. Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy and Louis B. Hall, Jr. EETS os 283 (Oxford, 1982).

[33] Charlotte D'Evelyn provides complete textual and bibliographic information on these versions in her entry "Legends of Individual Saints" for the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050–1500*. Vol. 2. Gen. ed. J. Burke Severs (Hamden, CT, 1970), p. 617.

For illustrative purposes the use of Paul will be examined in two large and influential Middle English texts: *Piers Plowman* and *Cursor Mundi*. In the former text, we see Pauline material used in a profound theological allegory; in the latter text we get a strong sense of Paul the man as an agent in history. The complicated manuscript histories of texts like these require that any specific claims regarding the use of Paul, and of Pauline material, be qualified. Different manuscripts—and in the case of *Piers Plowman* different versions (A, B, and C)—deploy, supplement and abridge material in unique ways. For the sake of simplicity, comments on *Piers Plowman* will refer to the B text; comments on *Cursor Mundi* will differentiate among the four texts printed in parallel in Morris's EETS edition, plus the text from the Edinburgh manuscript, which Morris prints independently. Some observations on Chaucer's use of Paul will conclude the essay.

2.1. *Piers Plowman*

William Langland had a clear command of the Old and New Testament, and his biblical quotations range freely. Morton Bloomfield calls the poem a commentary on an unknown text in that the poem fills the spaces between Latin quotations—most, but by no means all—from the Bible.[34] Langland expects the reader to recall and integrate the given biblical verse—or partial verse—within the allegory of his poem. Paul is frequently quoted in Latin, followed usually by a translation, and sometimes only in English. Many verses appear more than once. John Alford lists eleven instances of a verse or set of verses from Romans, eighteen from 1 Corinthians, nine from 2 Corinthians, seven from Galatians, five from Ephesians, two from Philippians, three from Colossians, two from 1 Thessalonians, two from 1 Timothy, three from 2 Timothy, and one from Titus.[35] The very first Latin quotation in the poem is linked directly to Paul, as the various inhabitants of the field full of folk are described:

> Ac japeres and jangeleres, Judas children,
> Feynen hem fantasies, and fooles hem maketh,
> And han wit at wille to werken if they sholde.

[34] Morton Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, 1962), p. 32. A very good introduction to Langland and his use of biblical material is by Sister Mary Clemente Davlin, OP, "William Langland," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Bible in English Literature*, ed. Rebecca Lemon, Emma Mason, Jonathan Roberts, and Christopher Rowland (Malden, MA, 2009), pp. 134–51.

[35] John A. Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations* (Binghamton, 1992).

> That Poul precheth of hem I wol nat preve it here:
> *Qui loquitur turpiloquium* is Luciferes hyne. (B. Pr. 35–39)[36]

The quotation, though not verbatim, appears to derive from Ephesians 5:4, where Paul condemns the "turpitudo" and "stultiloquium" that marks unchristian behavior.[37] In a telling moment, Langland contrasts the work of these "jesters and chatterers, Judas's children" with his poetic project. Everyone has a calling in the world, and in writing the poem Langland fulfills what was clearly a life-long vocation. He has very conservative social views, summed up by 1 Corinthians 7:20, "Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called," a verse Langland cites in A.10.112 and C.5.43, but not in the B-version. A subtext in the poem is Langland's projection of his identity in the character of the dreamer and in puns on the word "Will," and an equally important theme is his vocation as a poet. His vernacular speech, leavened by scripture, is the antidote to sinful behavior and language. The debate concerning what qualifies an individual and society at large for salvation finds frequent expression in the poem, especially as Piers and his company seek the way to Saint Truth. In passus 7 Truth delivers a pardon to Piers based on "doing well," and at a climactic moment Piers tears it for reasons that are not clear but which hinge on the debate between faith and works and on the transition between the Old and New Laws.[38]

Apart from various oaths sworn by good and bad characters, Paul rarely appears as a historical personage. Within the space of thirty lines both the Pardoner (bad, of course) and Piers himself swear by Saint Paul, with an intervening oath—sworn by Piers—naming Saint Peter (B.5.639, B.6.3, B.6.24). Paul constitutes a negative example when he is compared to other great sinners—Mary Magdalene and David—who were nonetheless saved. Unlike Ælfric and, as we shall see, the *Cursor Mundi* poet, Langland is clear that Paul killed Christians:

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[36] All quotations are from *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*. 2nd ed. Ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London, 1995).

[37] See Alford, *Guide to the Quotations*, p. 33, where he also cites the "turpem sermonem" of Colossians 3:8, various patristic and other comments on this verse, and the *Vetus Latina* reading "turpiloquium".

[38] For a theologically informed reading of this widely-discussed scene, see Denise N. Baker, "From Plowing to Penitence: *Piers Plowman* and Fourteenth-Century Theology, *Speculum* 55 (1980), 715–25, here 722–25. Elizabeth Kirk reads the scene in light of Romans: *The Dream Thought of Piers Plowman* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 88–100. R. E. Kaske discusses what it means to "Dowel" in Pauline terms in " 'Ex VI Transicionis' and its Passage in *Piers Plowman*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 62 (1963), 32–60, here 46–47.

Than Marie Maudeleyne who myghte do werse?
Or who worse dide than David, that Uries deeth conspired?
Or Poule the Apostle that no pite hadde
Cristene kynde to kille to dethe? (B.10.421–24)

The larger point is that these sinners are now saints in heaven, thus exemplifying the Gospel dictum that the last shall be first, and the Pauline dictum in 2 Corinthians 12:9 that *Virtus in infirmitate perficitur* (quoted by Langland in B.17.338).

The most commonly cited Pauline verse—seven times in the B version, plus the corresponding lines in C—is 1 Corinthians 13:13, "And now there remain faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greater of these is charity." The power of these "spiritual gifts" (1 Cor 14.1) that become allegorical figures in Langland's poem speaks to the immanence of the divine in the world and in human experience. The verse first appears in passus 12, when Ymaginatif addresses Will on how to achieve the life of Dowel. All of experience is cast into a penitential program, and Ymaginatif explains how "Poul in his pistle . . . preveth what is Dowel: / *Fides, spes, caritas, et maior horum* . . . / Feith, hope and charitee—alle ben goode, / And saven men sondry tymes, ac noon so soone as charite" (B.12.28–31). Langland rings the changes on these figures in much of passus 17, beginning with *Spes*, "a spie" (B.17.1). The rapid and idiosyncratic mapping of biblical material on to his allegorical landscape is Langland's signature method.

The next most common verse is 1 Thessalonians 5:21, "test everything; hold fast to what is good," a verse reminiscent of Romans 15:4 in its liberal spirit (see below), though Romans 15:4 is not cited by Langland. Conscience, whom Bloomfield describes as "God in the soul," quotes the verse in a debate with Lady Meed to reveal how misleading and unstable exegesis can be.[39] As they parry one biblical quotation with another, Conscience notes how a certain lady selectively quotes biblical verses without "turning the leaf" (B.3.341) to discover the full context. Like Paul, whose life encompassed the worst and the best, we should test everything only if we know how and when to hold on to what is good.

2.2. *Cursor Mundi*

This historically based, 30,000-line biblical paraphrase introduces Paul late in the poem given his relatively late appearance in world history. The

[39] Bloomfield, *Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse*, p. 168.

narrative follows the biblical text—primarily Acts—closely, but with the guiding principle of Middle English biblical literature: the spare biblical narrative is supplemented at multiple points with extra details, moralizations, and explanations to fill in what the Bible does not supply. Paul first appears—just as he first appears in the Bible in Acts chapters 7 and 8—as the "childe" (19463; "young knight") Saul who takes care of the clothing of the witnesses who stone Stephen protomartyr.[40] Unlike Acts 7:59, the poet does not mention that Saul "was consenting to his death." His subsequent persecutions of Christians, based on Acts 8:3, is tempered by the claim that God protected him from ever shedding innocent blood (19503). From the point of his first introduction he is identified as the same figure known later as "Paul," giving the impression that his true identity is latent even in Saul as persecutor. Paul is thus given a sympathetic portrayal in the Ælfrician tradition, one that will not foreclose the possibility of his transformation.

Corresponding to the beginning of Acts 9, Paul secures permission to imprison Christians in Jerusalem, though he gets it not specifically from the high priest but from both the "prince" and from "priests." The blinding light on the road to Damascus becomes, in the Gottingen and Trinity manuscripts, the "fire of hell" (19613), an association that surely reflects more on Paul's prior rather than future life and that recalls the harsh opinion of Paul as persecutor. In the Fairfax manuscript, the voice of Jesus tells him "hit is to the ful harde and wik / for to wirk a-gaine the prik / that is to say ouer might / againe thi lorde for to fight" (19625–26), the "prik" being the "goad" of Acts 9:5, here glossed as the power of God. Fairfax adds that Jesus tells Paul that he will show him his "visage," thus anticipating Barnabas's account in Acts 9:27 of how Paul walks and speaks with Jesus, and giving an efficient cause for his blindness and granting Paul a vision equal to only one other mortal: Moses. The result is madness in addition to blindness ("For gloppening his mynde was mad" [19634]) and Paul then receives his instructions to go into the city. The poet adds the moralization that he who before was blind in thought is now blind in sight. During the three-day blindness, however, Paul learns the art of "spelling" (19655)—the preaching that he does in later days—in what can only be called an inspired apprenticeship. As is characteristic of Middle

[40] *Cursor Mundi: (The Cursur o the World) a Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century in Four Versions*, ed. Richard Morris. EETS os 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (London, 1874–93). The Paul story appears in vol. 66.

English biblical literature, no biblical detail is otiose, and the cause or source of everything must be assigned. When Jesus directs Ananias to heal and baptize Paul, he tells him that Paul has no need of instruction; Jesus says that he himself will be Paul's "lore maister" (19679), thus reinforcing Paul's connection to divine wisdom. The narrative follows Acts 9 closely, where Paul assumes his new vocation preaching to heathens, disputing with Greeks, and confounding the Jews who plot his death. Their animosity is singled out for comment in comparison to the other groups. The memorable escape in a "lep" (19719; a basket) is facilitated by anonymous "men," not by the "disciples" of the Vulgate. Before turning to the healings performed by Peter, all four manuscripts call Paul an "apostle" (19733) and "Conuers Paul in goddes lai" (19736); that is, "Paul the convert in the law of God." The epithet is significant, since "Paul" alone does not suffice to convey his new identity as a follower of the new law.

In keeping with Paul's reputation as a celestial traveler, we are told that Paul identifies the site of the last judgment, which—according to 1 Thessalonians 4:15–16—will take place in the clouds:

> But who so wol wite þe soþe ri3t
> As at seint poules word he my3t
> He seiþ oure lord li3te shal
> Doun to the cloudes abouen vs al
> In þe eir aboue he shal him showe
> To done his mi3te to vs be knowe. (22991–96; Trinity MS)

The damned, however, will be so weighted by their sins that they cannot rise. The Edinburgh manuscript supplies a corresponding account of the coming of Antichrist and the signs of the end, though it does cite one of Paul's epistles by name—the "sarmun" to the "folc of þa tessaluns" (22219–20). The passage in mind is 2 Thessalonian 2:3, where the "man of sin, the son of perdition" is the "child of pride" (22222) who will deceive the faithful and sow discord in the world.[41] Little else in the texts from any of the manuscripts recalls Paul's language, however, and the poem grafts a conventional account of the signs of the end which can be found in many medieval versions of the Last Judgment: the historical falls of Greece and Persia; the more recent fall of Rome; the current ascendency of France; the Sibyl's prophecies; Enoch and Elijah; the fifteen signs before Doomsday. Paul reappears as an authority on the tenth day, when the heavens

[41] The Edinburgh MS is in EETS os vol. 68. Cf. the use of these verses from 2 Thessalonians above, in note 9.

part and the "warlocks" (22611) walk out of hell to beg to be allowed back into heaven. This tradition may hearken back to the tradition of the Sunday rest of the damned found in the *Visio Pauli*. Paul is also credited with the tradition that, at the general resurrection, all shall be raised in the form they would have had when thirty years old, the age of Christ at his death (22816–22).

2.3. *Geoffrey Chaucer*

The most important touchstone for Paul in Middle English may well be Romans 15:4 ("For what things soever were written, were written for our learning"). It is widely quoted in contexts as diverse as William Caxton and Geoffrey Chaucer. Caxton cites the verse in his preface to his printing of Malory to justify why stories with suspect origins can nonetheless be worth reading. Chaucer appears to use the verse to license the extraordinary generic diversity found in the *Canterbury Tales*. He cites the verse twice, first at the end of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* when the Nun's Priest enigmatically suggests that a kernel of morality is to be found in the otherwise foolish beast fable of Chauntecleer and the fox.

> For seint Paul seith that al that writen is,
> To oure doctrine it is ywritte, ywis;
> Taketh the fruyt, and lat the chaf be stille" (VII 3441–43)[42]

The last line is again reminiscent of 1 Thessalonians 5:21. Chaucer reinvokes Romans 15:4 in his Retraction when he reflects upon a literary career that includes the writing of stories with questionable moral application. It makes sense that Paul, who grew up as a Jew in the classical world and who became the principal Christian apostle, should be cited as the authority who sanctions wide reading and judicious application of texts in multiple genres and from various traditions.[43]

Chaucer clearly knew Paul's epistles well, and Pauline themes and quotations frequently appear in the *Canterbury Tales*.[44] The *Pardoner's Tale*,

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[42] *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. Gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, 1987).

[43] A. J. Minnis provides an astute reading of Romans 15:4 in the context of Chaucer, Caxton, Ranulph Higden, Boccaccio, Isidore of Seville and others in his *Medieval Theory of Authorship*. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 205. See also 2 Timothy 3:16.

[44] Helpful Guides are two books by Lawrence Besserman: *Chaucer and the Bible: A Critical Review of Research, Indexes, and Bibliography* (New York, 1988), especially the indexes of Paul's epistles on pp. 367–79, and *Chaucer's Biblical Poetics* (Norman, OK, 1998). References to Paul are most common in *The Tale of Melibee* and in *The Parson's Tale*, the only two prose tales in the *Canterbury Tales*. The index (under "Bible") to the much-maligned

for example, is usually remembered for the story of the three revelers who seek and find death, but in formal terms the tale is a sermon, based on 1Timothy 6:10, on the perversion of worldly appetites.[45] The most dense and perplexing network of Pauline quotations appears in the first 160 lines of the Wife of Bath's prologue as she selectively quotes and expounds upon biblical texts to justify her abandonment of virginity and to celebrate her promiscuity. The entire prologue is a freewheeling gloss, and the Pardoner characterizes her speech as preaching ("Ye been a noble prechour in this cas" [III.165]). It takes one to know one. Just before the Pardoner interrupts, she delivers her one-sided quotation of Ephesians 5:25 to champion, in her monstrously (or just satiric) pro-feminine fashion, the obligation of husbands to love their wives. One is reminded of the lady that Conscience reproves in *Piers Plowman* B.3.338–47 (see above, page 463). Chaucer is doing many things in passages such as these, and his quotations of Paul are part of a larger strategy that questions the legitimacy of textual production, glossing, and interpretation. As the Friar in the *Summoner's Tale* reminds us, "Glosynge is a glorious thyng, certeyn, / For lettre sleeth, so as we clerkes seyn" (III.1793–94, alluding to 2 Corinthians 3:6). The difficulty of differentiating Chaucer the man from Chaucer the poet from any given voice we may hear in a *Canterbury Tale* constitutes a notorious critical *mise en abîme*. Once Chaucer the ironist sits at the table, all the cards in the deck become wild.[46] In personal terms, however, it may well be that for Chaucer, as for Langland, Paul represents a transformative figure who discovered his life's work and who negotiated competing claims for truth in literary form.

Old and Middle English readers found the Paul who fits medieval categories and who responds to common medieval preoccupations: conversion, the end of time, visions of the otherworld and the means of salvation. Paul himself describes how "I press toward the mark, to the

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but deeply learned *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* by D. W. Robertson, Jr. (Princeton, 1962) refers the reader to a cross-section of Pauline verses that influenced the literary and scholarly world that Chaucer inhabited.

[45] Langland also treats this passage from 1 Timothy: "Poul preveth it impossible—riche men [to] have hevene" (B.10.335). Chaucer's Pardoner quotes Ephesians 5:18 on drinking wine (VI.483–84; without citing Paul) and 1 Corinthians 6:13 on God's destruction of both meat and belly (VI.521–23; Paul is cited twice).

[46] An excellent presentation of the difficulty of assigning definite meanings to Chaucer's biblical citations is provided by Christiania Whitehead, "Geoffrey Chaucer," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Bible in English Literature*, eds. Rebecca Lemon, Emma Mason, Jonathan Roberts, and Christopher Rowland (Malden, MA, 2009), pp. 134–51.

prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus" (Philippians 3:14).[47] His biography, with the dramatic contrasts between his lives as Jew and Christian, Pharisee and Apostle, cruel persecutor and enlightened theologian, fits the pilgrimage of life model characteristic of so many medieval English narratives.

[47] Besserman, *Chaucer and the Bible*, p. 376 detects paraphrases of this verse in Chaucer's translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* 3.m.9.32–38 and 4.p.6.88–93.

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